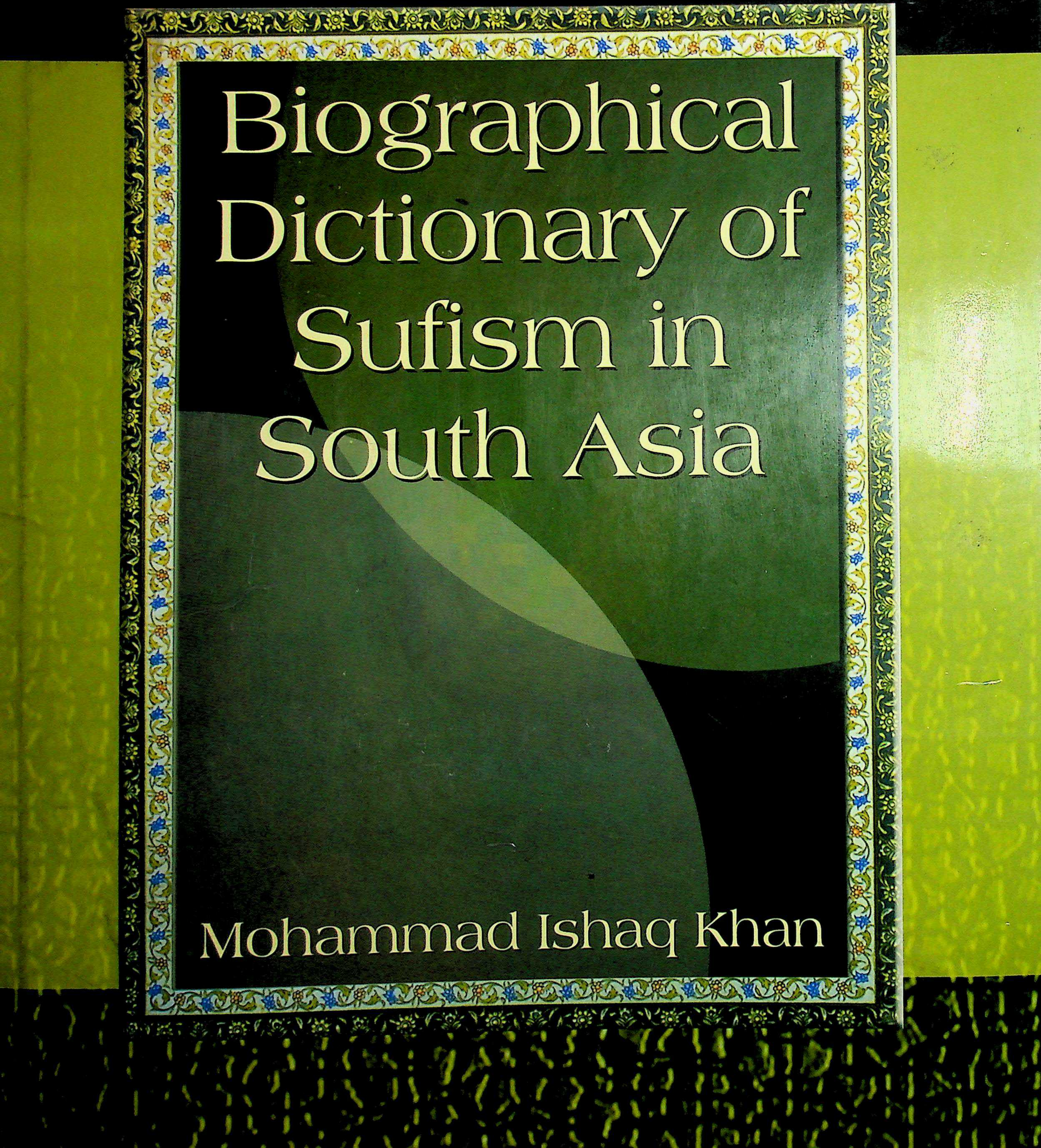

Biographical Dictionary of Sufism in South Asia

Mohammad Ishaq Khan

A Sufi's quest for spiritual identity is distinguishable from the external scholars *('ulama-i zahiri)*, radical reformers, politico-religious activists and average Muslims whose belief in the fundamentals of Islam in a given religious environment is simply literal or even superficial in certain cases. Central to this difference of approach is the Sufi's life-long concern to conquer his self for the greater spiritual and ethical good of humankind than the mere pragmatic and worldly concerns of the 'ulama in relation to the *Shari'ah*.

Without dramatizing divide between *Shari'ah* and Sufism, unlike Orientalism, this dictionary intrinsically portrays the abiding contribution of numerous Sufis of South Asia to Islam and history. Definitive and interpretative, it lends a certain degree of objectivity to the supernatural role that characterizes the historical personalities listed in it.

The work is based on research spanning a period of 27 years, both in India and abroad. Besides Persian sources, in manuscript and printed form, their Urdu translations, wherever available, have been used carefully in conjunction with the original. This dictionary may, then, be the first to provide succinctly and objectively a fairly comprehensive account of the Sufis, recorded in various historical sources, in just one volume. The author takes special care to highlight how certain religious traditions were adapted by the Sufis to the larger framework of Sufism without violating the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

This work is an antidote to the tarnished image of Islam in the aftermath of 9/11.

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF SUFISM IN SOUTH ASIA

Biographical Dictionary of Sufism in South Asia

MOHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN

MANOHAR
2009

First published 2009

© Mohammad Ishaq Khan, 2009

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior permission of the author and the publisher.

ISBN 81-7304-681-6

Published by
Ajay Kumar Jain *for*
Manohar Publishers & Distributors
4753/23 Ansari Road, Daryaganj
New Delhi 110 002

Typeset by
FineCurve Computers
Meerut City 250 002

Printed at
Salasar Imaging Systems
Delhi 110 035

Contents

Preface ix
Abbreviations xi
Introduction 1
Dictionary 13
Bibliography 470
Index 477

To the
memory
of
my father
Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Khan

Love am I, my whereabouts in space and time unknown;
Phoenix of the West am I, my mark and aim unknown.
With eyebrow and with dimple I shoot my human game:
These are my bow and arrow, but that remains unknown.

Although from every atom I shine forth like the sun,
The purpose of my shining forth still remains unknown.
I hear with every ear and speak with every tongue,
But strangely enough my tongue and ear remain unknown.

KHWAJA 'DERVISH' AHMAD SAMARQANDI
quoted in Hasan Lutfi Shushud,
Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia

Preface

Sufism is marked by relentless inner strivings on the part of individuals of exceptional merit against the snares of the pestering self (*nafs-i ammara*) and partial reason (*'aql-i juzwi*). This struggle, known as the greater warfare, *jihad-i Akbar*, has the divine assurance of help, protection, and sustenance for the protégés of Allah:

> Lo ! Verily the friends of Allah are those on whom fear (cometh) not, nor do they grieve:
> Those who believe and keep their duty (to Allah), Theirs are good tidings in the life of the world and the Hereafter—There is no changing the words of Allah—that is the Supreme Triumph.

One may reasonably ask: What does a seemingly inner struggle have to do with history? Given the complexities and mysteries of life and the cosmos, the answer is not simple. The Sufis did not need to invent God. They were driven by a yearning to know the Creator either through self-introspection or reflection on His words. "And in the earth are portents for those whose faith is sure, And (also) in yourselves. Can you then not see? And in the heaven is your providence and that which you are promised."

Sufism may be conceived as not pantheistic or an abstract unity defying objective explanation, but synthetic in nature. Since faith in the Unseen (*ghaib*) is an apparently subjective phenomenon in contrast to the consciousness of everyday affairs, the concept of synthetic unity in the Sufic sense implies both the difference and the unity of the depths rather than merely terms. Yet the concept of unity in diversity cannot be fully understood without recognition of the Oneness of Allah in spiritual, and the diversity of societies in historical terms. Religion becomes meaningful only when viewed from the spiritual-historical perspective. The role of spiritually exalted personalities like the Sufis is therefore not to be viewed from a trans-historical perspective. Nor can one understand history without attending to matters spiritual and scientific. Neither religion nor history can be objective if they are presented respectively as wholly sacred or wholly profane.

Being created in the best of Qur'anic moulds, a Sufi, as a spiritual and historical being, moved in the direction of the unity that linked, even if it did not unite, all diversities. Without this basic postulate of unity in diversity, Sufism in the varied historical, geographical and social environments of South Asia would not have evoked a creative response both at the individual and societal levels. Sufism, indeed, was viewed as a religion of pristine spirit and simplicity, emphasizing individual ethical responsibility as its essential ingredient. Did the Sufis' abiding influence on individual and social consciousness not ensure the genuine spiritual and historical traditions of Islam in South Asia? If this biographical dictionary provides a succinct answer to this question in the face of waning modern politico-religious threats to Islamic spirituality (*tasawwuf*, anglicized, Sufism), I shall consider my efforts amply rewarded.

There is no dearth of biographies of Sufis of the Indian subcontinent. Some of these, largely written in Persian, were published in the nineteenth century. Urdu translations of several biographical dictionaries and *malfuzat* have since been brought out. One major drawback of such works is that they are either saturated with supernatural details or incomplete in many respects. It goes to the credit of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi that in his monumental *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* he sought to present an objective account of the lives of Indian Sufis. True, he records miracles, but he is judicious and at times critical considering his strong roots in the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and *tasawwuf*. It is, however, amazing that this work does not contain any information about the Sufis of such an important region as Kashmir. Likewise, Ghausi-i Shattari's dictionary of the Indian Sufis under the title *Gulzar-i Abrar* is silent about the Sufis of Kashmir, the region which had then become known as the abode of Sufis (*Pirwaer* in the local parlance). This dictionary may, then, be the first to provide a fairly comprehensive account of the Sufis of the subcontinent. Besides giving the Sufis of Kashmir their due place, it also contains an account of a good number of Sufis of other regions not included either in S.A.A. Rizvi's *A History of Sufism in India* or other modern works.

This dictionary does not include a large number of the Sufis of various regions of the subcontinent who have not been mentioned in either chronicles or hagiographies and are only remembered in the folk consciousness. During fieldwork over a period of three decades I found many number of sites ascribed to Sufis in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh that have not been mentioned in the profuse *tazkira* literature and *malfuzat*. In the valley of Kashmir alone, for example, people continue to visit shrines that have little historical credibility. When I asked their devotees why they should venerate a Sufi who did not exist in recorded history, the response was spontaneous and similar: 'it is not mere continued sacred tradition but, more importantly, our unbounded faith in the spirituality or *karamat* of such so-called unknown Sufis that wed us to them and their shrines'.

So as not to mix historical fact with tradition and faith, this work does not cover the numerous Sufis absent from the hagiographical literature. Far from belittling their social impact, this dictionary only lends a certain degree of objectivity to the supernatural role that characterizes the historical personalities listed in it.

Fieldwork, in Kashmir and several other parts of the country, was conducted with the financial support of the Indian Council of Historical Research.

The book is dedicated to the fond memory of my father Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Khan for his compassion and generosity to the poor and, not the least, his love for the Sufis.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN

Abbreviations

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U)	by Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, Urdu tr. Maulana Iqbalu’d-Din Ahmad, Daru’l-Ish‘at, Karachi, 1963
Bodleian	*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, editing begun by Sachau, completed by H. Ethe
Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (U)	*Waqi‘at-i Kashmir* by Khwaja A‘zam Diddamari, Urdu tr. by Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, rpt. Srinagar, 1998
Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US)	*Waqi‘at-i Kashmir* by Khwaja A‘zam Diddamari, Urdu tr. with notes by Shamsu’d-Din Ahmad published under the same title by Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001
Ethe	*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, London, by H.E. Ethe
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U)	*Asraru’l-Akhyar* by Pir Hasan Shah, Urdu tr. under the title *Tazkira-i Auliya Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1960
Ivanow	*Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal* by Ivanow
Jamali	*Siyaru’l-‘Arifin* by Jamali Kanbo Dihlawi
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
RPD	Research and Publication Department, Research Library, Srinagar, Directorate of Research and Publications, J&K
Rieu	*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, by C.R. Rieu
Rizvi, *Sufism*	S.A.A. Rizvi, *Sufism in India,* 2 vols., Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1978, 1983
Tarikh-i Kashmir (UGB)	Urdu tr. of *Tarikh-i Kashmir* of Saiyid ‘Ali by Ghulam Rasul Bhat, Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, n.d.
Sakinatu’l-Auliya (U)	by Dara-Shukoh, Urdu trans. Maqbul Beigh Badakshani, Naz Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, pp. 179-243
Tuhfatu’l-Fuqara (R)	by Muhammad Murad Tang, ed. Saiyidda Ruqaiyah, Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar, n.d.
Gulzar-i Abrar (Z)	by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, ed. Muhammad Zaki, Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, 1994

Introduction

SUFISM AND SUFIS

It is no mean achievement to choose the Path of Sufism by way of renouncing the worldly desires. One cleanses oneself of all base thoughts in the hope of discovering the real self. The melting away of one’s little personality does not necessarily mean dissolution in the ocean of Being or union with God, but paves the way for the release of the dormant forces within one’s own self for the attainment of spiritual excellence. In this process, man emerges as the central figure in the picture of the universe in harmony with the purpose of God. He realizes himself as an individual seeker after the truth and at the same time, as a responsible member of society. In fact, the gradual enrichment and unfolding of his multidimensional personality takes place due to both his inner strivings and divine grace. A Sufi is a traveller on the road that leads to God-consciousness by way of the extinction of all that appears to exist, subjectively or objectively. In the words of a Sufi master, Abu ‘Ali al-Daqqaq, annihilation (*fana*) really means ‘bringing the being (*wujud*) to ecstasy (*wajd*)’.[1] To pass from the temporal to the eternal demands self-discipline, hardship, and suffering. Hasan Shushud, a Turkish Sufi, describes three degrees of *fana*: the annihilation of Actions (*fana al-af‘al*), the annihilation of Attributes (*fana al-sifat*), and the annihilation of the Essence (*fana al-zat*). Consider his explanation of *fana*:

> To be transported from the realm of physical sensation to the spiritual realm is to achieve the Annihilation of Actions. The Annihilation of Attributes is the grade of relative occultation, the stage of potentiality and love. By attaining the Annihilation of the Essence one is set free from existence and from the pitfalls of relative consciousness.
>
> Intellectual problems concerning the nature of reality are resolved when one reaches the Annihilation of Actions, which is also called the ‘Presence of Knowledge’. Emotional needs are satisfied in the Annihilation of Attributes, which is also known as the station of love. With Annihilation of the Essence, all ‘occult’ problems disappear.
>
> Annihilation reaches its consummation in Permanent Non-Being, in the freedom of ‘as if it had never been’. This transition can also be called the path of ecstasy or the way of Oneness. It is accessible exclusively to those who are subject of divine compulsion.
>
> Annihilation is the fruit of rigorous self-discipline and contrition. Aptitude and perseverance are its prerequisites. When success is attained, Eternal Ideas (*al-a‘yan al-thabita*) are perceived. At the lowest level these are the ‘objects of knowledge’ (*al-a‘yan al-‘ilmiyya*), while on the highest plane they constitute ‘occult substances’ (*al-a‘yan al-ghaibiyya*). As the Eternal Ideas are ‘the realities of the potentialities established in the Divine Consciousness’, the visions experienced by aspirants who achieve annihilation are truly beatific.
>
> On the way to realization, loftier attainments lie ahead, transcendental vistas that surpass comprehension. To express these, we take recourse to metaphors and a special terminology. Religious and esoteric truths are generally expressed at three levels. For those who have achieved annihilation, symbolic examples are provided. For those who have made genuine progress on the mystical path, explanations are based on the experience of annihilation itself. For those who have attained permanent non-being, the state of non-existence supplies the key. For example, the concept of divinity is perceived quite differently in each of these three grades. Similarly, such basic concepts as prophethood, sainthood, ‘presences’, materiality, spirituality, body, soul, and annihilation all transmute themselves into different realities at the various levels. Though essentially the same, they present themselves with different attributes. In the rational and traditional sciences, progress is supposedly made by adding new knowledge to old. In esotericism, one advances from the ‘coarse to the subtle, from existence to non-existence, i.e. from potentiality to necessity’. As Sufism is an ascent, through renunciation, from the corporeal to the divine, the gradual attainment of liberation brings one to the domain of miracles. It has always been considered unwise to divulge the realities perceived there.

---

[1] Quoted in Hasan Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, tr. from the Turkish by Muhtar Holland (Oxford: Coombe Springs Press), 1983, p. 4.

The Masters of Wisdom are among those who have accomplished this miraculous ascent. Steering well clear of mythical and superstitious nonsense, they represented Islamic Sufism in all its sublime purity.

The Reality of realities, the Truth of truths, in search of which mankind goes knocking in vain upon a thousand doors, has for centuries been discovered by men in the depths of their own God-given greatness. This they have achieved by way of annihilation and extinction, through non-being and non-existence, by forsaking the lines laid down by reason and tradition. Mysteries forever concealed from the 'living' have surely been revealed to those who found the way to escape from the world of appearances into the realm of real discovery. They became free from all problems, whether mental, emotional, or occult. They came to know all there is to know, just as God Himself knows: with the Knowledge of Certainty, and the Truth of Certainty. This is the Essential Knowledge that comes with annihilation and permanent non-being (*fana' wa-baqa'*).

More importantly still, on this path a man becomes rapturously and ecstatically aware of the mysterious connection between the reality of man and the Nature of God. He understands the true significance of the concepts *creature* and *Creator*. He is privileged to drink of the waters of Paradise. From the state of a miserable underling, he returns to his primordial nobility and learns what it means to be raised to 'the place on high'.[2]

Little wonder then that for the masters of wisdom, conformity to the religious law (*Shari'ah*) is not a matter of blind adherence but it evolves over different phases of their spiritual careers when there is a yearning to know the spiritual origin of their existence. Consequently, a Sufi's quest for spiritual identity is distinguishable from the external scholars (*'ulama-zahiri*), radical reformers, politico-religious activists and average Muslims whose belief in the fundamentals of Islam in a given religious environment is simply literal or even superficial in certain cases. Central to this difference of approach is the Sufi's life-long concern to conquer his self for the greater spiritual and ethical good of humankind than the mere pragmatic and worldly concerns of the worldly 'ulama in relation to the *Shari'ah.*

Shari'ah for a Sufi is not a set of laws to be obeyed mechanically; it is, in essence, a spiritual and moral force with the potential to seek, a supernal instrument of social change. This is the reason that Sufism's abiding contribution cannot be only measured in terms of its historical legacies in Asia and Africa, but, also, in the context of the spirituality. Sufi spirituality was not merely manifest in miracles, but more importantly, in a solemn earnestness to subject the felicity of life on this planet to the norms of morality and responsibility. Far from making a fetish of the *Shari'ah* as a legal code, they promoted the conception of the religious law in a manner that regulated the pattern of human life in accordance with its universal spiritual ethics. 'Religion', for the Sufis in the Prophetic dictum, is 'indeed man's treatment of his fellows'. The true religion was to conduct and order life on earth in a way intended by the nourisher of the worlds (Rabbu'l-'Aalamin). Their spirituality was thus a dimension of earthly life; they realized and enjoyed it in full by living morally in God's presence, i.e. in responsibility to nature, to themselves, and to society. There was a dynamic interaction between their asceticism and the environment; in fact, their social impact, apart from meditative practices and strict ascetic discipline, was the measure of their spiritual manhood.

The hagiographies on which this dictionary is mainly based abound in miracles ascribed to the Sufis. Although I have omitted almost all the details regarding this, it is important to stress that one can hardly undervalue miracles in the history of Sufism. No less a person than the founder of modern sociology, Ibn Khaldun devised arguments in support of his belief in the miraculous powers of Sufis. As he remarks: "Among the Sufis some who are favoured by acts of divine grace are also able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions. This, however, is not counted as a kind of sorcery. It is effected with divine support, because the attitude and approach (of these men) result from prophesy and are a consequence of it."[3]

A biographical dictionary of Sufism should therefore also seek to discover a Sufi within a given society in relation to the structure and the character of the miracles and local practices associated with his shrine. For historical reasons rooted in the role that Sufism played, every shrine is different and partakes singly in the diversity of historical forces that shape its personality, its forms of solidarity, and its aesthetic inclination. How abiding has been the influence of the convergence of 'this-worldly' and 'otherworldly' is reflected in the hold that the shrines continue to exercise over a great majority of the Muslims of the subcontinent.

---

[2] Ibid., pp. 4-6.

[3] Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddama-i Ibn Khalduh*, Eng. tr. by F. Rosenthal, II, p. 167. See also Urdu tr. by Maulana Ragib Rahman Dihlawi I, (Delhi, 1987), pp. 292, 294, 318-19.

Shrines are not only local manifestations of Islam's spiritual-historical order but they also reappear in various constellations as impregnable centres for the expression and assertion of the sublime and unquestionable faith in the continued moral authority of the man of God (dead or alive) in influencing social mores. The sacred space in which the collective rituals, in addition to the prescribed and defining five times daily prayers, regularly occur in specific historical and local contexts thus exemplifies the society as a melodious totality in contrast to the profane realm outside, the world of ugly want and contending individuals. That "ideal society", to use the phraseology and insight of Durkheim, "is not outside the real society; it is part of it. Far from being divided between them as between two poles which mutually repel each other, we cannot hold to one without holding to the other. For a society is not made up merely of the mass of individuals who compose it, the ground which they occupy, the things which they use and the movements which they perform, but above all it is the idea which it forms of itself."[4]

The intrinsic surge of group sentiment through which Durkheim suggests an ideal world is objectified, is formulated by ritual prayer and various liturgical forms of invoking the spirit of the deceased Sufi who sanctifies the shrine. The primary activity and certainly the *raison de'être* of every shrine is a collective assertion of its unique identity, centred round both the supernal and historical personality of the Sufi. Does this mean that the fundamental conception of sacred place revolving around the two mosques of Mecca and Medina has been fissured as the result of a flourishing diversity of sacred sites around the tombs of the Sufis during the last fourteen centuries? Our answer is not in the affirmative considering the enormous dissemination of the Islamic tradition across a huge number of social and cultural forms. What is, however, of utmost importance about this diversity is that the founding ideal of unity characterizing Mecca and Medina is central to every shrine and the mosque attached to it. This is reflected in the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina undertaken by Sufis of various orders over the centuries. We hear of Sufis with almost no resources performing the *hajj*. Even some Muslim Rishis of Kashmir did so in spite of poverty and hazards of a long travel on foot. The purpose was not only to perform a fundamental obligation but also to reaffirm a belief in the Oneness of Allah and to express a cultivated mystical love for the Prophet Muhammad. Little doubt that long before the rise the of Wahhabi movement in Arabia, Mecca and Medina as spiritual and intellectual hubs not only promoted the cause of *Hadis* learning among the Sufis, but, also, fostered the growth of Sufism in South Asia within the framework of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. In fact, a considerable number of Sufis who played an important role in the dissemination of the teachings of Sufism had obtained their *sanads* in *Hadis* from masters in Mecca and Medina. The importance of these cities as breeding grounds of Sufism is particularly reflected in the works of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi which provide some information regarding the activities of Sufis in the holy land. We may briefly refer to the activities of some Sufis and Sufi scholars who gained a deeper understanding of Sufism and *Hadis* in Arabia.

Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, born in Burhanpur in 885/1480-1, after distinguishing himself as a Sufi in India, finally settled in Mecca. He authored the *Hukm-i Kabir*, which was undoubtedly a great work containing a summary of all issues on Sufism. His masterpiece, however, was an encyclopaedia of *Hadis*, the *Kanz al-'Ummal*. It sought to rearrange in alphabetical order the *ahadis* compiled by Jalalu'd-Din Abu'l-Fazl 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad's as-Suyuti (d. 911/1505) in his *Jama' al-Jawami'* or *Jami' al-Musnad*. According to Rizvi, "Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi's work was designed to facilitate consultation of these traditions by Faqihs, and is still recognized as a masterly contribution. His own teacher, Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Bakri, welcomed his pupil's outstanding contribution to the knowledge of *Hadis* with the comment that Suyuti's *Jama' al-Jawami'* was a gift to the world, but Suyuti himself could be greatly indebted to the author of this new arrangement."[5]

The greatness of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi as a Sufi and an acknowleged scholar of *Hadis* was recognized in his lifetime by the Arab world. Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Hajar of Mahallat Abi'l Haitam in al-Gharbiya (Egypt), a renowned Shaf'i jurist who had settled in Mecca in 924/1518-19 and lived there until his death on 23 Rajab 974/3 February 1567, often consulted the '*Kanz al-'Ummal* and found it most useful. Muttaqi's disciples spread from the Yemen to Syria and from Gujarat to the Deccan. His successor was an Indian, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab al-Muttaqi al-Qadiri, who joined him in Jumada 963/March-April 1556.

---

4. Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, tr. Joseph W. Swain (New York: Free Press), 1961, p. 471.
5. Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, p. 324.

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, who spent considerable time in Mecca with Shaikh 'Ali's closest disciple and *khalifa*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, provides testimony to the former's learning and his impact on the ulama and *masha'ikh* of the Holy Land. Although Shaikh 'Ali initially learnt at the feet of the redoubtable Meccan scholar and theologian, Shaikh Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani, later the latter took pride in calling himself as a pupil of his erstwhile student. So impressed was 'Asqalani by the learning of his Indian born pupil that he enrolled himself as the disciple of Shaikh 'Ali and had not the slightest reservations about obtaining a *khirqa* from him.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi mastered the *Sahi Muslim* and *Sahih Bukhari* under the guidance of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi al-Qadiri al-Shazili in Mecca. The latter also initiated him into the Chistiyya, Qadiriyya, Madayniyya and Shaziliyya orders. Although the serene intellectual and spiritual environment of Mecca suited the temperament of Abd'ul-Haqq, his new spiritual teacher, Shaikh Abdul-Wahhab, originally an emigrant from India, urged him to return home, on the grounds of his obligations to his family and India. He was advised not to be in a hurry to denounce a believer as "infidel or heretic", if, even while performing fundamental religious duties, he uttered remarks in violation of the *Shari'ah*. Abdu'l-Haqq was urged to address himself to such a person within the framework of the Qur'an, *Shari'ah* and Sufism. On his return from Mecca in 1000/1592, Abdu'l-Haqq devoted himself to teaching, writing, and Sufism and dissociated himself from the court.

Given such spiritual and intellectual foundations, Sufism was not a deviation from the so-called "Arab Islam". Nor should we view the evolution of the institutions of shrines around the tombs or one-time abodes of the Sufis over centuries past as a development outside the pale of Islam. In fact, such institutions came into being through centuries of orderly evolution, thanks to the devotion of the Delhi sultans, the Mughal emperors, nobles and commoners to the Sufis. In spite of the supposed hostility of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq to the Sufis, he raised domes over the tombs of a number of Sufis. The deeply *Shari'ah*-conscious Aurangzeb did not lag behind most other rulers of his dynasty in enhancing the veneration of the Sufis in popular estimation. He built domes over the graves of several Sufis. There is hardly a Delhi sultan or Mughal ruler who did not have reverence for a deceased or living Sufi. In the regional kingdoms of Kashmir, Bengal, Jaunpur and Gujarat, too, sultans venerated Sufis and their shrines became places of royal and popular pilgrimage.

There is yet another dimension. The distinctive feature of the shrines of the Sufis is their creative expression of both transcendent and immanent ideals of Islam in forms that are local. The shrine is therefore a symbol of both Islamic unity and identity in the local context. It points to the versatile qualities of the converts in adapting their local needs and aspirations to Islam. Several old Buddhist and Hindu sites, after being converted into shrines and mosques by the converts, themselves contributed indigenous thematic elements to the new shrines and mosques. Still more important was the evolution of these institutions as centres interpreter, and enforcer of the *Shari'ah* as a social and moral code. Since in the Hindu-Buddhist environment of the subcontinent worship meant the performance of rituals in a shrine, a Sufi's aura converted the empty space of any mosque into a hub of popular devotion. It is no coincidence that in the great mosque of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani in Srinagar Kashmiri Muslims, after performing the prescribed prayers at appointed intervals in congregation, focus their rituals on the one-time abode of the Sufi in the corner of the mosque. Because a Sufi is near to God, the place sanctified by him, or the place where he is entombed, are both recognized as points of access to the spiritual realm. For the devotee of a Sufi, therefore, the 'Age of Bliss' is ever present and lasting. The human embodiments of bliss and grace, in their consciousness, do not stand aloof from them. The ways of realization, in all their purity, are still open to earnest seekers, provided they are ready to pass from disbelief to belief, from imitation to verification. Sufism consists, Hasan Lutfi Shushud says "in leaving metaphor for reality, in forsaking mere words in favour of direct experience. Such attainments call for talents of a high order, such as those that emerged over centuries among the Masters of Wisdom and their fellows of like disposition."[6] It is the lives of such rare individuals that this dictionary unfolds.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The rich spiritual and intellectual heritage of Sufism in India has attracted the attention of several historians. Among the pioneers are Mohammad Habib[7] and K.A. Nizami.[8] Several other scholars have devoted considerable attention to various facets of Sufism. Annemarie Schimmel[9] is an acknowledged authority on Sufism in South Asia. S.A.A.Rizvi's[10] prolific writings on the Muslim revivalist movements in northern India, on Shah Waliullah and Sufism, Yohanan Friedman's monograph on Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi,[11] Bruce Lawrence's work on mystic sources and conversions,[12] Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui's work on Sufism in the Sultanate[13] all point to the importance of Sufism in the history of India. Some regional studies also deserve notice.[14] Among these is Richard Maxwell Eaton's study on the Sufis of Bijapur.[15]

---

[6] *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, pp. 2-3.

It must, however, be pointed out at the outset that much of this work, by Western and Indian scholars, has been influenced by Orientalist categories of thought. The use of such expressions as "orthodox", "official", "popular", "folk" or "liberal" Islam is common. Not a few scholars, under the influence of Gustave Von Grunebaum's seminal study of modern Islam,[16] have sought to describe Sufism as a "cultural synthesis". Asim Roy, for example, holds the view that the so-called Great Tradition or high culture of Islam or, to use his own expression, "Islam in its Perso-Arabic attire" failed to elicit any meaningful response from the masses of Bengal.[17] In fact, long before Asim Roy, the doyen of Indian historians, Tara Chand, in his monumental work on the influence of Islam on Indian culture had emphasized the importance of the syncretic factor and the role of the Sufi and the Bhakti movements in the formation of an Indo-Muslim composite culture.[18] Aziz Ahmad too stressed the role of syncretism in Sufism.[19] It would not be a digression to observe that so indelible has been the influence of historical writings on Sufism on a sensitive Muslim anthropologist of international repute like Akbar S. Ahmad, that he too sought to discover Islam in the pigeonholes of Western models. This is shown in his overemphasis on the divide between "Orthodox" Islam and "Syncretist" Islam in his assessment of Aurangzeb, Dara-Shukoh, Zia-ul-Haque, and Z.A. Bhutto.[20]

Little wonder then that several vague notions have continued to persist in the historiography of "orthodox" Islam of the ulama and the "liberal" Islam of commoners wedded to shrines. For Instance, Ira Lapidus too draws a dichotomy between "the scripturalist form of Islam which stresses the importance of a complete knowledge of the law and the correct performance of ritual and social duties" and what he calls, "popular

---

[7] Mohammad Habib, *Life and Works of Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi* (Aligarh, 1927).

[8] K.A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh Chist*, 2 vols., Delhi: Idarah-i Adbiyat, 1980; 1984; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adbiyat, rpt. 1978); "Naqshbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics", *Islamic Culture*, 39 (1965); "The Shattari Saints and their attitude towards the State", *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, no. 2; "Khanqah in Medieval India", *Studia Islamica*, VIII (1957); "Mystic Ideas of Iran and their Impact on Sufi Thought and Traditions in India", in *State and Culture in Medieval India*, Delhi: Adam Publishers, 1985.

[9] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

[10] S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978, 1983).

[11] Yohanan Friedman, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, an Outline of his Thought and a Study of his Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1971).

[12] Bruce Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: Sufi Literature in Pre-Mughal India* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978; "Sufism and the History of Religions", *Studies in Islam*, vol. XVIII, nos. 3-4 (July/October 1981); "Islam in India: The function of Institutional Sufism in the Islamization of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kashmir", *Contributions to Asian Studies*, vol. XVII, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1982); "Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications", in *Beyond Turk and Hindu*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce Lawrence (Delhi: India Research Press, 2002).

[13] I.H. Siddiqui, "Resurgence of the Chisti Silsila in the Sultanate of Delhi during the Lodi Period, A.D. 1451-526", *Islam in India*, vol. 2, ed. Christian W. Troll (Delhi, 1985); "The Pir and Murid: A Case Study of the Sufis of Suhrawardi Silsilah in India during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. XXI, no. 3 (July-September 1998); "The Early Chisti Dargahs", *Muslim Shrines in India*, ed. Christian W. Troll (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[14] A.Q. Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir* (Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, n.d.); Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis* (Delhi: Manohar, 3rd edn. 2002).

[15] Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

[16] Gustave Von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (New York, 1964).

[17] Asim Roy, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[18] Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, 2nd edn. (Allahabad, 1963).

[19] Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[20] Akbar S. Ahmad, *Discovering Islam: Making a Sense of History* (Delhi: Vistaar, 1990).

Sufi Islam", the way of salvation that stresses "attachment to the Saint, who is the personal guide, the bearer of miraculous and magical powers [*sic*], the intercessor between men and God."[21]

That Lapidus sees Islam through the perceptions of a Westerner is amply borne out by his application of the Weberian theory to the historical experience of the Muslim people. Thus ". . . the mystical forms of religion yield immediate religious and emotional gratification, but the puritanical forms . . . which stress intellectual and emotional discipline, self and communal control of behaviour, inhibit ready emotional release."[22]

There is yet another element in modern writing on Sufism, the tendency to look at the past through the eyes of the present. Surprisingly, Annemarie Schimmel encapsulates Islam in two categories, "mystico-syncretistic" and "Prophetic-separatist" on the premise of the twentieth-century politics of the Muslims of the subcontinent. The former represents for her, the ethos of the syncretic culture of Indian Muslims, the latter the separatist ideology of the Muslims of Pakistan.[23] The purpose of this dictionary is, therefore, also, to find out whether the primary sources of Sufism represent 'liberal', 'secular', or 'eclectic' tendencies against an ulama who were the standard-bearers of the so-called Islamic "orthodoxy". I shall seek to bring to light certain inaccuracies, vague formulations, and superficial comparisons that are quite misleading. To begin with, it may be asked whether Schimmel's categorization is valid in the context of the strong ties of a great majority of the people in Pakistan (including erstwhile East Pakistan) to the shrines of the Sufis.[24]

Nothing is easier than to juxtapose selected Hindu and Muslim mystic ideas on the love of God. Without placing such seemingly identical ideas or, for that matter, even apparently similar modes of remembering God, in the contexts from which they draw their real meaning, modern scholars claim that the way of a seeker after the Truth in Hindu and Muslim mysticism is the same. Tara Chand, for instance, mistakenly likens the Sufi practice of reciting *zikr* aloud (*jali*) and mentally (*khafi*) to *pranayama*.[25] Nizami[26] and Rizvi[27] are of the opinion that the Sufis borrowed principles of control of breath, meditation and concentration from Hindu yogis. One wonders whether there is no scope for contemplative life in Islam from the standpoint of the Qur'an and the *Sunna*. As a matter of fact, it was the repeated Qur'anic emphasis on *zikr, taffakur* and *taddabur* that prompted some companions of the Prophet, known as *ashab-i suffa* (the people of the verandah), to devote themselves entirely to meditation. And yet Rizvi believes that the Sufi practice of breath control (*pas-i anfas*) was based on *pranayama*.[28] It is important to stress here that a sixteenth-century Kashmiri Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order, Baba Dawud Khaki, does not leave us in doubt about the fact that *pas-i anfas* is a prerequisite for purifying the heart. This involves remembering God both aloud and inwardly or mentally (in the context of the Qur'an), so that even a moment's forgetfulness does not sever the link between the Creator and the created.[29]

What is important to stress is that many of our historians, in order to lend support to the thesis of Hindu-Muslim synthesis in medieval India, tend to misrepresent certain facts about the place of Islamic and Hindu

---

21. Ira Lapidus, "Islam and the Historical Experience of Muslim Peoples", in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and its Problems*, ed. M.H. Kerr (California, 1980).
22. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958), see pp. 95-154.
23. Annemarie Schimmel, "Reflections on Popular Muslim Poetry", *Contribution to Asian Studies*, vol. XVII, Leiden: E.J., Brill, 1982, p. 18.
24. I observed this on a field survey conducted in Islamabad, Lahore, Hasan Abdal, Taxila and Rawalpindi in October 1995. I interviewed people representing the various strata of Pakistani society regarding their attitudes towards the Sufis and their shrines.
25. Tara Chand, op. cit., p. 82.
26. Nizami, op. cit.
27. Rizvi, op. cit., I, pp. 272, 341, 351, 353.
28. Eager to prove the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic mystic traditions, Rizvi remarks: "Yogic obstacles and stages correspond with those along the Sufi path. They are numbered differently; the four stages of the Sufi journey are *nasut, malakut, jabarut* and *lahut*. According to the Sufis of Ibn al-Arabi's school, *nasut* (human nature) is like a vessel which contains the *lahut* (divine nature)", op. cit., I, p. 369; Rizvi gives tacit approval to the misconception that the "lahut in the heart was identified with *anahata-cakra* of the Yogis," ibid., p. 353. Tara Chand's views are also misconceived: "The absolute God in His divinity (*lahut*) became in Adam God in Humanity (*nasut*). Mansur conceived of the relation of God with man as the infusion of the divine into the human soul; in Hindu terms, the illumination of *buddhi* by *Purusa*", op. cit., pp. 70-1. For a detailed argument that *nasut, malakut, jabarut* and *lahut* merely represent the mystic idea of four spheres of existence, see Ishaq Khan, op. cit., pp. 119-20.
29. Baba Daud Khaki, *Rishinama*, f. 33a.

spirituality within their religious domains. Perhaps S. Radhakrishnan's observations are relevant to our discussion:

> To obliterate every other religion than one's own is a sort of bolshevism in religion which we must try to prevent. We can do so only if we accept something like the Hindu solution, which seeks the unity of religion not in a common creed but in a common quest.[30]

A saying of the Prophet (*Hadis*), mostly quoted in the Sufi literature,[31] puts the mystical or the human yearning to know God in perspective. "The ways guiding towards Allah are equivalent to the breath of the whole creation." An attempt, therefore, that seeks to define the unity of two different religious traditions on the basis of a false analogy is bound to distort our notion of the history of Sufism. A mystic's living experience and the language he uses are fundamentally unique. Scholars have not given serious thought to each mystic's union with God and the personal synthesis he achieved. More important, no attempt has been made to expound the precise meaning of the expressions used by the mystics of each religion. These are wrongly interpreted in order to lend intellectual support to the secular ideology of the Indian state.

The persistence of application of the syncretic model in the historiography is, indeed, attributable to the evolution of a composite Indian culture. This is believed to be the result of long centuries of Islamic presence in India. Tara Chand, an enlightened historian, promoted the cause of national integration on the syncretic model. While research in that direction has proliferated over the years, it is worthwhile to know whether, taking into account the *tazkira* and *malfuz* literature, syncretism is a valid category. There is little doubt that in the biographies of the Sufis a number of diverse mystical traditions intersect. It will be seen that an old tradition sometimes becomes the medium of communication of new ideas. This should not, however, prompt students to study Sufism within the framework of religious syncretism. I have elsewhere shown that syncretism is just a stage in the process of religious conversion, not the culmination of the process. Here I may refer to my own research *vis-à-vis* a critical evaluation of the biographies related to the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir. True, this work demonstrates the continuity (or the resurgence) of the principal regional legendary themes, related to pre-Islamic mysticism, in Sufism. The principal representative of this tendency was Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi, the founder of the indigenous Sufi order of Rishis in Kashmir. He describes the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of Allah upon him) as the first Rishi in order to give social authenticity to the most common ancient word for an anchorite. But his attempt to trace the family tree of some popular legendary Rishis of the Valley, such as Miran, Rum, Pilas and Zulka, to the Prophet of Islam should not be misconceived as reconciliation of the Hindu and Muslim mysticism. Rather, it needs to be understood as a way of invoking a spiritual ascendancy in the remote past that culminated in his person. By making Islam respond to the social mores of the Kashmiri people Nuruddin enabled it to develop a resilient tradition of its own. In order to save the Rishi tradition from going into oblivion, he sought to revive it not only by giving it an Islamic content, but, also, by allowing his followers (mostly converts from Buddhism and Hinduism) to retain the essential elements of ancient popular Kashmiri religious culture, e.g. meditation in caves, celibacy, vegetarianism, etc.

That some analogous trends between the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir and their counterparts in Hindu mysticism have led many modern scholars to describe the Rishi movement as syncretic in character is reflected in the writings of Rizvi, Rafiqi, and Lawrence.[32] The latter, in fact, describes the Rishi movement as "marginally Muslim" and compares it with the Bhakti movement. True, there are similarities between the Rishi and the Bhakti movements, but these are often deceptive; moreover, the devotional language of the former unlike that of Bhakti, did not lead to the emergence of religious sects in Kashmir. On the other hand, Nuruddin's pervasive Sufi poetry, despite the use of numerous Sanskrit words, was one of the finest and systematic expositions of the *Tauhidic Weltanschauung* at the level of regional manifestation. What is, therefore, remarkable about Nuruddin's role as a Sufi missionary is that, in spite of his being an apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity, he did not fail to visualize the risk of Islam being swamped by the ancient religion of Kashmiris, and took special care to urge them to mould their personal life in accordance with the ethics of the *Shari'ah*.

---

[30] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 12.

[31] See Ishaq Khan, op. cit., Appendix E.

[32] Lawrence, "Lectures on Sufism", op. cit., p. 139.

Attention may be drawn to yet another fallacy that describes Nuruddin as a votary of religious syncretism. This concerns his eulogization of the wandering Kashmiri Shaivite woman mystic of the fourteenth century, Lal Ded, as an *avatara*. What Nuruddin aims to convey by way of the eulogy of a woman is a social rather than merely spiritual fact. He was trying to glorify her role as a rebel against the social inequalities of her age in Brahmanic society. Briefly speaking, Lal Ded, in the estimation of Nuruddin and, indeed, in the context of the Hindu scriptures, wanted that man should become "more of a man" and swim across darkness into light.

Little wonder, then, that the intriguing silence of the Sanskrit chroniclers of Kashmir about Lal Ded calls in question not only the value of eyewitness accounts, but also the authenticity of historical records. Her eulogization as *avatara* contributed a great deal to her romanticization, so much so that in the hagiographies of the Sufis of the Suhrawardiyya order she has been described in glowing terms as a Sufi woman.[33]

The role of the Hindu-Buddhist environment in prompting the Sufis to use the vocabulary of the Sanskrit scriptures for the dissemination of spiritual and social teachings of Islam was considerable. This is why Sufism as a movement stood in striking contrast to the mystic movements in Hinduism in medieval India. It may be tempting to describe the Bhakti movement as the off-spring of a marriage between Hinduism and Islam to some extent. But it would be nothing short of an intellectual disaster to minimize the differences between Hindu and Muslim mysticisms in the interests of national integration. I am conscious of the fact that a fundamental differentiation would eliminate all possibility of comparisons. Yet I believe that notwithstanding certain similarities, an unqualified use of the comparative framework will only blur our perspective.

Rizvi gives tacit approval to the view that the Bhakti reformer Kabir, "like an Uwaisi Sufi", was "mystically initiated by God". A superficial observer may accept this analogy as valid, but a serious student of Sufism would find it difficult to accept the term 'Uwaisi'. I would not have objected to Rizvi's reasonings, had Kabir, like some Sufis, used Uwais in legitimizing his own position and point of view. The existence of Uwais in Sufi literature—which furnishes an additional significant datum for understanding a much more profound esoteric dimension of Islam—has always signified spiritual knowledge directly obtained from the spirit of Prophet Muhammad. Rizvi's analogies are bound to distort our vision of both Sufism and the Bhakti movement. These two parallel movements in medieval India, when studied in depth, point to a conclusion that differs from those of Tara Chand and Rizvi. It is in this context, therefore, that I venture to suggest the need to examine the indelible impact of Bhakti reformers in inculcating Hindu beliefs and practices among lower sections of Hindu society. The purpose is not to suggest that the Bhakti movement emerged as a challenge to Islam in India. Rather, it is to point out the contribution of Bhakti reformers within the sphere of their religious communities.[34]

The most important concept of Sufism that has caught the attention of modern scholars is the unity of existence, *wahdatu'l-wujud*. Although the task of defining such a concept in historical terms is not justifiable, Rizvi seeks to promote its understanding against the background of what he calls "the broad compatibility of Ibn al-'Arabi's philosophy with Shi'i beliefs."[35] That the most dominant trend in his writing is his oversimplified convictions about *wujudi* and *shuhudi* experiences is particularly reflected in his assessment of the role of the Kubrawiyya and the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya orders. Both, in his view, were intolerant because of the impact of *shuhudi* ideas. Notwithstanding the importance of these terms in conceptualizing Sufism, they represent only one aspect of the mystic condition as a whole. Sufism would become more intelligible to us if we would realize that Sufis have always respected the axiom that strict adherence to *tauhid* and *Shari'ah* alone can reveal mystical truth (*Haqiqa*). If in following such a way the Sufis have had certain inward experiences, these were subjective experiences; none of these can be described in absolute terms or as having universal validity. From a strictly Sufi viewpoint, both experiences merely reflect the transitory inner condition of the mystical soul; hence an historian attempting to explain Sufism as a "psycho-historical phenomenon" can seldom do justice to his subject when he makes mystical experiences absolute categories of analysis. A mystic experience is, after all, subjective and invisible. To explain the *wahdatu'l-wujud* and *wahdatu'l-shuhud* in rational or historical terms *vis-à-vis* the supposed religious tolerance and intolerance of the Sufis is nothing short of an outrage committed both on Sufism and history.

---

[33] See also Ishaq Khan, "Impact of Islam on Kashmir in the Sultanate Period, 1320-1586", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23, 2 (1986).

[34] Ishaq Khan, "Sufism in Indian History", in *Muslim Shrines in India*, ed. Troll (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[35] Rizvi, op. cit., I, p. 250.

Sufism does indeed represent the influence of Hindu and Buddhist spirituality. But to say that these influences presented a synthesis as compact as the unity of Hinduism and Islam is nothing short of absurdity. Had religious synthesis been the cultural movement moulding the course of medieval Indian history, the Sufis themselves would not have throughout felt the need for reform within the bounds of the Qur'an and the *Sunna*. Sufism, on the other hand, created an ambience for the diffusion of Islamic teachings in India in the form of *khanqahs* and the *madrasas* attached to them. From an Islamic vantage point, i.e. adherence to the Qur'an and the *Sunna*, the influence of Sufism was not marginal. No less important was the influence of Sufism on the development of *Hadis* literature in India. In this respect the contribution of the Sufis was enormous. Among them must be particularly mentioned Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, his son and successor, Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq (d. 1073/1663). Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz compiled an Arabic commentary on a famous work on *Hadis* under the title *Mashariqu'l-Anwar*. Nor did the Sufis lag behind the ulama in respect of the knowledge of *Fiqh*. The fact of the matter is that some leading ulama of their time turned to be the ardent adherents of Sufism during the course of their attempts at testing the knowledge of some venerable Sufis of jurisprudence. Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, for example, who had little faith in Sufism, became a disciple of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya only after receiving convincing answers from the Shaikh on the issues related to a well-known work of Sunni jurisprudence, known as the *Hidaya*. Likewise, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din, who had expert knowledge of the *Usul al-Bazdawi*, a work related to *Fiqh*, was impressed by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's profound understanding of jurisprudence. Enrolling as the disciple of the Chistiyya Shaikh, the Maulana preferred to consecrate himself to the cause of spreading knowledge at the *jama'at-khana* rather than devote himself to worldly pursuits. As he was an acknowledged Sufi scholar and a senior *khalifa* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, Muhammad bin Tughluq ordered him to go to Kashmir to preach in the temples there. The order, however, was not implemented, owing to the Maulana's refusal and the death of the Sultan a few days later. The basis of dialogue between Islam and Indian religions was, therefore, laid more on the spiritual and social ethics of the Qur'an and the *Sunna* than on such modern seductive concepts such as "liberal", "secular", or "syncretic" values.

Sufism has its own categories and a vocabulary capable of embracing different concepts without diluting the message of discovering the self through constant struggle against its snares. Discovering the self is an area which is by no means the exclusive monopoly of Sufism. Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian ascetics have generally been found to follow a more rigorous code than the Sufis for gaining inner illumination. It is another matter that renunciatory practices of some Sufis often raised the anger of the standard-bearers of the *Shari'ah* against them. This way of discovering God did not follow the *Sunna* in the strictest sense. What prompts a Sufi to embrace asceticism to the point of ignoring the *Shari'ah* apparently is not his bias against the law. Such a development certainly reflects his attitude against dogmatization of the *Shari'ah*. We realize on a closer study of Sufism that each Sufi is free to make his own philosophic and religious choices in spite of his outward or inward adherence to the *Shari'ah* or even affiliation to any of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence. This point may be illustrated by one significant example from Kashmiri sources given propensity of historians to equate the *Sharia*-mindedness of the ulama or even the Sufis with either "intolerance" or "orthodoxy".

Baba Dawud Mishkati, a leading jurist of the seventeenth century, does not hesitate to record his reactions to the seemingly syncretistic belief of his spiritual *guru*, Baba Nasibuddin Ghazi, himself a Suhrawardiyya Sufi of impeccable integrity. He writes that his *pir*, in spite of his *Shari'ah* orientation, often visited the cremation places of the Hindus and offered prayers there for the departed souls. Such a practice did cause serious concern to his contemporaries. And when once, Mishkati plucked up courage to voice his doubts Baba Nasib replied: "Whatever I see is beyond your vision. Many souls of such persons as outwardly died Hindus appear to me as those of believers. And some of these souls even say (to me): 'Your blessings lessen our tortures'. So, I feel pleasure in doing this beneficence."[36]

---

[36] See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*.

The degree of liberty enjoyed by some Sufis does not denote freedom from the religious law. It is in essence an important stage in the spiritual evolution of the Sufis. This personal, spiritual, gnosticism of the Sufi is not the whole of Sufism or Islam but an understanding of the esoteric dimension of religion by way of personal experience in contrast to outward adherence to the law.

My examination of the Sufi biographies and *malfuzat* reveals the supposed dichotomy between Sufism and the religious law to be an artificial one. Long before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, Shaikh 'Ali Hujweri raised his legitimate protest against the distortions and aberrations of Sufism. What is important to stress, regarding his authoritative work, is that he nowhere regards ascetics and gnostics to be anti-*Shari'ah*. For him Sufism is rooted in the *Shari'ah*. His understanding of the *Shari'ah* is not literal but profoundly embedded in the esoteric dimension of the Qur'an. *Shari'ah* is not therefore mere outward conformity to the law of religion. It is essentially gnosis, that is, a matter of knowledge.[37] It is a matter of recognizing and discovering, through initiation and depth understanding of the Qur'an, the concealed meaning of the revealed text. To comprehend the Qur'an is to free the soul from the chains of dogma or ideology; this is salvation by knowledge. Salvation consists not only in adhering to the knowledge of faith in the revealed text but also being united through it with God in love.[38] The aim of knowledge and love thus engages the whole life of a Sufi. The basis of the Sufi discourse was not just love of God, but also a concern for the poor. There is hardly a *malfuzat* or *tazkira* that does not attest to the Sufis' concern for the destitute and the poor. The dialogue thus established and carried out between Sufism and the common people was not simply a matter of "holy-man Islam".[39] Eaton skillfully endeavours to explain the adhesion of commoners to Islam through "syncretic devotionalism". For the latter it is not what he calls "Orthodox Islam", but "the living tradition of folk Islam", sustained by the *dargahs* of Sufis, "that has remained responsive to the needs of many." [40] Eaton's analysis of the folk traditions with reference to the Deccani Sufism is brilliant but it must be stressed that "folk-Islam" was only a transitional phase in the conversion process, not an end in itself. We should not, therefore, read in the Sufi reform or revitalization movements those concepts and trends of thought that are alien to it. Is not the tendency to study such movements in terms of binary oppositions, "orthodox", "liberal", objectionable? Let me illustrate the point with reference to the movement for Sufi reform led by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

Rizvi describes the role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in terms of "orthodox Sunni revivalism" and "Puritanism".[41] His constant harping on such terms perpetuates the myth of the hostility of "Sunni Islam" towards Hindus and Shias. True, some *maktubat* of Sirhindi contain remarks derogatory to the Hindus. But what needs to be emphasized is that his views about Hindus merely show that he was conditioned, as Friedman aptly observes, more by his context than the development of his own ideas.[42] Taken as a whole, Sirhindi's writings are marked by breadth of mystic vision and outlook than inbred hostility towards Hindus. Thus in a letter Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi observes: "The Muslims should follow their religion and the Hindus should follow their religious ways. The Qur'anic verse: 'For you your religion and for me my religion' illustrates this."[43] His ideas about the reprehensible innovations (*bid'a*), unlike the movement of Muhammad bin 'Abdu'l-Wahhab of Arabia, did not have political overtones. Considering that the world had sunk in heresy and innovation, he urged Muslims to look to the Prophet as the fountainhead of all spiritual guidance and inspiration. It is another matter that Sirhindi's role has been misinterpreted by Pakistani historians to lend intellectual support to the ideology of Pakistan.[44]

Significantly, Sirhindi's Hindu contemporaries seem to have had a better perception of his role than do modern scholars. Thus, Shaikh Badiuddin Saharanpuri, who visited Gosain Jadrup, the most celebrated of the Hindu yogis during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, tells us that the yogi acknowledged the spiritual greatness of Sirhindi. But when asked why he did not become a disciple of Sirhindi, Gosain retorted that a

---

37. Sayyid 'Ali Hujweri, '*Kashaf al-Mahjub.*
38. See Ishaq Khan, *Experiencing Islam* (Delhi: Sterling; Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997).
39. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 22.
40. R.M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 134-45, 174, 201, 281, 296.
41. Rizvi, op. cit.,
42. Friedman, op. cit., p. 2.
43. *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, I, p. 65.
44. Ishtiyaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent.*

perfect yogi like himself barely needed anybody's advice in spiritual matters.[45] That the representation of the role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his descendants as puritans, orthodox, separatists in some modern works is only the outworn shibboleth of the past is further shown by the reverence of Rai Sunath Singh Baidar for Shaikh Muhammad Zubair Sirhindi. It is remarkable that he attributes his fame as a poet to the blessings of the Sufi in these words:[46]

در ابتدائے مشق چند قطعہ تاریخ تولد از نظر کرامت اثر قطب الاقطاب محبوب بارگاہ صمدی
حضرت شیخ محمد زبیر سرہندی و آں خواجہ امام العارفین علیہم الرحمۃ گذشتہ مقبول طبع مقدس و موجب
بشارت قبول و اشتہار گردید

Thomas Dahnhardt focuses on the evolution of the Indian lineage of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order of Sufism as an example of the strong spiritual symbiosis between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Having made a field study of the Hindu and Muslim representations of the Naqshbandiyya lineage, he describes the emergence, rules, and methodology of the Hindu offshoot of the Mujaddidiyya along with the creation of regional sub-Hindu branches.[47]

None of this, however, promoted *religious* syncretism in India. True, Sufism in India benefited from the selective appropriation of features from Hinduism and Buddhism; but such a process harmonized the religious differences not necessarily into a syncretic religion or philosophy but a secular culture of diverse hues (Sindhi, Kashmiri, Bengali, Hindustani and so on). It is thus *culture* and not religion that represents a synthesis, a happy mingling of varied things in such a manner that the combination has an individuality of its own.

What gave a unique culture to Sindh, Kashmir, and Bengal was their early contact with Sufism marked by compassion, love, and poetry. This fact, indeed, led to the strange but creative intermingling of indigenous mystic elements with Sufism during the periods of its historical evolution. However, what needs not to be ignored at the expense of historical objectivity is the primary role played by Sufism in introducing Islam as a religion of divine love both at the individual and the societal level. Significantly, a letter authored by Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani describes Bengal as the chief Sufi centre in the Islamic world. He refers to the tombs of seventy important *khalifas* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi in Devagaon. Some other Suhrawardiyya tombs in Mahisun (or Mahasthan), in the Bogra district and those of the Jalaliyya order in Devatalla are mentioned by him. He also bears testimony to the pride of the people of Narkoti for the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad of Damascus. Ashraf Jahangir also mentions the tomb of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Abu Tawwama.[48] Notwithstanding lack of further information in the source material about the role of the Suhrawardiyya Sufis during the earlier phase of Islam in Bengal, it must be emphasized that Sufism had developed strong roots there, thanks to the large number of disciples of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi and members of the Jalaliyya branch that he founded.

Significantly, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, who had travelled along with Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, notwithstanding his roots in the Sha'fite traditions of the Islamic law, revitalized the Hanafite traditions earlier introduced in Kashmir by Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din. Historically, Sayyid Ali did not leave Kashmir without making a considerable social impact. During his brief stay in the Valley, lasting less than a year,[49] he interacted with Sultan Qutbuddin, nobles, a Brahman ascetic, his Muslim followers, and sundry Brahmans. His contemporary biographer, Nuruddin Badakshi, does not refer to his missionary activities in the Valley, but Sayyid Ali's letters do give us an idea of his role in the Valley. In one letter, written in all humility, Sayyid Ali presents a sad picture of contemporary adherents of Islam in contrast to Muslims of the first century hijra (*suhaba* and *taabin*). He implicitly points to the ulamas' failure to captivate the hearts of non-Muslims by setting an example and exalts the true Brahman and his idol to such an extent that he versifies his sentiments thus:

---

[45] *Hazarat al-Qudus*, II, p. 287.

[46] Quoted in Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p. 259.

[47] Thomas Dahnhardt, *Change and Continuity in Indian Sufism: A Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Branch in the Hindu Environment* (Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2002).

[48] *Maktubat-i Ashrafiyya*, see letter of the author, Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi.

[49] Amin Ahmad Razi (*Haft Iqlim*, f. 93a) is the only author to state that the Sayyid stayed in the Valley for forty days. However, it appears that the Sayyid stayed there for less than a year. See for a detailed discussion on this issue, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 67.

> If the Brahman peeps into my (inner) condition,
> he will turn me out of his sight;
> In that he would not allow a wicked man like me to
> present myself before the idol.[50]

Sayyid Ali's praise for the Brahman and his idol can be understood only in the context of the sultans' respect for the religious beliefs of their subjects, not as a fusion of Hindu and Muslim thought. The letter was written in the wake of Sayyid Ali's departure from the Valley; so it is more than an advice to the ruler whom he had enrolled as his disciple. Since new converts were bound to follow in the footsteps of their ruler, it was therefore necessary to revitalize the Sultan's consciousness of *tawhid*, *Shari'ah* and *haqiqa*. What further necessitated the renewal of such consciousness was the challenge to the somewhat nascent faith of the sultan and his Muslim subjects faced in the polytheistic environment of the region. Significantly, Sayyid Ali does not dub the Brahman but his self as *kafir*. In the true manner of the Sufi, the Sayyid is critical of the Brahman's baser self (*nafs-i kafir*) rather than of his belief in God. It is the Brahman's outward faith in the idol as a seeker after the truth that elicits the Sayyid's praise. But then he expounds his argument in the light of the general tendency of the self (*nafs*) to follow such people as have been led astray by their own ignorance. What is therefore necessary is to dispel the mist of ignorance through the recognition of ones own self. Sayyid Ali further advises the Sultan to repent for his sins and invoke the help of the Creator (rather than the created), so that Allah's mercy envelops him.[51]

While the thrust of the message is self-discovery through repentance, God recognition through self-realization and self-regeneration through observation, in another letter the Sultan is advised to fulfil his duties towards his subjects on the basis of equity and justice. Not only is the government expected to play a reformatory role within the encompassing limits of the *Shari'ah* to maintain balance in social life between the privileged (*khas*) and commoners (*'am*), it is also obligatory on it to protect the weak against the strong.[52] Sayyid Ali's concern for the *Shari'ah* in the context of a medley of religious beliefs is particularly evident in his instruction to the Sultan to prevent transgression of its limits in a state of ignorance or darkness (*zulmat*) and innovation (*bid'at*).[53] It is against this background that the importance of the mission of the prophets and ulama is brought home to the Sultan. Significantly, the Sayyid does not teach blind adherence to *Shari'ah*, but regards the judicious use of reason (*aql*) as the guiding principle for creating *Shari'ah* consciousness in order to distinguish humans from animals for the greater good of mankind.[54]

A careful examination of Sayyid Ali's letters brings home to us their spiritual and social purport. He did not stand for the radical Islamization of Kashmiri society but for the diffusion of *tawhidic* and *Shari'ah* consciousness among the commoners through the example set by the elite. That Islam in Kashmir owed a great deal to his concern for human welfare can hardly be denied.

It is obvious that the historical role of the Sufis did not lie in liberalizing or modernizing "Orthodox Islam" but in introducing ethics into the life of the individual as well as in structuring individual and collective Muslim identities as embodiments of spiritual and social stability. The way in which the abodes of the Sufis became holy places suggests a wider Muslim identity. Numerous temples and mosques/shrines would not have flourished through centuries past had not men and women belonging to two different faiths learnt to live separately together while accepting and respecting differences.

---

[50] Saiyid Ali Hamadani, *Maktubat*, RPD 1600, 1966, f. 26b. See also *Risala-i 'Uqbat* (quoted in Muhammad Riyaz, *Ahwal-u Athar wa Ash'ar Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani*, Islamabad, 1985, p. 58. For Professor Shamsuddin's Urdu translation of the letters, see *Danish*, vol. VI (Department of Persian, Kashmir University, n.d.), pp. 6-22.

[51] Ibid.

[52] See *Danish*, VI, pp. 10-11; also *Dhakhirat al-Muluk*, p. 166.

[53] Ibid.; Muhammad Riyaz, op. cit., p. 54.

[54] *Danish*, VI, p. 10.

A a

‘Abd: slave, servant; *‘abduhu* signifies ‘His’ (Allah’s) slave, term for the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of Allah be upon him), based on *surah* 17/1 of the Qur’an, where reference is made to his night journey to heaven. The allusion to this significant story of the Prophet’s ascension (*mi‘raj*) is “a fitting prelude to the journey of the human soul in its religious growth in life. The first steps in such growth must be through moral conduct—the reciprocal rights of parents and children, kindness to our fellow-men, courage and firmness in the hour of danger, a sense of moral responsibility, and a sense of Allah’s Presence through prayer and praise.” Considering that the Prophet was called*‘abdahu* during *mir‘aj* this word indicates that such servanthood is the highest possible rank man can reach. Thus obedience to Allah and the Prophet is the hallmark of the servants of Allah (*‘ibad*), the term reserved for the pious and the believer.

The phrase ‘*ibad al-Rahman* or the servants of Most Gracious used in *surah* 25/63-74 conveys the idea of a much more complete surrender to Allah than worship (‘*ibada*) in a ritualistic sense. The true servants, in fact, are enjoined to pray for the maintenance of Allah’s moral code (*Shari‘ah*) as exemplars of belief and conduct with a deeper sense of personal and social responsibility. Their virtues are enumerated in the aforementioned *surah*: “(1) they are humble and forbearing to those below them in spiritual worth; (2) they are constantly, by adoration, in touch with Allah; (3) they always remember the Judgment in the Hereafter; (4) they are moderate in all things; (5) they avoid treason to Allah, to their fellow-creatures, and to themselves; (6) they give a wide berth not only to falsehood but to futility; (7) they pay attention, both in mind and manner, to the Signs of their Lord; (8) their amibition is to bring up their families in righteousness and to lead in all good.”

‘Allama Yusuf ‘Ali describes these virtues as a“fine code of individual and social ethics, a ladder of spiritual development, open to all.”

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the foundations of the main orders of Sufism rest on such essential qualities of individuals. Some Sufis, including generally the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir, did not marry; but what needs to be stressed is that in their teachings social obligations towards children, the wife and other members of a family and the society at large appear as the most important duties enshrined in the *Shari‘ah* of Muhammad. Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi Kashmiri, for example, who, at the early stage of his spiritual career, spent a good deal of time in the forest and in caves, emphasized that physical seclusion associated with asceticism, however useful it may be in the inculcation of self-discipline, does not make up its essence. Rather, it lies in emulating the example of the Prophet Muhammad as a true *‘abd* of Allah: “There are jackals and monkeys in the forests; The caves are infested with rats; Those who offer prayers five times a day to wash off the dirt of their heart; Those who lead a family life, they are privileged. A dutiful householder will be crowned (with success on the Day of Judgement); The messenger of Allah (Muhammad) led a marital life and won the Divine grace.”

‘Allama Yusuf ‘Ali, *The Holy Qur’an*, English tr. with commentary.

M. Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir’s Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis*, 3rd edn., Delhi, 2002, pp. 133-4.

Abdal: substitutes, pl. of badal. Certain persons by whom, it is said, God continues the world in existence. Their number is seventy, of whom forty reside in Syria, and thirty elsewhere. When one dies another takes his place, being so appointed by God. It is one of the last days that the *Abdal* will come from Syria (*Mishkat*). Although *abdals* can be rarely identified, it is related by Mulla ‘Abdu’l-Wahid Lahori that once his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, showed immense respect to an old vegetable vendor during his stay at Lahore. On being asked the reason for his reverence for the apparently average commoner, the Mujaddid answered that the visitor was not an ordinary person but an *abdal*.

Mishkat, xxii, c.3.

Zubdatu’l-Maqamat, quoted in *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Urdu tr. Maulana Muhammad Sa‘id Ahmad Naqshband, Deoband, 1988, pp. 307-8n.

'Abdu'l-Ahad, Shaikh: Son of the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id, he died in 1142/1729-30.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 9.

'Abdu'l-Awwal, Mir Saiyid: Born in Gulbarga and educated in Daulatabad, he was the son of 'Ala'u'l-Hasani. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, he was initiated into the Chistiyya order by a descendant of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz. His father originally lived in the town of Zaidpur in Jaunpur and migrated to Gulbarga. Among his several works of both literary and religious merit may be mentioned the *Faiz al-Bari*, a commentary on al-Bukhari's *Sahih*, the *Ma'rifaht-i Nafs*, *al-Sair wa'l-Suluk* and a commentary on the *Futuhat al-Makkiya*. The latter was an attempt to promote a better understanding of Ibn 'Arabi's views. He also compiled an abridged version of a book on *Hadis* originally titled *Safar al-Sa'ada* or *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim* by Majdu'd-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi (b. 729/1329 at Kazirun, d. 817/1414 at Zabid) in Gujarat in 941/1534. At the invitation of the Khan-i Khanan Bairam Khan, he lived in Delhi until his death in 968/1561.

Akhba'r'ul-Akhyar, pp. 253-4.

'Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shah: Born on 25 Ramazan 1159/11 October 1746, he was the son of Shah Waliu'llah. He received early education in the exalted intellectual environment of his father's seminary. After Wali'ullah's death, Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz continued his study under some of his father's distinguished disciples like Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashi and Shah Muhammad Amin.

Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz lived at a time when Delhi was looted by the Jats, the Marathas and the Sikhs. For some time he took refuge in Muradabad with his family and followers, but later returned to his ancestral home in Delhi. Some of his ancestral property was restored to him when the East India Company seized Delhi and its region in 1803. His followers were offered high offices in the British educational and judicial administration.

In spite of the political turmoil, Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz continued the spiritual and social mission of his father. He was critical of the sinful ways that had crept into Indo-Muslim society, including animal sacrifices at the tombs of the Sufis. He compiled a Qur'anic exegesis, re-interpreted the *Hadis* and discussed Sunni-Shi'i polemics in his several works.

Although a follower of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz considered the differences between the adherents of this concept as against the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* to be similar to those in the four schools of *Fiqh*. He used the analogy of the rays of the sun for expounding his argument on both the concepts. Notwithstanding the fact that "rays fall on both pure and impure objects, they remain pure and unpolluted. What some regarded as a difference was in fact related to the understanding of priorities." Explaining the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* he pointed out that during the day "the sun's rays reduced the stars to invisibility, giving the impression that the stars no longer existed. In the final stage of Sufic progression one would see both the sun and the stars just as did those who followed the *Wahdat al-Wujud*." The *Tawhid* of the school of the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, in the words of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, was concerned only with vision and sight. However, he added that "a lack of understanding of the real meaning of the exponents of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* made many Wujudiyyas irreligious and antinomian".

Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz died on 7 Shawwal 1239/5 June 1824.

'Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shah, *Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, Meerut, 1314/1896-7.

——*Fatawa-i Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, Delhi, 1311/1893-4.

——*Fathu'l-'Aziz* or *Tafsir-i 'Azizi*, Delhi, n.d., Urdu tr., Karachi, 1977-8.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 259-60.

'Abdu'l-Aziz, Shaikh: The son of Hasan Tahir of Jaunpur, he obtained spiritual training from Miyan Qazi Khan and was in complete harmony with such basic Chistiyya beliefs as trust in God and practices as self-mortification. Later, he benefited from the company of the learned Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari ibn Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari. From Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari he not only took lessons on the *Fususu'l-Hikam*, but also initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order. His quest for spiritual knowledge led to his initiation into the Qadiriyya order as well, this at the hands of Saiyid Ibrahim Iraji. A paragon of esoteric and exoteric learning, the Shaikh earned a great name during his lifetime because of his humility, maturity, patience, endurance, submission, and concern and compassion for commoners. He was a passionate lover of *qawwali* and died in 975/1567 in a state of ecstasy while reciting the Qur'anic verse: "So glory to Him in Whose Hands is the dominion of all things: And to Him will ye be all brought back” (36/83).

‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis, *Akhbaru’l-Akhyar*, Delhi, 1914; Urdu tr. Maulana Iqbalu’d-Din Ahmad, Karachi, 1963 p. 471. Henceforth *Akhbaru’l-Akhyar* (U).

Ma‘ariju’l-Wilayat (R), ff. 327b.

Shah Waliu’llah, *Anfasu’l-’Arifin*, Delhi, 1315/1897; Urdu translation by Saiyid Muhammad Farooq al-Qadiri, Deoband, 4th edn., not dated, pp. 350-2. Henceforth *Anfasu’l-’Arifin* (U).

‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz, Shaikh: The son of Shaikh Hamidu’d-Din. Nothing is known about him beyond the fact of his death following an ecstatic experience during the course of *qawwali* at his home. The verse recited by the *qawwal* is quoted by Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis: “*Jan bedeh, jan bedeh, jan bedeh; fa’ida guftan bisyar cheest* (Surrender, surrender, surrender your self. What is the use of saying something more?)”.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), pp. 142-3.

‘Abdu’l-Baqi Kubrawi, Baba: The son of Baba Muhammad Safi. Shah Husain Pakhli initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order. His longing to visit the tomb of Mir Saiyid ‘Ali Hamadani in Kolab could not be fulfilled as a result of the roadblock caused by bad weather. However, he performed *hajj* and returned to Kashmir after seven years in the holy land.

‘Abdu’l-Baqi’s date of death is not known, though he died at the age of 50 and lies buried near the mausoleum of Baba Waali.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (U), pp. 444-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 323.

‘Abdu’l-Gani, Shaikh: Belonged to Bada’un. At a very young age, he migrated to Delhi where the governor, Tatar Khan (d. 986/1578-9), gave him a minor position. He was fond of *sama‘*. Often, unable to control himself in a state of ecstasy, he finally decided to give up the imperial service. Consequently, Delhi’s distinguished Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz (d. 975/1567), initiated him into the Chistiyya order. For several years Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Gani devoted himself to teaching, though later he took to the path of renunciation and asceticism by secluding himself in one of Delhi’s mosques. Such was his spiritual status that Mirza ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Khan-i Khanan called at his *khanqah* in 1003/1594-5. When the redoubtable Mughal noble beseeched him to render some advice, the ascetic urged him to strictly obey the laws of the *Shari‘ah*.

The date of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Gani’s death is not known; he probably died after AD 1595.

Muntakhabu’t-Tawarikh, p. 12.

‘Abdu’l-Ghafur’ Azampuri, Shaikh: A *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Quddus (d. 944/1537).

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), p. 384.

‘Abdu’l-Ghafur, Baba: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. Little is known about him except that he dedicated his life to Sufism.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 385.

‘Abdu’l-Ghafur, Baba: The grandson of Baba ‘Abdu’llah Narwari, early in life he went to Multan and, after meeting with several Sufis, ultimately became the disciple of Data Bu ‘Ali Qalandar. As a result of the latter’s spiritual guidance, ‘Abdu’l-Ghafur began to exercise considerable influence in Multan, so much so that the *hakim* of Multan became his disciple.

Bu ‘Ali Qalandar authorized Baba ‘Abdu’l-Ghafur to enrol disciples in Kashmir and on reaching there settled at Dacchan. After some time he married and, although his state was that of a *mazjub*, he continued to guide people in the Path. He did not apparently offer the prescribed prayers or observe fasts.

Known for his miracles, Baba ‘Abdu’l-Ghafur died on 26 Safar 1105/14 October 1693. His tomb is in the village of Piran in the *pargana* of Dachunpur.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 316-17.

‘Abdu’l-Ghafur Burhanpuri, Shaikh: A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu’llah (d. 1029/1620), an eminent Chistiyya Sufi of Burhanpur. Like his spiritual master, ‘Abdu’l-Ghafur committed himself to a strict adherence to the *Shari‘ah* and the suppression of sinful innovations (*bid‘a*). An ascetic as well as a philanthropist to the core, his explanation of subtleties of Sufism was perspicacious. He composed a Persian commentary on Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu’llah’s *Al-Tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh al-Nabi* (q.v.) and sought to reconcile the beliefs of theologians and Sufis. His attempt to subtly bring home to both Sufis and theologians that there was no conflict between the Sufis and the ulama was laudable. While the former regarded God as the creator of the universe, the latter believed in a relationship between Being and universe without the two being united. Being and universe, as the manifestation of Being, always remained one with another in small parts and in their entirety. But God as Omnipotent was simultaneously transcendent. According to the Shaikh, an extraordinarily cultivated faith harmonized the association and dissocia- tion between God and man. He denounced persons, overwhelmed by their mystic intuition, as heretics and unbelievers for their failure to perceive the unity between God and the universe in a proper perspective of the Creator-created relationship.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff.366a-69b.

'Abdu'l-Ghani, Shaikh: An old and close disciple of the well-known Qadiriyya Sufi of Lahore, Miyan-Mir. A man of few words, he would generally avoid company except to guide those who would visit his *pir's* tomb. Such was his devotion to his *pir* that after the latter's death he built a small cell near his tomb for the continuance of his master's spiritual tradition. Whenever Dara Shukoh paid pilgrimage to Miyan Mir's tomb, he would discuss at length spiritual matters with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghani. He once told the prince that Miyan Mir would often urge his disciples to live in solitude, shun company, and spend time in the forests in order to gain inner peace.

He died on 17 Zu'lhijja 1057/13 January 1648.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 277.

'Abdu'l-Hadi: Had an aversion for *sama'* and ecstasy, though one day he attended an assembly of such kind graced by the presence of Shaikh Muhammad Phulti. During the course of the *sama'*, the Shaikh asked 'Abdu'l-Hadi whether he wanted to dance. Bewildered but then overcome with ecstasy, 'Abdu'l-Hadi remained in a state of rapture for two days.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 373.

'Abdu'l-Hadi, Maulana: An *'alim* from Bada'un who was initiated into the Naqshabandiyya order by Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, he then took spiritual training in Sirhind under the guidance of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Mujaddid. Later, he seems to have been deputed to Bada'un as a *khalifa*.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, p. 381.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 344-55.

'Abdu'l-Ha'i, Maulana: The son-in-law and a disciple of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. His mentor suggested he serve the British government for some time as a legal adviser. In 1818, however, he was advised to become a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae-Bareli who had come to Delhi from Rajasthan.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 62.

'Abdu'l-Ha'i, Shaikh: Younger son of the celebrated Sufi poet, Jamali. Born in 923/1517-18, the Shaikh was also a poet and, as a member of the court of Sher Shah Suri (1539-45), he accompanied the famous Afghan ruler during his several military campaigns. Islam Shah (1545-52) also patronized the Shaikh. He died in 959/1551-2.

Abbas Khan, *Tuhfa-i Akbar Shahi* or *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Dacca, 1964, pp. 177-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 228.

'Abdu'l-Hai, Shaikh: Coming from Hisar Shadman, near Dushanbe in Tajikstan, he migrated to Patna where Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya and subsequently appointed him as his *khalifa*. While the missionary activities of 'Abdu'l-Hai were well spread over the centre of Patna, simultaneously another disciple of the Mujaddid, Shaikh Nur Muhammad, was busy in the areas surrounding the town. The Mujaddid therefore justifiably considered the presence of his two *khalifas* in Patna to be a propitious combination of two stars. Impressed with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hai's spiritual attainments in terms of his having transcended the *fana'* and *baqa'*, the Mujaddid, in a letter to Shaikh Nur Muhammad, described him as the epitome of Sufi knowledge and gnosis. To Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ha'i belongs the credit of compiling the second volume of the *Maktubat* of his *pir*. At the age of sixty (1054/1644-5), he left for Mecca on a pilgrimage. It is not known whether he returned to India.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 366-8.

Muhammad Hashim Badakshani, *Zubdatu'l-Maqamat* or *Barakatu'l-Ahmadiyyati'l Baqiyya*, Kanpur, 1890, pp. 375-6.

'Abdu'l-Hakim: Little is known about him except that he lived in Srinagar and was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by the distinguished Kashmiri Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makhdum (d. 24 Safar 984/23 May, 1576).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

'Abdu'l Hakim: Born in 1620, he belonged to Svandvip and authored a long Bengali poem on the mysterious *charkas* in the *Chari-Maqamer Bhed*. He identified the Nath *charkas* with the stations in Sufism. He died in 1690.

M.R.Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca, 1965, pp. 251-2.

Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti, Mulla: Born in 968/1560-1, he was the son of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din and a pupil of Mulla Kamal. He founded a major library and *madrasa* at Sialkot. He addressed Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi as the Mujaddid of the Second Millennium. Later, he became the head of a *madrasa* at Akbarabad and a leading jurist during the reign of Shah Jahan.

'Abdul-Hakim authored a number of commentaries on the popular Arabic and Persian classics, and tutored the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir. Although his interest in peripatetic philosophy was profound, his relations with ulama and Sufis remained friendly. According to Schimmel, his "commentaries on the standard works of dogmatics and grammar were used all over India, who introduced the mystical philosophy of Molla Sadra Shirazi in the Subcontient, and whose fame reached the Ottoman Empire already during his lifetime."

Dara Shukoh records an interesting conversation between his *murshid*, Miyan Mir, and 'Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti. Once Miyan Mir observed that there were only two ways to God. First, God could at once respond to the yearning of His servant Himself by way of absorption (*jazba*). The second way pertained to *suluk* which signified obedience to a *murshid*. In the latter way, a seeker, through self-mortification (*mujahada*) in forests or in seclusion, could find God under the guidance of his *murshid*. Reacting to Miyan Mir's observation that nearness to God could be attained in seclusion, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim opined that a seeker could not offer the prescribed congregational prayer in seclusion. Listening to the Mulla's response, Miyan Mir said: "It is strange that you are making such a statement. It is incumbent upon a Muslim to first know the Reality of *namaz*. So long as he does not attain the tranquillity of heart, the congregational prayer will be of no use to him." Miyan Mir actually wanted to bring home to real seekers after Truth (like 'Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti) that it was better to remember God in seclusion with the presence of mind and heart attracted to Him in unison than in a manner oblivious of His presence.

Mulla Hakim died in 1067/1656-7.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, p. 176.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), pp. 65-6.

Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i Kawsar*, pp. 390-1.

Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, pp. 94-6.

Abdu'l-Hakim, Shaikh: The son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din of Burhanpur. Like his father he composed verses in Hindi and was a passionate lover of *sama'*. He died on 27 Ramazan 992/ October 1584.

Ahwal Hazrat Khwaja Burhanau'd-Din (Saints of Burhanpur). Lenigrad Oriental Institute MS., ff. 39a-45b (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 283, 319-20).

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, Shaikh: Born in Muharram 958/January 1551, he was the son of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din. He completed his education at the age of twenty-two. Although the mystical urge of the precocious child was satiated by his initiation in the Qadiriyya order by his father himself, he later (6 Shawwal 985/December 1577) became a disciple of the most eminent contemporary Sufi of the order, Shaikh Musa, on the advice of his father. Abdu'l-Haqq took care of his mother after his father's death in 1582. He left Delhi early in 995/1586-7 for *hajj* promising his mother he would return after visiting Mecca and Medina. He travelled through Malwa and Gujarat, and while in Ujjain stayed with Mirza 'Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa. At Mandu, Shaikh Ghausi Shattari, the author of the *Gulzar-i Abrar* played host to him. In Ahmedabad he spent some time with Shaikh Nizamauddin Bakshi. There, at the feet of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, the renowned Shattariyya Sufi, Abdul-Haqq learnt the Qadiriyya *zikr*. He finally reached Mecca just before Ramazan 996/July-August 1588. Abdu'l-Haqq mastered the *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih Bukhari* under the guidance of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi al-Qadiri al-Shazili in Mecca who also initiated him into the Chistiyya, Qadiriyya, Madayniyya and Shaziliyya orders. Although the serene intellectual and spiritual environment of Mecca suited the temperament of Abd'ul-Haqq, his new spiritual teacher, Shaikh Abdul-Wahhab, originally an emigrant from India, urged him to return, both on the grounds of his obligations to his family and India. He was advised not to be in a hurry to denounce a believer guilty of uttering remarks in violation of the *Shari'ah* as "infidel or a heretic". Abdu'l-Haqq was urged to address himself to such a person within the framework of the Qur'an, *Shari'ah* and Sufism. On his return home from Mecca in 1000/1592, he devoted himself to teaching, writing, and Sufism while dissociating himself from the court. He had close association with Khwaja Baqi Billah, and later his disciple, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din. According to Muhammad Sadiq, Shah Abul-Ma'ali Qadiri and Khwaja Baqi Billah were spiritual guides and friends of 'Abdu'l-Haqq.

The tomb of 'Abdu'l-Haqq, situated in the Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi, contains an inscription on the wall of the *qubba* that gives a sketch of his life. Ghulam 'Ali Azad has fully quoted the inscription in his work. According to this inscription, the Shaikh had authored a total of one hundred books, both long and short. Rizvi, however, ascribes some sixty treatises to the Shaikh, in addition to a collection of sixty-eighty letters. Several of his works were read with avidity in the circles of the Sufis because of the author's emphasis on following Sufism within the bounds of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. See also [*Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*].

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, Delhi, 1914; Urdu tr. Maulana Iqbalu'd-Din Ahmad, Daru'l-Ish'at, Karachi, 1963.

——*Madariju'n-Nubuwwa*, Lucknow, 1867.

——*Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, Rampur, MS., ff. 36b, 37a.

Muhammad Sadiq, *Kalimat'u's-Sadiqin*, pp. 64-5, 245.

Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Ma'asiru'l-Kiram*, Hyderabad, 1910.

K.A. Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, Delhi, 1953.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 11-12, 304-5; II, pp. 5-6, 16-19, 57-9, 75-7, 82-101, 293-4, 325-6, 362-4.

'Abdu'l-Hamid 'Usman, Shaikh Mustafa: A disciple of Miyan Shaikh Muhammad of Amethi who, in turn, was the son and successor of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din (d. 979/1571-2). A well-known Chistiyya Sufi in the village of Barauna in Jaunpur, he migrated to Purniya in Bengal in his old age where he died.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 288.

'Abdu'l-Jalil: The son of Saiyid Ghiyasu's-Din, a Qadiriyya Sufi of Ahmedabad, who was held in considerable esteem in the Gujarat region.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, Barauda, 1930, p. 63.

'Abdu'l-Jalil, Shaikh: The most leading Chistiyya Sufi in Lucknow with a number of prominent disciples to continue his mission of disseminating the teachings of the Chistiyya order for ennobling the human soul, thought, and behaviour. Considering himself to be an Uwaisi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Jalil claimed to have received guidance directly from the spirit of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. He authored several works insisting that Sufis sitting for *zikr* in the direction of Ka'ba should realize that God was in all directions. His emphasis was on cultivating abstemious food habits and transmutation of negative thoughts and behaviour into positive ones. He advised the novices, suffering from self-importance, to begin their *zikr* with the divine names of Majesty (Jalal) such as the Dominant (al-Qahhar), the Repairer (al-Jabbar) and the Great (al-Mutakabbir). At the second stage of *zikr*, names common to both Jalal and Jamal, such as the King (Al-Malik), the Holy (al-Quddus), the Knower (al-'*alim*), were to be recited. And, at the final stage, Sufis were required to repeat names denoting Jamal, such as the Faithful (al-Mu'min) and the Protector (al-Muhaimin). However, for novices who were gentle and humble, Jamal and Jalal were the first and last parts of the *zikr* respectively.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Jalil died in 1043/1633-4.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff, 348b, 349a, 352b-53b.

'Abdu'l-Jamil, Hajji: A disciple of Shaikh Rang Balau'l of Lahore. According to Mufti Muhammad Ghulam Sarwar, the Hajji built a dome over the Prophet Muhammad's footprint brought by his ancestors from Hejaz. He died in 1082/1671-2.

Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya'*, I, pp. 176-7.

'Abdu'l-Karim: Initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri (d. 24 Safar 984/23 May 1576).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

'Abdu'l-Karim, Saiyid (1537-1628): Also known as Shah Karim, he is considered to be a pioneer of Sindhi Sufi poetry. He lived as an ordinary peasant at Bulri in Hyderabad Sindh. His poetry is marked by profound concern for the village folk and fishermen whose varied activities offered him a wide range of lyrical images.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 450.

'Abdu'l-Khaliq, Shaikh: Belonged to Lahore and was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Janu'llah (d. 1039/1630). An ascetic to the core, 'Abdu'l-Khaliq had infatuation with *sama'* . He died on 12 Rajab, 1059/22 July 1649 and was buried in Lahore.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, p. 476.

'Abdu'l-Latif Laubali, Shah: A Sufi of the Qadiriyya order who migrated from Baghdad to Kurnool during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). He died in 1640.

Lata'ifu'l-Latif as quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 73-4; 132.

Abdu'l-Latif Qadiri, Shah: Came to Bijapur from Bidar during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). He belonged to the Qadiriyya order and died in AD 1671.

Waqi'at, III, p. 404.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 182.

‘Abdu'l-Latif, Shaikh: Born at Nahrwala, he was the son of Malik Shah Kori. He was a disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir (d. 989/1581-2). He was a keen traveller who visited the tombs of several Sufis in Gwalior and Delhi in order to gain spiritual bliss. Having been trained in the Shattariyya *zikr* at Champaner, he performed *chillas* in the cells where Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus meditated during the days of his youth. His contact with Shaikh Ziya'ullah and Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah, the son and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, immensely benefited him in spiritual terms. He led a married life and died in Barauda in 1007/1598-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 428-9.

‘Abdu'l-Latif, Shaikh: A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din of the Shattariyya order, he followed the *Shari‘ah* strictly in respect of his dislike for *sama‘* and music and never allowed a marriage procession playing music to pass by his *khanqah*. Such was his adherence to the *Shari‘ah* that he was even very critical of the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (the Mujaddid) and Shaikh Adam Banuri charging them with heresy (*ilhad*) and infidelity (*zindiqa*). Little wonder, then, that Aurangzeb respected him. Aurangzeb's respect for the Shaikh is particularly reflected in a letter to his son Muhammad A‘zam in which he observes, "Once we paid a visit to Miyan ‘Abdu'l-Latif (May his grave be hallowed!). During the conversation we said that if the Shaikh permitted he (Aurangzeb) could assign some villages in Kharkon (in modern Madhya Pradesh) for the expenditure of the *khanqah*. The following verse was uttered by the Shaikh's truth-expounding tongue: ‘To us he gives villages and lays us under obligation, The giver of daily bread (God) gives us daily bread unconditionally."

Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, p. 556.

Kalimat-i Tayiyibat, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Pars. 477, ff. 9b-10a (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 172n).

Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Mir'atu'l-‘Alam*, British Museum MS. Add. 7657, f. 448a.

——*Riyazu'l-Auliya*, MS. British Museum, f. 151a.

Ma‘ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 646a.

Khanzinatu'l-Asfiya, II, pp. 368-9.

‘Abdu'l-Malik Qari, Shaikh: The son of ‘Abdu'llah bin Shaikh Salih bin Mahmud Khalidi. After learning at the feet of Hafiz Mahmud and Hafiz ‘Usman Harawi, he enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Khwafi. He settled in Agra during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. A large of people are said to have received spiritual guidance from him.

‘Abdu'l-Malik died at the age of 103 in 956/1549 and is entombed in Agra.

Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, ed. Muhammad Zaki, Patna, 1994, pp. 147-9. Henceforth *Gulzar-i Abrar* (Z).

‘Abdu'l-Qadir: The son of Burhanu'd-Din ‘Alawi, he was a *majzub* who died in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century.

Tuhfa az, Kamtarin f. 66b (quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 266).

‘Abdu'l-Qadir: He was the son of Mustafa Qadiri (d. AD 1622). He became a successor of his uncle's (Shah Qasim Qadiri) *khanqah* in Bijapur. When Sultan Ibrahim II offered to build a dome over Shah Mustafa's grave, he refused in the best tradition of his father and uncle. However, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad, the Sufi accepted a plot of land and a building as *in‘am* from the state. The building is now known as "Gachi Mahal" and is situated adjacent to Qasim Qadiri's *dargah* near Bijapur's Jami‘ mosque.

Muhiu'd-Din bin Saiyid Mahmud Qadiri, *Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda*, Urdu translation by Akbaruddin Siddiqi, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 43; 46-7.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 223.

‘Abdu'l-Qadir Sani, Shaikh: He was the son and successor of Shaikh Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, the first Qadiriyya Sufi who founded a *khanqah* of his order in Uch in the second half of the fifteenth century. Before turning to Sufism, he was a lover of music, hunting and travelling. He took to asceticism after his contact with a wandering *dervish* while hunting in forest. He resigned from the government, much to the annoyance of the Langah ruler of Multan, and returned all *farmans* of grants and stipends received by him from the sultan. Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis attributes many miracles to him whereas Dara-Shukoh credits him with having converted a number of Hindus to Islam. He died on 18 Rabi‘ 1940/7 October 1533.

Akhba'r'ul-Akhyar (U), pp. 356-61.

Dara-Shukoh, *Safinatu'l-Auliya*, Lucknow, 1872, p. 69.

‘Abdu'l-Qadir, Shah: Born in 1167/1753, he was the third son of Shah Waliu'llah. He led a secluded life. His translation of the Qur'an into Urdu was more idiomatic than that of his elder brother Shah Rafi‘u'd-Din. He died in 1228/1813.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Tazkira-i ahl-i Dihli*, reprint, Karachi, 1955, pp. 72-5.

'Abdu'l-Qadir, Shaikh: He was a son of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri (d.978/1571), the revered Sufi of Multan, who cursed Emperor Akbar's *Sadru's-Sudur*, Shaikh Gadai, when the latter summoned him to the court. He was the successor of his father in Uch and Multan whereas his brother, Shaikh Musa, was recognized as Shaikh Hamid's successor in Delhi and at Akbar's court. Following his conflict with Akbar, he is reported to have resigned his *madad-i ma'ash*. Once when he was about to say his supererogatory prayers in the Audience Hall (*Diwan Khana*) after performing congregational prayers, the Emperor ordered him to conduct the same in his own quarters. The Shaikh's response to Akbar was blunt: "in the realm of prayers the Emperor's decrees were irrelevant".

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 91-2.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 60.

'Abdu'l-Samad Kan'ani A Sufi of Qadiriyya order who came to Bijapur from Egypt during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). He died in AD 1650.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 68-70.

'Abd'ul-Wahid, Shaikh: Lived in one of the corners of Lahore. As a close companion of his Qadiriyya *pir*, Miyan Mir, he served him for 21 years. Dara-Shukoh describes him as a perfect *'arif*. He died in 1056/1646-7.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya (U), p. 282.

'Abdu'l-Wahid Banyani, Shaikh: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir. Dara-Shukoh refers to him as a source of his information about some miracles performed by Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

'Abdu'l-Wahid Lahori, Mulla: Commanded by Khwaja Muhammad Baqi-Billah to seek spiritual guidance from Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, most of his time he was devoted to *muraqaba* and other forms of worship. Once he sobbed on learning from a fellow seeker that the owners of Paradise will be exempt from offering *namaz*.

In a letter addressed to 'Abdu'l-Wahid, the Mujaddid brings home to his disciple the virtues of *faqr vis-a-vis* the fleeting world.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat (quoted in *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Urdu tr. pp. 307-8n).

'Abdu'l-Wahhab: A Kashmiri Sufi who elicits the praise of Pir Hasan Shah, the nineteenth-century Persian chronicler, for his high spiritual calibre as the head of *qalandars* and *majzubs*. Like most intoxicated souls, he roamed about naked. It was on the advice of a Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman (d. 12 Jamiu'd'l-Awwal 1200/13 March 1785), that he began to cover his genitals.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab died in 1199/1784-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 473.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Saiyid: A descendant of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. Settled in Gujarat, he was popularly known as Shahji and enjoyed considerable respect in Gujarat. He was killed in a local war and lies buried at Saraswati in Ahmedabad.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, p. 63.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 72.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab Tulmuli: The son of Baba Akram Mattoo, during his childhood he received initiation into Sufism from Shaikh Ibrahim (Qutb-i Zaman). After strenuous efforts he reached the stage of *fana* (q.v.) and subsequently achieved *baqa* (q.v.). Notwithstanding the fact that throughout his life he led a life of renunciation at the village of Tulmula in Kashmir, people flocked to him for spiritual guidance and fulfilment of their worldly wishes.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab died on 14 Safar 1223/13 April 1808. His corpse was brought to Srinagar from Tulmula. About 10,000 people attended his funeral prayer. He was buried at the cemetery of Hafiz Khurram in Tilwanpura, Srinagar, near his house. Such was his popularity that his tomb was later repaired by the Afghan governor Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan (1813-19).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 376.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab Wanganpori: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi (d. 17 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1243/8 October 1827). Known for his spirituality, he spent his life as a Suhrawardiyya Sufi who was always absorbed in ascetic practice (*mujahada*) and meditation.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

'Abdu'l Wahhab, Khwaja: A descendant of the distinguished Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja Dahbedi. He was initiated as a Qadiriyya by Akhund Mulla-Shah. After migrating to India from Transoxiana in the reign of Shahjahan, he was granted a *mansab* of 1,500.

Tawakkul-Beg Kaulabi, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi* (British Museum MS.), ff. 33b-34a.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab al-Muttaqi al-Qadiri, Shaikh: Probably born in 943/1536-7 in Mandu, he was the son of Shaikh Waliu'llah. Choosing the life of an itinerant *dervish*, he travelled from Burhanpur to Gujarat and thence to the Deccan. Subsequently, he travelled to Malabar and then to Ceylon. From there or Malabar Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab seems to have travelled to Mecca in a merchant ship. He became a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi in Mecca. Being both an *'alim* and a skilled calligrapher, he proved an asset to his *pir*, copying his drafts and collating them. He was a bibliophile and a great scholar of *Hadis* in the true manner of his *pir*. Although a recognized Sufi in the Arab world, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's only source of livelihood was the money earned from copying manuscripts. After the death of his *pir*, he visited Gujarat only once to settle some family matter. His hermitage in Mecca attracted Indian pilgrims who were not only entertained but also given money and provisions for their travel to Medina.

Like his illustrious *pir*, 'Abdu'l-Wahhab gave lectures on *Fiqh*, *Hadis*, and Arabic lexicography close to the Ka'ba. Such was his influence on the Meccans that they gave him the title of the second Shaikh Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad al-Marusi (616/1219–686/1287). The latter was an Andalusian reputed to have greatly contributed to the popularization of the Shazilliya order from Morocco to Egypt and from Syria to Arabia.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab emphasized the importance of knowledge (*'ilm*) as a source of universal good and a panacea for diseases of every kind respectively. He described *'ilm* as food and *zikr* as medicine. Obligatory prayer, recitation of the Qur'an, and the teachings of religious subjects were all forms of *zikr*. Nor did he ignore the significance of social ethics for making the relevance of Sufism intelligible to his disciples.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab advised his disciples not to criticise or ridicule the ideas contained in the *Fusus al-Hikam* without first strictly adhering themselves to the *Shari'ah*. Although he did not lecture on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he warned novices not to arrive at hasty conclusions without understanding the positive and negative aspects of the controversial statements in the *Fusus al-Hikam*. Notwithstanding 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's encomia on Ibn Arabi and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jilli (767/1365-832/1428), he believed that the latter's commentary on the Qur'an was "sugar-coated poison but like the *Fusus al-Hikam* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, and that those who could avoid such poison and save themselves from harming their faith were indeed blessed."

Sama' for Abdu'l Wahhab was an act of worship. Therefore, he did not approve of the kind of *sama'*-gathering in which all "saintly" and "sinful" mixed "promiscuously". He did not, however, object to the occasional hearing of a *ghazal*.

The most talented disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab was Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, who played a leading role in disseminating his *pir's* teachings in the subcontinent.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 270, 272-4.

'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgarami, Mir: Born in 915/1509-10, he belonged to a family of distinguished Sufis of Bilgaram in Hardoi, near Lucknow. From Akbar he received a huge grant for his living expenses. Author of several treatises on Sufism including the *Haqa'iq-i Hind*, *Saba'-i Sanabil* and *Kalimat-i Chand*, his commentary on the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah* of Fakhr-i Sadat Husaini, is extinct.

Although the Mir composed Persian *ghazals*, he is better known for his Hindi Sufi poetry modelled on the Persian *masnawis* of Nizami Ganjawi. He died on 3 Ramazan 1017/11 December 1608.

Muntakhatu't-Tawarikh, II, p. 66.

Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgarami, *Ma'asiru'l-Kiram*, I, Agra, 1889, pp. 36-51.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 359-63.

Haqa'iq-i Hind, MS, AMU, Hindi tr., S.A.A. Rizvi, Banaras, 1957.

'Abdu'l-Wahid, Maulana: Originally a merchant, he was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah who later entrusted him to the spiritual guidance of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. His passion for *namaz* was so intense that he would lament being free of such an obligation in paradise.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, p. 388.

'Abdu'llah 'Aidarus, Shah: A Sufi of the well-known 'Aidarus family of Yemen, he travelled to Mecca and Medina where he was initiated into several orders including the Qadiriyya, the Shadhiliyya and the Suhrawardiyya. In AD 1616-17 he left Arabia for good and on reaching Gujarat received an affectionate welcome from his uncle, Muhiu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-Qadir al-'Aidarus. The latter had already established his reputation in Gujarat as a Sufi and a writer. After being spiritually blessed by his uncle, 'Abdu'llah 'Aidarus left for the Deccan. In Ahmadnagar he enjoyed the patronage of Malik Ambar. However, he had to leave for Bijapur, most likely in the early 1620s. There he met with Sultan Ibrahim II during the last phase of his reign. Such was the influence of the Sufi on the Sultan that the latter began to wear Arab clothes most of the time. Although Firishta categorically states that Sultan Ibrahim had been educated as a Sunni of the Hanafi school of thought, the sources refer to his conversion from the Shia to the Sunni creed at the hands of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah. It seems more plausible that under the influence of the Sufi, the Sultan became the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah*, at least in his personal life.

Shah 'Abdu'llah died several years after the death of Sultan Ibrahim II in AD 1627. He lies buried in Daulatabad.

Abdu'l-Jabbar 'Mulkpuri, *Tazkira- i Auliya-i Deccan* , I, rpt, Hyderabad, Deccan, 2001, pp. 126-7.

'Abdu'llah Akbarabadi, Hafiz Saiyid: A *khalifa* of the distinguished Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Adam Banuri; before his initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order, he passed through several phases of spiritual development. The sources do not mention the name of a Sufi of high spiritual calibre he met in the Punjab, but his meeting with Shaikh Idris Samani, an ascetic of the Qadiriyya order, proved to be a rewarding spiritual experience for him. He served the Shaikh for many years until his meeting with Adam Banuri. Hafiz 'Abdu'llah remained celibate through his life. Yet he felt concerned about the welfare of the needy and poor. His constant visits to the houses of old women, particularly widows, were to help them. The noted scholar Sufi, Shah 'Abdul-Rahim, had a very intimate association with Hafiz 'Abdu'llah and was a rich source of information on the latter's spiritual attainments for his son, Shah Waliu'llah. Adam Banuri is said to have been in regular correspondence with him. Shah Waliu'llah reproduces two letters in his *Anfasu'l-'Arifin*. One of these describes the historical time as fleeting.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 47-8.

'Abdu'llah Chingal: The information about him is based on a legend. Born in Gujarat, he is said to have visited Mecca and observed Muhammad's miracle of the splitting of the moon. He embraced Islam, returned to Gujarat, and lived in the folk consciousness as a companion of the Prophet for several centuries.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 321.

'Abdu'llah Garzayal, Baba: He was one of the respectable *khalifas* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. After his *murshid's* death, he received further spiritual training from the latter's *khalifa*, Haja Baba. Although Baba 'Abdu'llah was intoxicated by love of the divine, he conformed in behaviour to the *Sunnah*. Quite often, he was busy disseminating the teachings of Islam among the folk. About three to four hundred men often accompanied him during his travels in the Valley. Most of his time was spent among villagers who invited him home to teach them the rudiments of Islam. Like Baba Nasib, he founded mosques, and constructed *hammams*, bathrooms, and toilets. He laid out gardens for the good of the people. According to Hasan, his missionary activities extended to Lahore where he spent twelve years. While returning to Kashmir from Lahore he is also credited with having built rest houses for the travellers in the hills. He also gained considerable popularity for laying out a garden of apricot trees in Lolab. The apricots of this garden are said to have been delicious, without kernels. Pir Hasan Shah writes that at the close of the nineteenth century he found only two trees in the garden at Khambaryal laden with luscious fruit without kernels.

Baba 'Abdu'llah Garzayal died in 1117/1705-6 and lies entombed in the village of Garzayal in Uttar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 245-6.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 169-70.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 341.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 225.

'Abdu'llah Makhdumi, Baba: Known for his erudition, righteousness and spirituality, he initially received guidance from the spirit of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. Later, he went to Peshawar where he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh 'Umar Chakni. He lies buried in the vicinity of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum's tomb in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 394.

'Abdu'llah Sayyah Chisti, Shah: He came from the mountains of Herat to Lucknow in the seventeenth century. There he initiated Shaikh Pir Muhammad (d. 1080/1669-70) as a Chistiyya.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 290.

'Abdu'llah Shattari, Shah: the son of Shah Husamu'd-Din, a descendant of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi, he was born near Bukhara, and initiated into the 'Ishqiyya' *silsilah* by Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif. After meeting several Sufis on his travels through Nishapur, Iraq, and Azerbayjan, he reached India in the fifteenth century. During his travels in India he had a meeting with Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri (853/1449-50) and Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. Rebuffed by Shaikh Muhammad 'Ala, the distinguished Bengali Sufi, for making bizzare claims for his spiritual superiority, he later became his disciple. He reached Chittor in 846/1442-3. Sultan Mahmud Shah Khalji I (839/1436–873/1469) of Malwa patronized him and believed his success in conquering some forts to be the outcome of the Sufi's invocations in his favour. Shah 'Abdu'llah settled at Mandu and lived there until his death in 890/1485. His mausoleum, built by Emperor Jahangir, is in Mandu, south of the tombs of the Khalji sultans of Malwa. He is reputed to have rechristened the Ishraqiyya order into the Shattariyya. It seems that during the lifetime of its founder in India the influence of Shattariyya *silsilah* began to be felt in the region from Bengal to Malwa. 'Abdu'llah Shattari adopted the novel method of calling people to God by marching with his disciples, drums and banners flying. He is also said to have studied yoga and composed a few songs in Hindi. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Shattariyya order had taken firm root in Burhanpur, Gujarat and Bengal. Its influence extended to Medina, Malaya, and Indonesia from Gujarat.

Shah 'Abdullah believed in the superiority of the Shattariyyas over other Sufis because of their ability to traverse the path of Sufic ascension. The swift-paced *shattar* was a category of spiritualist considered superior to the religious (*akhyar*) and the holy (*abrar*). His teachings are found in his work the *Lata'if-i Ghaibiyya*, dedicated to Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din, peace-loving successor of Sultan Mahmud Shah Khalji.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 147-9.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 538a.

Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 39-40.

'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari, Shaikh: Born on 12 Rabi' II 924/23 April 1518 at Sandila near Lucknow, he received formal education in his own hometown and Bada'un. He first visited Delhi and then Gujarat to learn at the feet of several scholars including the great Shattari Sufi scholar Wajihu'd-Din. He took lessons on *Fusus al-Hikam* from Maulana Lutfu'llah Rumi, who authorized him to teach. He turned ascetic in 950/1543-4 and was granted discipleship by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. After guiding several disciples of his *pir* for a period of ten years, he went on *hajj* and stayed in Medina for five years. On returning to Ahmedabad, he married and stayed there for fifteen years until his departure for Gwalior in 980/1572-3. There he looked after the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus for two years. He went to Agra in 983/1575-6 and led a quiet life there until his death on 23 Jumada I 1002/14 February 1594.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari wrote profuse commentaries on the works of his *pir* with the main aim of disseminating the cardinal teachings of the Shattariyya order. These were the *Siraju's-Salikin*, *Awrad-i Suffiya*, *Risla-i Sufiyya*, *Anisu'l-Musafirin*, *Asraru'd-Da'wat*, *Sharh-i Risala-i Ghausiyya*, *Risala-i Kanzu'l-asrar* and *Hali-i Ashghal-i Shattar*.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah maintained that a Sufi did not lose consciousness in spite of being drunk with divine love. Even in drinking the ocean of divine love he never felt satiated; hence, unruffled by the accidents of life, a Sufi always remained ablaze underneath. The spiritual perfection, synonymous with *fana* and *baqa*, was dependent on a constant struggle of the self, which, according to him, lay in imbibing the spirit of piety and self-purification of the Firdausiyyas, the relative prosperity of the Suhrawardiyyas and the meditation and contemplation of the Shattariyyas.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 416-18.

'Abdu'llah Yassawi, Baba: The son of Shaikh Muhammad Qa'im and the disciple of Mulla Muhammad Muqim Topigaru, after obtaining guidance in exoteric and esoteric sciences from his *murshid*, he spent his life in meditation on his Creator. He died in 1185/1771-2 and was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 355.

'Abdu'llah Abdal, Shaikh: According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, Shaikh Abdal who belonged to Delhi was the maternal nephew of his grandfather. His usual habit was to wander through the streets of the city dancing and singing Hindi *dohas* which he composed extempore. 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes his uncle, Shaikh Rizqu'llah Mushtaqi, who is said have been taken aback when told during his visit to Gujarat that Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Abdal had always lived in Gujarat and that he had never been to Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 482.

'Abdullah, Shaikh Budh: Son and successor of the distinguished Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he received his early education from Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din and Maulana Mubarak Danishmand of Gwalior. He joined the Mughal military service at the invitation of Emperor Akbar who sent him as his ambassador to Mirza Shah Rukh of Badakshan in 1578. Although a soldier, he remained a Sufi inwardly. Seeking retirement from Jahangir after 40 years in the imperial service, Shaikh Budh devoted himself to meditation and prayers near his father's tomb in Gwalior. He died in 1021/1612-13 after doing penance for six months.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 445-7.

Akbar-nama, III, p. 245.

'Abdu'l-Latif Bhitai, Shah: Grandson of Saiyid 'Abdu'l Karim (also known as Shah Karim) who was a pioneer of Sindhi Sufi poetry, Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif was born in 1102/1690-1 in the village of Hall Haveli in Hala Taluka, Hyderabad Sindh. His father, Shah Habib, had also made his mark as a Sufi. Although Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif is said to have been illiterate, his *Risalos* suggest that he had a good knowledge of the Qur'an and Persian poetry, particularly that of the *Masnawi* of Maulana Rum.

Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif fell in love with the daughter of Mirza Mughal Beg, a haughty descendant of the previous Afghan rulers of Sindh. As the Mirza was opposed to the idea of giving his daughter in marriage to his *pir's* son, the "lovelorn" Shah wandered across the deserts of Jaisalmer, the mountains of Kabul, and even visited Dwarka in the company of the *jogis*. However, after the death of Mirza Mughal Beg in 1124/1713, his daughter married Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif who had already gained reputation as a great Sindhi poet. In 1155/1742 the death of his father prompted him to move from Kotri to Bhit along with his relations. Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif died on 14 Safar 1165/2 January 1752. An impressive mausoleum was raised over his grave at Bhit near Hala-Kundi.

The *Risalo* of Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif are marked by a sensitivity that enabled him to put the Panjabi and Sindhi folktales within the framework of Sufism. He warns, "Think not, O man, that these are mere couplets: they are divine verses. That bear thee to the sacred precincts of the Beloved."

The *'urs* of 'Abdu'l-Latif is celebrated with fervour in Sindh. The government recently declared a holiday on that day.

U.M. Daudpota, "Sindhi Literature" in S.M. Ikram, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1955, p. 157.

'Ali Sher Qani' Tattawi, *Maqalatu'sh-Shu'ara*, Karachi, 1957, pp. 428-9.

H.T. Sorley, ed., *Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif of Bhit; His Poetry, Life and Times*, rpt., Oxford, 1966.

K.B. Advani, *Shah Latif*, Delhi, 1970.

'Abdu'n-Nabi: Son of Burhanu'd-Din 'Alawi, he was a *majzub* who died in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century.

Tuhfa az Kamtarin, f. 66b (quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 265).

'Abdu'r-Rahim Kubrawi: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Muhammad Murad Posha Tanku (d. 1122/1710), he lived in solitude and guided many people on the Path. He died at the age of 70.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 444.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 323.

'Abdu'r-Rahim Nawachu: Little is known about him except that the most renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum (d. AD 1576), initiated him into Sufism.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

'Abdu'r-Rahim, Shah: Born around 1054/1646-7, he was the younger brother of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Abu'r-Riza (d. 1102/1690). He studied the basic Arabic texts under the tutelage of Abdu'r-Riza and the reputed scholar Zahid Harawi. Although he first started his Sufic career under the care of Khwaja Khwurd, the latter later directed him to Hafiz Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Akbarabadi, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Adam Banuri, who initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya. After the Hafiz's death, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim entered the discipleship of *Khalifa* Abu'l-Qasim Akbarabadi. The *Khalifa* was responsible for invigorating his interest in Sufism. He forbade him to serve on the board of scholars constituted by Aurangzeb to compile the comprehensive code of a Hanafi law called the *Fatawa al-'Alamgiriyya*. Instead, 'Abdu'r-Rahim was advised and encouraged to benefit from the teachings of several other contemporary Sufis, including Saiyid 'Azmatu'llah Akbarabadi (d. 4 Rabi'I 1084/19 June 1673), a prominent Chistiyya Sufi ascetic of Agra who had obtained initiation into the Qadiriyya, Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Shattariyya orders as well.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim developed a broader outlook on the profundities of Sufism and its subtleties. Although in the company of the religious elite, he could convincingly argue that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was not incongruous with the Qur'an and *Hadis*, he did not favour a public debate on the issue. He emphasized the supreme importance of *zikr* in not merely being united with the heart but also in uniting it with the Creator, thereby producing a consciousness of nothing other than God. According to him, seeming incompatibilities between the *Shari'ah*, reason, and *Tawhid* disappeared on perceiving, through the continuous recitation of the *zikr* of Allah (*Ism-i Zat*) and *nafi-o isbat* (*La Ilaha Il-Allah*), both the 'existing' and 'hidden' in the state of *fana'*. Since *zikr* was a solace to the heart and blocked all ideas other than that of God from entering, it awakened the reality of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* in the heart of the Sufi. But such benefits of *zikr* could only accrue to those who had the control of breath.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim believed that an act of meditation performed in a particular state of devotional vigilance (*muraqaba*) was an advanced form of Sufism. This state could be achieved only by dissociating oneself from others and curbing the snares of the baser self (*nafs*). *Muraqaba* demanded concentration of one's entire being on the Unknowable God without using language. Notwithstanding initial difficulties in contemplation, the *muraqaba* gradually purified the soul of a Sufi to such an extent that his spiritual consciousness and sensitivities ultimately assumed the divine colour. "Should you contemplate a rose, you become a rose; Should you ponder a restive nightingale you become a nightingale; You are a part and He is a whole; though for some time; Should you visualize the whole you become the whole."

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim founded a seminary in Delhi where he lectured not merely on Ibn 'Arabi and Jami but also imparted lessons on the works of *Hadis* and on the translation of the Qur'an. In his *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* his illustrious son, Shah Waliu'llah, speaks highly of his father's exalted spiritual status. Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim died on 12 Safar 1131/ 4 January 1719.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, *Anfas-i Rahimiyya*, Delhi, 1915, pp. 11-15.

Ifadat-i Rahimiyya in *Al-Rahim*, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1966, pp. 595-600.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, p. 24.

'Abdu'r-Rahman: He was the son of the Shattariyya Sufi of Bijapur, Saiyid Muhammad Mudarris (d. 1675). As *sajjada-nishin* of his father's *khanqah*, he received so many gifts from his followers that once he prayed from his "majestic" *dargah* that it be empty of money after his death. He died in 1708.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, p. 210.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 209.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti: The son of Shaikh Bahram Qadiri, he received formal education from his father and then went to Thaneswar to meet his father's *murshid*, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Chisti (d. 989/1582). The Khwaja initiated him into the Chistiyya order and, after obtaining *khat-i irshad*, he came to Kashmir to disseminate his teachings. He was buried near his father's tomb in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 298.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Shaikh: The son of 'Abdu'r-Rasul bin Qasim bin Shah Budh, he was born on 9 Rabi'ul-Akhir 1005/20 November-December, 1596. His father took him to Shaikh Muhammad bin Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Amethi when he was four, and he received a secular education. 'Abdu'r-Rahman writes that his lifestyle was lavish for certain period during the days of his youth. At the age of nineteen he seems to have fallen in love with a girl and in no time this turned into the divine love. Consequently, he adopted *faqr* and devoted himself to spiritual learning in relative seclusion. He was initiated into several Sufi orders. However, he became famous as a Chistiyya Sufi for other reasons. First, after the death of his brother, Shaikh Hamid bin Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din, in 1032/1632, 'Abdu'r-Rahman became his successor in the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya order in which he had received initiation. Second, he also claimed to have obtained initiation from the spirit of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti visited the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq of Rudauli and several other tombs in Lucknow. He called on Shaikh Mubibbu'llah of Allahabad in Rudauli, spiritually benefiting from his company. His works include the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar*, the *Mir'at-i Madari*, the *Mir'at-i Mas'udi* and *Mir'atu'l-Makhluqat*. The latter is a Persian version of a Sanskrit treatise on cosmology composed in the reign of Shah Jahan in 1631.

A scholar of Sanskrit, he gave new explanations to the *Bhagavad-Gita* in the light of Islam. Most notable is his *Mir'atu'l Makhluqat*, which associated Yoga-Vashisht philosophy with Muslim beliefs.

His monumental work was the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar*, incorporating the biographies of Sufis from the early days of Islam to the time of Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri (d. 853/1449). The book was started in 1045/1635 and not completed until 1065/1654. The Shaikh could not resist the temptation to record many miracles and legends, which by that time were an integral part of the beliefs associated with Sufis. This long tract discusses in detail a large number of unknown Sufis. He was keenly interested in the legends of *qalandars* and Sufis. He died in 1094/1683 in his native village of Dhaniti where he had finally settled after living in Agra for some time.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1012-13.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Girhori, Shaikh: Born in 1739, he was a disciple of Makhdum Zaman Lanwari Naqshbandi (d. 1774). Like his *pir* he was an outstanding Sindhi poet who preached the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*. He himself composed his thoughts on Sufism in the form of letters in Persian and summarized the letters of Shaikh Ahmad, the Mujaddid. Annemarie Schimmel observes that the veneration of the Prophet of Islam was the centre of his (Girhori's) life.

'Abdu'r-Rahman died in 1718.

Annemarie Schimmel, "Sindhi Literature" in J. Gonda, ed., *A History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden, p. 22.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Mirza Madari, Saiyid: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir, he endeared himself to his *pir* by serving him faithfully for fourteen years. Writing about him in glowing terms, Dara-Shukoh believed that Madari's spiritual career, moulded by Miyan Mir, was in consonance with the spirit of the *Sunnah*. Thus, for instance, at the formative stage of his Sufi career, Mirza Madari was meditating in the forest, and was advised to carry food with him. This practice, Dara-Shukoh believed, was in conformity with the Prophet's practice of carrying food with him to the cave of Hira. But Miyan Mir as a Sufi gave other explanations. First, notwithstanding the spiritual merits of hunger, there is a great danger in it for a *salik* since it may take his mind away from God. Second, it is better to bridle the tongue of an ever-pestering lowly dog (carnal self) by giving it a morsel of bread (*dahan-i sag baluqma doukhta bae*).

Mirza Madari was a keen traveller and performed *hajj* twice. He did not agree with Dara-Shukoh who insisted that he should not go a second time considering the care that his small children needed.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya, pp. 238-9.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Muttaqi: He migrated from Ahmedabad to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). The order to which he was affiliated to is not known. He died in 1668.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 225.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Pak Naushahi: He was successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Naushah Ganj Baksh of the Panjab. Such was his fame as a Sufi and an ascetic that his *murshid* directed some of his own sons and disciples to seek guidance from him. He was entrusted the task of distributing bread from the *khanqah* of his *pir* to the peasants during the period of his spiritual training. He would habitually resort to hard ascetic excercises including *chilla-i ma'kus*, the arduous practice in which the body "was suspended upside down by a rope, often in a well, the mendicant remaining in this position all night." Besides being a passionate lover of *sama'*, he would also habitually dig a grave in order to cover his entire body with earth while engrossed in prayer. He also achieved fame for curing the sick who flocked to his *khanqah* from distant places. He died in 1153/1740-1 and lies buried in a village known as Bihrhi 'Abdu'r-Rahman (the tomb of 'Abdu'r-Rahman).

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 202-3.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 69.

'Abdu'r-Rahman Qadwa'i: Although a disciple of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Budh, he received the robe of *khilafat* from the latter's son Shaikh Mansur. Qadwa'i lived the life of self-abnegation. His contemporary, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, speaks highly of his *faqr* and acknowledges his debt to Qadwa'i for enabling him to gain useful spiritual insights.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1164.

'Abdu'r-Rashid: He was a *khalifa* of Maulana Zainu'd-Din Pal, a disciple of the well-known Rishi of Kashmir, Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo (21 Rajab 1070/23 March 1660). Little is known about 'Abdu'r-Rashid except that he was an enraptured soul.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 311.

'Abdu'r-Rashid Maantju: The son and *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim

Maantju; as an affable Qadiriyya Sufi he endeared himself to the people. He died in 1136/1723-4 when he was an octogenarian.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 440.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), p. 321.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 236.

'Abdu'r-Rasul: The son of Shaikh Sanau'llah Zunimari and a pupil of Mulla 'Abdu'l-Gani Sulaimani and Mulla 'Abdu'llah, he sought spiritual guidance from Shaikh Ni'matu'llah Ashrafi who entrusted him to the care of the most outstanding Suhrawardiyya Sufi of the nineteenth-century Kashmir, Shaikh Akbar Hadi. Later, he enjoyed the company of Shihab Shah Qalandar, Baba 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Tulmuli and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Wanagami. His contemporary, Pir Hasan Shah, testifies to his spiritual attainments notwithstanding the fact that he rarely revealed his identity as a Sufi.

'Abdu'r-Rasul wrote under the *nom de plume* Shaiva. His works include *Risala-i Majmu'a-i Shaiva*, *Risala-i 'Ajeeb Manzar* and *Risala-i Tarfa Qaza wa Qadr*.

He died in 1288/1871 and lies buried in the village of Gamru, in the *pargana* of Khuyahom, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 407-8.

'Abdu'r-Rasul Roshna'i Farosh: He belonged to Kashmir. Known for his austerities, miracles and generosity, he expended the modest earnings out of his sales of ink for the comfort of the poor and the needy.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

'Abdu'r-Rasul Zahgir: He was initially a disciple of Muhammad Shah Khandabhavani, and later achieved perfection in *suluk* under the guidance of Sharafu'd-Din Zahgir (d. Jamiu'du'l-Awwal 1205/January 1791). Known for his righteousness and conformity to the *Shari'ah,* he was buried near Patwal Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 390.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq Bansa, Shah: The popularity of the Qadiriyya order in Lucknow in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be attributed to his close ties with both Shi'ite and Hindu mendicants (*bairagis*). The latter under their leader, Champat, had earned a good name because of their courage and spirituality. The Shah was often invited by them to participate in theatrical performances featuring popular stories about Krishna and the *gopis*. Some miracles attributed to the Shah testify to the mutual respect between Hindus and Muslims. The Shah participated in the Muharram processions and his respect for the *ta'ziyas* was somewhat proverbial. He was so deeply influenced by the *Fusus al-Hikam* that he delivered regular discourses on it. He died on 6 Shawwal 1136/28 June 1724.

Muhammad Khan Razzaqqi, *Malfuzat-i Razzaqi*, Lucknow 1313/1896.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq Pal: Little is known about him except that as a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri (d. AD 1576), he was gifted with miracles.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

'Abdu'l-Razzaq Qadiri, Shah: A Qadiriyya Sufi who lived in Baghdad, he came to India and settled in Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). He died in 1640.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 73.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Shah: He belonged to Jhanjhana, situated in east of Delhi. Being the most prominent disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saikh Muhammad Hasan (d. 944/1537), 'Abdu'r-Razzaq was considered to be one of the leading proponents of Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy by Indian scholars and Sufis of the sixteenth century. According to him, "all contingent beings are the theophany of the Divine Light", and "the truth should be sought by contemplating Reality in every contingent being". Since the universe is the manifestation of Divine Attributes and Divine Names, it is therefore a theophany (*tajalli-i Ilahi*), a concept that rules out the existence of *creatio ex nihilo*. Of all ascetic exercises, he attached supreme importance to *zikr*, the "best form" being contemplation with a picture of one's *pir* in one's consciousness. He died in 949/1542-3.

Akhbar'ul-Akhyar, pp. 237-41.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 226.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Shaikh: The eldest son and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Uch, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani (d. 940/1533). He died in 942/1535.

Akhbar'ul-Akhyar (U), p. 361.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq Ta'i, Shaikh: Born in Gujarat, he led an austere life. Once overcome with divine love, he tore his clothes to pieces. After his spiritual experience, he lived the life of a hermit. He died in 1002/1593 and is entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 413.

'Abdu'r-Ra'uf, Shaikh: Born in 1620, he was a native of Singkel, a village north of Fansur on the west coast of Sumatra. In 1643 he went on *hajj* and for the following nineteen years received guidance in the Shattariyya order first from Shaikh Ahmad Qushshashi and then from his successor, Shaikh Ibrahim (al-Kurani) al-Kurdi. He returned to Acheh in Sumatra following the death of Shaikh Ahmad. He then studied Pasai-Malay in order to be able to write in his mother tongue, and left a deep imprint on the history of Sumatra and the rest of South-East Asia through his works.

'Abdu'r-Ra'uf's translation of and commentary on the Qur'an, based on the *Anwar al-tanzil wa-asrar at-taw'il* of 'Abdu'llah bin 'Umar al-Bayzawi, established his fame among the ulama of Sumatra. His treatises on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, written in Malay, expounded "the process of self-manifestation of the Absolute and the various stages of the determination of Being". Of these, the most significant were the *Kifayat al-Muhtajin*, *Daqa'iq al-Huruf* and *Bayan Tajalli*. His writings reveal the influence of Qushashashi and Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah Burhanpuri's (d. 1029/1620) *al-Tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh al-Nabi*. As H.J. De Graaf observes: "His fame was not confined to his native country and spread as far as Java. After his death the people venerated him as a national hero, so that later he came to be regarded as the first Muslim preacher in Acheh. Thousands still visit his grave, from which he derives his name, Tenuku di Kuala."

'Abdu'r-Ra'uf died in AD 1693.

De Graaf, H.J, "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century", in P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton and B. Lewis, eds., *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 172.

'Abdu's-Sabur: Popularly known as Sabr Qutb, he was fond of *sama'*. Although he lived at Rainwari in Srinagar for some time, he spent most of his time in meditation in the *ziyarats* and *khanqahs* of Srinagar. He was a contemporary of Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi, a disciple of Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri (1026/1616).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 288.

'Abdu's-Salam Paran, Shaikh: Brother and disciple of Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din Bijnauri (d. 910). His exalted spiritual status has been praised by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), p. 118.

'Abdu's-Salam Qadiri: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sabur Qadiri who spent his life in meditation at the mosque of Lal Shah in Srinagar. He died in 1207/1792-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 369.

'Abdu's-Salam Sagami: Little is known about him except that he concealed his identity as the protégé of Allah and that he lies buried in the village of Sagam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

'Abdu's-Salam Tak: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shah Bolaqi, he lived in the eighteenth century. A Sufi of high spiritual calibre, he lies buried at Shahabad in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 376.

'Abdu's-Salam Wanganpuri: A disciple of Mir Muhammad Munawwar Hatabi, he led a secluded life as a Kubrawiyya Sufi of piousness and nobleness. He died in 21 Safar 1273 /21 October 1856 and lies buried at Wanganpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 397.

'Abdu's-Samad Khuda-Numa, Mir Saiyid: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shah Husain of Burhanpur, he lived as an ascetic near the Sabarmati in Gujarat in the sixteenth century. He earned the title of 'Guide to God' (Khuda-Numa) for inspiring profound asceticism among his disciples.

Mulla Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad Sihalawi,'*Manqib al-Razzaqiyya*, Lucknow, 1896/1905, pp. 8-9, 22, 25.

'Abdu's-Samad, Shaikh: According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, he was a rich man who came to Jaunpur in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He built the tombs of his father and grandfather near Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi which were known in the seventeenth century as the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Abdu's-Samad. The *khanqah*, however, is no longer extant.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 270.

'Abdu's-Sattar Zargar: He was a disciple of Baba 'Abdu'r-Rashid (Lusti Rishi). The latter was in his turn a disciple of Baba Hanifu'd-Din who was initiated by the famous fifteenth-century Rishi of Kashmir, Baba Zainu'd-Din.

'Abdu's-Sattar was a Sufi of noble qualities and lived in accordance with the self-denying traditions of the Sufi order of Muslim Rishis.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

'abid: One who intensely adores God.

Abjadu'l-'Ulum: Written by Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan (AD 1832-90), it deals with the biographies of the Sufis and ulama of India. It is in three volumes.

Abrar: A state of being well pleased. 'Ali bin 'Usman al-Hujwiri writes, "But of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyar*, and forty, called *Abdal*, and seven, called *Abrar*, and four, called *Awtad*, and three, called *Nuqaba*, and one, called *Qutb* or *Ghaus*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent."

Kashf al-Mahjub, English tr. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1936, p. 214.

Abyat: Singular of 'bait' or distich, verse, or couplet. The Panjabi poets used *baits* or *abyat* as the most convenient vehicle for the expression of Sufi thought and practice.

Abyat of Sultan Bahu: Contains a translation of the poetry of the famous Panjabi Sufi poet, Sultan Bahu (d. 1102/1691). The translator is Maqbool Elahi. Lahore, 1967.

Adam Banuri, Shaikh: His ancestors came from Roh; on his father's side he was a Saiyid and on his mother's an Afghan. Since one of his ancestors had settled in Banur, near Sirhind, the family came to be known by that name. Initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Hajji Khizr Khan Afghan, he was advised by the latter to take further training from his spiritual preceptor, the Mujjadid, who later appointed him a *khalifa* at Banur.

Shaikh Adam authored three important works on Sufism and the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order: the *Kalimatu'l-Ma'arif*, the *Khulasatu'l-Ma'arif* and the *Nikatu'l-Asrar.*

He is said to have enrolled 100,000 Afghans as his disciples, with 100 *khalifas*. Although the number seems to be exaggerated, his popularity among the Afghans roused the suspicions of the Mughal elite. Considering Shaikh Adam a possible threat, Shahjahan, on Sa'du'llah Khan's recommendation, banished him and his disciples to Mecca.

Shaikh Adam Banuri's lectures on the Mujaddid's concept of the superiority of the Reality of the Ka'ba to the Reality of the Prophet Muhammad and the other prophets, delivered in Mecca and Medina, evoked considerable interest among the ulama. Muhammad bin 'Abdu'r-Rasul al-Barzanji, a disciple of Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1689), wrote two books, the *Qadh al-zand wa-Qadah al-rand fi radd jahalat ahl al-Sirhind* and *al-Nashira al-najira lil-firqa al-fajira*, rejecting the Mujaddid's claims. (For the issues raised in these works, see al-Barzanji.) Like Barzanji, another *'alim*, Hasan bin 'Ali, also criticized the Mujaddid in a treatise entitled *'al-'Asab al-Hind*.

Adam Banuri died in 1053/1643.

Adam Banuri, *Khulasat al-Ma'arif*, India Office MS, f. 2b (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 338).

Muhammad Amin Badakshi, *Manaqibu'l-Hazarat*, ff. 62b-64a.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, p. 385.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, p. 13.

Abu (bu) 'Ali Qalandar of Panipat, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din: Son of Salar Fakhru'd-Din who migrated to Panipat from Iraq, he lived in both Panipat and Karnal. Several legends exist about this celebrated *qalandar*. Of these, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq regards the claims of his initiation by either Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki or Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' as unauthentic. Whatever his spiritual lineage, Shaikh Abu 'Ali Qalandar was an ascetic of high order engrossed in meditation and self-mortification. He also distinguished himself as a scholar who wrote letters to explain Sufism in the spirit of a true *qalandar*. In one of his letters, the Shaikh expressed his sentiment about the recognition of beauty as a step to the understanding of the beloved. According to him, objects of love created in the form of human beings led people to the righteous path. Some *diwans* are attributed to him. The authentic verses of the Shaikh, quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, are of a high literary value.

True, as a *qalandar*, the Shaikh did not observe the rules of the *Shari'ah*. But interestingly, he did not object to the clipping of his moustache to the length demanded by the holy law.

He died on 13 Ramazan 724/3 September 1324. The people of Karnal and also those of Panipat wanted his grave to be in their respective towns. However, being popularly known as Sharafu'd-Din Panipati, there is little doubt that he lies buried in his hometown. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, a large number of people used to flock to the tomb of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din in Panipat.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 231-5.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 305.

Abu 'Abdu'llah 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Ali: He was a disciple of Makhdum Jahaniyan. See *Khulasatu'l-Alfaz Jami'u'l-'Ulum*.

Abu Bakr ba'l-Faqih: He came to Bijapur from Arabia during the reign of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627-56). The Sufi order to which he belonged and the date of his death are not known. Zubairi writes that Abu Bakr was accompanied by a sizeable number of Arabs who attended his *khanqah* and who had "attained the utmost degree of devoutness, virtue, and piety. He was a leader of the people and had acquired interior knowledge, for he was among the great Arab Saiyids."

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 193.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 127.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan (U), I, p. 58.

Abu Bakr Haidari Tusi, Shaikh: The most prominent *qalandar* in Delhi, he was a contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Hansvi and Maulana Husamu'd-Din Inderpati. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya frequented his *khanqah* to attend audition parties. Undoubtedly his *khanqah* was a rendezevous of Sufis and scholars. Whenever Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Hansavi came to Delhi, he would stay with Abu Bakr. Such was their friendship that the former would address the latter as the *Shahbaz-i Sufaid* (White Falcon).

Abu Bakr Tusi is entombed on the banks of the Jumna in Delhi and his tomb was a place of popular pilgrimage during the medieval period.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, p. 67.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 141-2.

Hamid Jamali Kanboh Dihlawi, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin,* Delhi, 1311/1893, p. 67.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 532a.

Abu Bakr Mu'i Tab, Shaikh: Zia Nakshabi, the author of *Silku's-Suluk*, quoted by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi writes that every hair of the Shaikh was absorbed in the remembrance of Allah. He lived in Badaun. Once during the Shaikh's illness Nakshabi found him reciting what the Muhaddis Dihlawi calls a verse pregnant with inner meaning:

> O Allah! This body is like a cloud of dust between you and myself.
>
> Hopefully this veil will unveil itself between us.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 235.

Abu Bakr Qureshi: Settled in Agra during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Ghausi Shattari admires his piety and scholarship and describes his spiritual experience with the Prophet Muhammad in the world of images (*'alam-i misal*).

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 204-5.

Abu Ishaq Maghribi: He came to India from the Maghrib (Moracco, Algeria, Tunisia, Cycrenaica and Tripolitania) during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah (1351-88). A spiritual descendant of Abu Madyan Shu'aib bin al-Husain (1126-98), Abu Ishaq settled at Khattu, near Nagaur, from where he occasionally visited Delhi, Meerut and even Khurasan. He came to be known as *Lal-Posh* (wearer of red clothes) because he regularly wore red clothes. Abu Ishaq's *faqr* was exemplary. His prominent disciple was Shaikh Ahmad who was brought up with great love by the *murshid* himself.

Abu Ishaq died in 776/1374-5 at Khattu.

Mahmud bin Sa'd bin Sadr Sufi Iraji, *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis,* India Office, *DP,* 977, ff. 5a, 56b-57a.

Ma 'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 538b.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 156-7.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1127-31.

Abu Ishaq Qadiri, Shaikh: A disciple of the renowned Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh Dawud (d. 982/1574-5), he earned a good name. He spent most of his time in Lahore and died there in 985/1577. A number of tombs of his descendants were later built around his tomb.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 132-3, 184.

Abu Muhammad: A *majzub* who was the son of Burhanu'd-Din 'Alawi. He died in the late seventeenth century in Bijapur.

Tuhfa az Kamtarin, f. 66b (quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur,* p. 265).

Abu Sa'id Chisti Sabiri Gangohi, Shaikh: A grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, he was originally a soldier. He gave up military service to become a disciple of Shaikh Jalal who entrusted him to the care of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Thaneswari. As a distinguished *khalifa* of the latter, he enrolled many disciples in the Chistiyya order. He went to Balkh where his *pir* settled, following an order of banishment issued by Emperor Jahangir. On his return home from Balkh, Abu Sa'id supervised the work at the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus at Gangoh. He died in 1049/1639-40.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 472.

Muhammad Akram bin Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali, *Sawati'u'l-Anwar,* Ethe, 654, London, ff. 408b-409a.

Abu Sa'id, Shah: Born at Rampur on 2 Zu'lqa'da 1195/20 October 1781, he was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He had the distinction of receiving education from many reputed scholars including the sons of Shah Waliu'llah. A seeker after the truth, he met innumerable Sufis but finally chose to be initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shah Ghulam 'Ali (d. 1240/1824). His death occurred at Tonk on 1 Shawwal 1250/31 January 1835. Some of his sons and disciples achieved fame.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 701-3.

Abu Tahir Muhammad, Shaikh: Son of the Shattariyya Sufi of Madina, Shaikh Ibrahim al-Kurdi (d. 1101/1689), Abu Tahir obtained his early education as well as *khirqa* from his father. Several other Sufis bestowed *khirqa*s on him and authorized him to initiate disciples. He was well versed in *Fiqh* and *Hadis* and while in Mecca and Madina, he studied the works of the Indian scholars, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Siyalkoti and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi under the guidance of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah of Lahore. Shah Waliu'llah attended his lectures on *Hadis* as a student. Abu Tahir did not involve himself in controversies over Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's correspondence. He died in 1145/1733.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, pp. 184-66.

Abu Talib, Saiyid: He belonged to the Saiyids of Baghdad. Along with Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din he came to Delhi during the reign of Islam Shah Sur. Both the Saiyids were murdered mysteriously in 995/1586-7 at the residence of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi. The latter was imprisoned, though according to some leading ulama and Sufis of the time he had no hand in the ghastly affair.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 365-8.

Abu Turab: the son of Burhanu'd-Din 'Alawi. He was a *majzub* who died in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century.

Tuhfa az Kamtarin, f. 66b (quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 265).

Abu Turab, Saiyid: Also known as Shah Gada, he hailed from Shiraz. He settled in Lahore and became a disciple of the eminent Shattariyya Sufi and scholar, Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, in Gujarat. However, he was initiated as a Qadiriyya by his *pir*. Of Abu Turab's six disciples, four remained in Lahore, while the other two left for Delhi and Rohtas respectively. He died in Lahore in 1071/1661.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 353-5.

Abu'l-Fatah Jaunpuri, Shaikh: Born in Delhi in Muharram 772/August 1370, he was a pupil and *murid* of his grandfather, Qazi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir (d. 26 Muharram 791/25 Janurary 1389). In accordance with the testimony of his *pir*, the Shaikh, as a man of great learning, dedicated himself to teaching. He was a good debator and often held discussions with Qazi Shihabu'd-Din on issues pertaining to *kalam* and *fiqh*. He composed *qasidas* in Arabic and *ghazals* in Persian.

Author of several works on *fiqh*, Abu'l-Fatah also compiled *malfuzat* of his grandfather.

Abu'l Fatah originally lived in Delhi but Timur's invasion forced him to emigrate to Jaunpur. He died on 13 Rabi'ulawwal 858/13 March 1454.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 311-12.

Abu'l-Fath Makki, Shaikh: The son of Jamalu'd-Din Makki 'Abbasi Qadiri, he was also known as Makki because of his long stay in the holy city of Mecca. He left Shirwan (a province along the Caspian with the famous port called Darband) to settle in Agra at the invitation of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (894/1489-923/1517). He is reported to have inherited the *khirqa* of Shaikh Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani from one of the descendants of the founder of the Qadiriyya order. Both Sultan Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi respected Abu'l-Fath who led a secluded life. At the time of Babur's invasion of India, Ibrahim Lodi took along with him many prominent Sufis and ulama, including Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi and Shaikh Abu'l-Fath. But long before the invader defeated the Lodi sultan, Shaikh Abu'l-Fath had already deserted and fled to Agra. He died there in 953/1546.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 410-11.

Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, Shah: His grandfather came to Bidar from Baghdad toward the end of the Bahmani period, by which time Bidar had become a major centre of Qadiriyya activities. Abu'l-Hasan's father, Badru'd-Din Habibu'llah, founded his own Qadiriyya *khanqah* in Bidar and appointed his eldest son, Abu'l-Hasan, his *khalifa*. Abu'l-Hasan is said to have reformed the behaviour of Sultan Ibrahim II who, until the advent of the Sufi in Bijapur, was devoted to a Hindu yogi. Eaton considers him to be an "orthodox Sufi", though like most Qadiriyya Sufis, Abu'l-Hasan strictly adhered himself to the *Shari'ah* and the *Sunnah*.

Abu'l-Hasan authored books in Dakhni with a reformative zeal of a Sufi scholar. According to him, "Mankind is defined thus: first comes knowledge (*'ilm*), then exhilaration (*hal*)." His *Sukh Anjan* stresses the importance of strictly following the *Shari'ah* in the Sufi way of life.

He died in 1635.

Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda, Urdu edn., pp. 28, 31-3.

Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, *Sukh Anjan,* ed. Saiyida Ja'far. Dakhni lithograph Hyderabad 1968, p. 151, ll. 7-8.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 108-11, 124.

Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri II: He was a grandson of Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri of Bijapur. Author of *Makhzanu'l-Salasilu'l-Hasaniya,* he died in 1719-20.

Arabic MS [Bijapur: Gachi Mahal] as quoted in *Sufis of Bijapur,* p. 207n.

Abu'l-Ma'ali Chisti Sabiri, Shah: Following the premature death of his father he received guidance from the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq. However, it was under Shaikh Muhammad Dawud (1095/1683-4) that he completed his spiritual training and distinguished himself as one of the latter's leading disciples.

Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali stressed that criticism and insults of the worldly were necessary for attaining spiritual rejuvenation and excellence. He taught his followers to bear hardship with fortitude. Himself a victim of constant abuse and ill treatment at the hands of a neighbour, the Shah never allowed his disciples to take action against the latter. In fact, he was grief-stricken at his neighbour's death. To those who were unable to understand his distress, the Shah explained that the dirt of worldly passions could be removed only with the help of such people.

Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali died in 1116/1704-5.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 485-6.

Abu'l-Maa'li, Shaikh: Born in 961/1553-4, he was the successor of Shaikh Dawud (d. 982/1574-5) of Shergarh, besides being his nephew and son-in-law. He also distinguished himself as a poet under the name of Ghurbati. Mulla Abdu'l Qadir Badauni quotes some of the ecstatic utterances of this Qadiriyya Sufi: "Ghurbati! Raise the cry of 'I am the creative Truth' (*Ana'l-Haqq*) and fear not the stake, For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this Path." Among his other admirers may be chiefly mentioned Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi. Abu'l-Maa'li died in 1024/1615 and is entombed in Lahore.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 153-6.

Safinatu'l-Auliya, Lucknow, 1872, pp. 195-6.

Abu'l-Ma'ali, Shaikh: The son of famous Sufi and teacher of Bijapur, Shaikh 'Alamu'llah Muhaddis (d. AD 1616), he (Abu'l-Ma'ali) adopted the life of *majzub.*

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, pp. 212-13.

'Abu'l-Mu'ti: A *Muhaddis* who learnt at the feet of Imam Sakhawi Misri. Affiliated to the Qadiriyya and Maghribiyya orders, he died in Ahmedabad in 984/1576-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 458.

Abul Fuqara: "father of the poor". This was the title of well-known Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir. [See Baba Nasibuddin Ghazi]

Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri II: He was the grandson of Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri of Bijapur, and author of *Makhzanu'l-Salasiu'l-Hasaniya.* He died in 1719-20.

Arabic MS [Bijapur: Gachi Mahal] as quoted in *Sufis of Bijapur,* p. 207n.

Abu'l-Khair, Shaikh: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir and lies entombed near the grave of Miyan-Nattha in the cemetery of Miyan Mir in Lahore.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Abu'l-Makarim, Shaikh: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir and lies entombed near the grave of Miyan-Nattha situated in the cemetery of Miyan Mir in Lahore.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Abu'r-Riza, Shaikh: The son of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din and the uncle of Shah Wali'ullah, he received his early education from Hafiz Basir, a renowned scholar of the reign of Shah Jahan. After certain spiritual experiences, he chose to live in poverty for some time in a cell near the Firuzabad mosque. Having observed fasts for two to three days in a week, he cared little for meals and subsisted on a frugal diet.

Abu'r-Riza was initiated as Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja Khwurd. Shah Waliu'llah furnishes an interesting account of Abu'r-Riza's spiritual meetings with the Prophet Muhammad, with the fourth Caliph 'Ali, and with Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. Because of his learning, thoughtfulness, and spirituality, he enjoyed enormous popularity both among the rich and poor. Aurangzeb made several requests to see him but the interview was never granted. He did not accept presents from dignitaries and more often than not cold shouldered men in power. Contrary to this, he was very kind to the poor and needy and those who earned by the sweat of their brow. In respect for the dignity of labour, he would accept the coins offered by the poorest of his devotees.

Each Friday Abu'r-Riza used to deliver sermons. He would quote a *Hadis* in Arabic, translate it into Persian, and then systematically expound the subtleties of his topic in Hindawi. His sermon was followed by the question-answer session. Never in a hurry to answer questions, he usually sought to make himself intelligible in accordance with the mental capacity of the seeker of knowledge. As a result of his profound yet practical insights, he was able to expound the subtleties of *tasawwuf* in clear terms. He argued that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was the very quintessence of spiritual life as against the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*. The latter was not a reliable stage in *tasawwuf* in his view.

A lengthy correspondence between Abu'r-Riza and Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ahad Sirhindi, reproduced in *Anfasu'l-'Arifin*, bears testimony to the erudite insight of Abu'r Riza on several issues concerning *tasawwuf.* Several Hindawi verses composed by the Shaikh for the elucidation of his views greatly enhance the value of his *maktubats*.

The Shaikh died on 17 Muharram 1102/21 October 1690.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 192-329.

Adhan Jaunpuri, Shaikh: Son of the distinguished Chisti Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din of Jaunpur, Shaikh Adhan was also known as Adhan Shah. He lived in Jaunpur for over a hundred years and continued to participate in *sama'* until his death in 976/1568-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 286.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 302b.

Advaita tatva: A distinctive system of Kashmiri Saivite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism (*advaita*). In this philosophy the knowledge of the "basal truths", or fundamental and general "factors of which the apparent universe consists (*tatva*)" is a prerequisite for attaining union with the Supreme Self or *Parama Siva*. Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi's early life bore the impact of Saivite philosophy on his mind.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 102-3.

Afsana-i Shahan: Written by Muhammad bin Kabir bin Shaikh Isma'il in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, the work also contains some interesting stories about the Sufis with particular reference to Shaikh Hamid Jamali bin Fazlu'llah's meeting with Maulana Jami.

Afzal Rishi: A *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he lies buried near the tomb of his *murshid* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Afzalu'l-Fawa'id: The alleged discourses of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya; the authorship is attributed to Amir Khusraw.

Agar Shah: Little is known about this disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi except that he was a Suhrawardiyyah Sufi of great merit intoxicated by the ocean of divine love.

Agar Shah lies buried in Kamraz division of the Kashmir valley.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

ahkam: (sg. of *hukm*), injunctions, instructions, regulations.

ahkam-i Shari'ah: injunctions of the religious laws.

Ahl-i bait: the people of house. A term used in the Qur'an, and in the *Hadis*, for the household of Muhammad.

Qur'an: 33/33.

Mishkat, XXIV-21.

Ahl-i Hadis: They were the followers of the Prophetic tradition. Muslims are generally followers of the Prophetic tradition in one way or the other. However, in the context of the history of the Muslims of the subcontinent, the people who call themselves *Ahl-i Hadis*, or the people of Tradition, take special care to adhere to the Qur'an and *Hadis*. They speak of themselves as *Muwahhid*, or "Unitarians", and severely condemn visits to the shrines, *'urs* ceremonies, the holding of gatherings in which the help of Sufis is invoked, and any such practice as did not exist in the time of the Prophet. The *Ahl-i Hadis* do not form a sect, but they are essentially Muslim reformists; and in their religious zeal they have hurt the susceptibilities of the devotees of the shrines to such an extent that they have been misunderstood as anti-Sufi.

In their reformist zeal, the *Ahl-i Hadis* create the false impression that Sufism is opposed to Islam. This fact alone accounts for their inability to exercise greater influence on the large majority of Muslims attached to shrines for various historical reasons. The *Ahl-i Hadis* hostility to Sufism is, in fact, mostly based on the persistence of the misconception that Ibn Taimiya (d. 1328) was opposed to Sufism. In a brilliant argument based on M. Henri Laoust's researches on Ibn Taimiya, George Makidisi dispels this false notion. Not only does Makdisi refer to the great Egyptian reformer's affinity with Sufism, he even testifies to the latter's "admiration for the works of Sufis".

George Makdisi, "The Hanbali School Sufism", *Humaniora Islamica*, ed. Swartz, Waardenburg, etc., vol. II, The Hague, Paris, 1974, pp. 61-72.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 240n.

Ahl-i Sunnah wa Jam'a: They are "the people of the community". This expression, is used particularly for the Sunnis who lay great stress on following the *Sunnah* of Muhammad in the true spirit of the Qur'an and the exemplary moral conduct of the Prophet. According to a *Hadis* of Bukhari, the Prophet is reputed to have said: "He who tires of my *Sunnah* does not belong to me."

Ahla Rishi *alias* Ahla Baba: The son of a potter belonging to the village of Sarhama in Kashmir, his first *murshid* in *suluk* was Baba Hardi Rishi (d. Ziq'ad 986/1579). After his death, Ahla Rishi sought the guidance of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri (d. 1021/1612) and had considerable popularity among the folk.

Ahla Rishi's tomb lies in the town of Bijibihara.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503, ff. 45b-47b.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 126, f. 119b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 190.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 270a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 141-2.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 130.

Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Shaikh: 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti traces his genealogy to the Caliph 'Umar. His grandfather, Shaikh Dawud, came to India during the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji from Balkh following Halagu Khan's invasion. He took up his residence in Rudauli and became a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh.

Shaikh Dawud's son, Shaikh 'Umar, had two sons, Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din and Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Taqiu'd-Din migrated to Delhi where he devoted himself to learning. He wanted his younger brother to seek a formal religious education but the latter was not interested. Subsequently, 'Abdu'l-Haqq enrolled himself as a disciple of Shaikh Jalal Panipati. He was also endowed with the robe of *khilafat*. After the death of his *murshid*, Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq left for Bengal where he met with Shaikh Nur-Qutb-i 'Alam. However, the well- known Sufi of Bengal could not quench his insatiable thirst for seeking more and more spiritual knowledge. On his way home to Rudauli, he came across two *majzubs* in Bihar. One was known as Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din who used to roam about naked; the other was called Neem Langoti for his habit of wearing a piece of cloth over his waist. Encouraged by their response to his spiritual cravings, 'Abdu'l-Haqq devoted himself to seeking the blessings of the deceased spirits of saints. He went on pilgrimage to various tombs in Rudauli and, at one stage, secluded himself for six months in a grave that he had dug out for gaining a deeper knowledge of spiritual affairs. The consequence was a metamorphosis. He came out of self-isolation and dedicated himself to guiding people in the Sufi path.

'Abdu'l-Haqq left Panipat for Sunam but the destruction caused by Timur's invasion in Panjab and Delhi in 1398-9 forced him to move to Pandua in Bengal, where he had frequent interaction with Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam. Finally he settled in Rudauli after spending some time in Bihar and Awadh.

Shaikh Ahmad believed that one needed to efface oneself in order to become a Sufi. But he did not approve of the manner in which Mansur Hallaj revealed divine secrets. According to him, there were some Sufis who did not reveal anything even while drinking from oceans of divine secrets. He resorted to the traditional ascetic exercises including the breath control (*pas-i anfas*). So steadfastly did he follow the Sufi path that he refused offers of land grants for either his *khanqah* or his family. His rage knew no bounds when once he found that his son-in-law had accepted a *farman* from the *muqta* of Rudauli. He tore the paper into pieces. On a different occasion he declined the offer of the grant of a number of villages to him by Sultan Ibrahim. He had a number of disciples, the most prominent being Shaikh Bakhtiyar. The Sabiri *sisilah*, indeed, owed much of its popularity at Rudauli (in the Barabanki district) to Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. *Anwaru'l-'Uyun* is full of details about him. Shaikh Ahmad died on 15 Jumada II 837/27 January 1434.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus, *Anwaru'l 'Uyun*, Urdu tr., Delhi, 1894, pp. 10-13.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 189.

Muhammad Hashim, *Zubdatu'l-Maqamat*, Lucknow, 1885, p. 94.

Allahdiya, *Siyaru'l-Aqtab*, Lucknow, 1881, pp. 184-222.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 193b-6.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1039-43.

Ahmad Baba: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi and is entombed in the vicinity of the cemetery of Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Ahmad Bada'uni, Shaikh: He was a celibate who was gifted with the qualities of an *abdal*. The author of *Sairu'l-Auliya*, quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, states that when once he asked Shaikh Ahmad whether he was happy, he replied that his only pleasure lay in offering prayers five times a day.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 200.

Ahmad Bada'uni Sha'ikh: Nizamu'd-Din Auliya describes him as his friend and praises his piety, faith and the *abdal*-like qualities. Although illiterate, he was always busy in ascertaining actual facts about the issues related to *Shari'ah*. The great Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi relates his inner experience with Ahmad Bada'uni who appeared to him in a dream after his death. Reacting to his deceased friend's usual habit of asking questions concerning the injunctions of law, Nizamu'd-Din Auliya replied that now that he was dead there was no need for raising such issues. On hearing the response of the Shaikh, his deceased friend remarked: "Do you also regard Auliya Allah as dead?"

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 150-1.

Ahmad Banuri, Shaikh: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Ahmad Barki, Maulana: Originally an *'alim*, he belonged to Bark, situated between Kabul and Qandahar. His longing to see Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and become his disciple was aroused on reading some of the letters of the Mujaddid to an Indian merchant. He was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya after his meeting with the Mujaddid at Sirhind. He achieved perfection in Sufism within one week under the spiritual care of the Mujaddid who deputed him as his *khalifa* in his native town. The Naqshbandiyya order seems to have made good progress in Bark considering the Mujaddid's appreciation of the Maulana in his letters addressed to him. He died in 1026/1617.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 368-70.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 351-4.

Ahmad Deobandi, Shaikh: Originally from Deoband (Deban) in Saharanpur, he studied theology under Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. After settling in Burhanpur for some time, he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah Burhanpuri (d. 1029/1620). Later, he moved to Sirhind and was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by the Mujaddid. He was then entrusted to the spiritual care of Mir Muhammad Nu'man, deputed about the same time by the Mujaddid to Burhanpur. When Deobandi returned to Sirhind after undergoing spiritual training, the Mujaddid sent him as a *khalifa* to Agra, where he led the life of an ascetic rather than an active missionary. However, when one of his disciples, a Mughal officer, took him to Bengal he achieved considerable popularity in that region. He died after returning to Agra at the age of seventy.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat , pp. 384-5.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 349-51.

Ahmad Hafiz, Maulana: A contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who called on him at Sarsi while on his way to the tomb of Baba Farid. Nizamu'd-Din speaks highly of the Maulana's ability to recognize God and the transience of the mundane world.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 151-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 45-6.

Ahmad Jaunpuri, Shaikh: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ma'ruf Jaunpuri, himself was a disciple of Maulana Ilahdad (d.1526).

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis showers praise on both the *pir* and the disciple for their spiritual excellence.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 347-8.

Ahmad Majd Shaibani, Shaikh: Born in Narnaul, he was the son of Qazi Majdu'd-Din. His ancestors were related to scholars who worked with Imam Abu Hanifa. He became an accomplished scholar at an early age and was critical of the ulama at the court of Sultan Mahmud Khalji for prostrating themselves before rulers. He left Mandu and became the disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Khwaja Husain Nagauri. After Rana Sanga's occupation of Mewar in 922/1516, Shaikh Ahmad migrated to Nagaur where he ultimately died on 25 Safar 927/ 4 February 1521.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq writes that Ahmad Majd Shaibani had a deep knowledge of *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. Such was his love for the Prophet Muhammad, *ahl-i bait* and the Saiyids that he would feed the poor and orphan on 10 Muharram and 12 Rabi'ul-Awwal and seldom failed to offer *fatiha* for the Companions and all *masha'ikh*. His respect for the *faqirs* and *majzubs* of his time was immense so much so he would alight from his horse to pay respect particularly to the latter whenever he had an encounter with them on the roadside. He would often visit the tombs of the Sufis during the night.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 326-31.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 206-7.

Ahmad Naharwani, Shaikh: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, who enrolled a few disciples, he was born a weaver. Shaikh Ahmad was very popular among many disciples who would accompany him whenever he walked from his house. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, stingy in praise of other Sufis, spoke well of Shaikh Ahmad. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he was present on the occasion of Bakhtiyar Kaki's rapturous experience before the latter's death. Shaikh Ahmad is entombed in Badaun.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, pp. 150-1.

Khyar al-Majalis, p. 276.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 96-7.

Jamali, pp. 154-5.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 729-30.

Ahmad Nazir, Saiyid: He came to Bijapur from Arabia during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). The Sufi order to which he belonged and the date of his death are not known.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 197.

Ahmad Qushshashi Shinnawi, Shaikh: The son of Muhammad and the grandson of the distinguished Sufi, Shaikh Yunus al-Qushshahi, his family hailed from a village near Jerusalem. Born on 12 Rabi', 991/April 1583, Ahmad Qushshahi was initiated as a Shattariyya by Shaikh Ahmad Shinnawi (d. 1028/1619). Although a strong believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, his emphasis was always on strict adherence to the *Shari'ah*. He was one of the non-Indian Sufis who carried on the mission of the Shattariyya order in Medina and died there on 19 Zu'lhijja 1071/15 August 1661.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, pp. 179-80.

Ahmad Sa'id Shuryani, Shaikh: He belonged to Qasur and was believed to have received spiritual guidance from the spirit of the famous Chisitiyya Sufi, Shaikh Wutu, the Pir-i Kibar. He was a lover of *sama'* notwithstanding his strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* in many respects. Disdaining the visits of the rich, he spent considerable time in the company of beggars. Such was his popularity among both Hindus and Muslims that they presented him gifts for the fulfilment of their wishes. His enviable spirituality also attracted Rajputs to his habitat. He died in 1018/1609-10 and lies buried in Qasur.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 375b-76b.

Ahmad Shah: A disciple of Baqa Baba Shahabadi (Baba Abu'l-Baqa), he is reputed to have been a *Wujudi* Sufi who, in a state of intoxication, roamed in the streets and offered *namaz* several hundred times on the roadside in a disorderly manner. He lies buried in Shahabad, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 475.

Ahmad-i-Ma'shuq, Shaikh: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din, the son of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, he came from Qandahar where his father was a merchant. Often he accompanied his father to Multan on business trips. He was an alcoholic, but after he came under the influence of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din when the latter visited his father's shop, he underwent spiritual metamorphosis. He was subsequently initiated as a Suhrawardiyya, and after that he distributed his property to *dervishes* and remained absorbed in meditation after withdrawing from the world for seven years. So overwhelmed was he with ecstasy in the latter part of his life that he even did not offer the obligatory prayers.

Jamali, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin*, pp. 129-31.

Ahsanu'l-Aqwal: Contains the discourses of Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din Gharib.

Ahsanu'sh-Shama'il: It is a *malfuzat* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Aurangabadi compiled by Khwaja Kamgar Khan. Being a valuable addition to the *malfuz* literature, it provides useful information about the personal daily routine and methods of training of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 11-12.

Ahsanu'z-Zaman, Maulana: He was one of the leading *khalifas* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Hafiz Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali Khairabadi (d. 1266/1850). A profound scholar of Arabic, Ahsanu'z-Zaman authored a detailed commentary of the *Fakhru'l-Hasan* of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din.

Najmu'd-Din Nagauri, *Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain*, Rampur, 1289/1872-3, pp. 369-75.

Aiba Bayo: Sought the guidance of the renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, at the prime of his youth. After being initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order, he devoted himself to Sufism. Later, after the death of his *murshid*, Aiba Bayo gained in esoteric knowledge under the guidance of Baba Nasib's *khalifa,* Wutar Baba. Throughout his life Aiba Bayo lived the life of an ascetic. He remained celibate and did not eat meat.

Aiba Bayo died in 1107/1695-6 and is entombed near Kalwal mosque at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 171-2.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 341-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 241.

Aiba Rishi: Little is known about him except that he settled at Chhatabal in Srinagar, Kashmir along with his *khalifa* Khwaja 'Ali Sud. Throughout their life, the *murshid* and the *murid* remained steadfast in the Path. Both are entombed in Chhatabal.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 147.

'Ainu'd-Din Qattal: The son of Shaikh Sa'du'llah Kesadar, he was initiated into the Chistiyya order by Mir Saiyid Amir Mah Bahraichi and adopted the way of life of the *malamatiyya*. True, as a *malamatiyya*, he used to drink wine; but, after being granted the *khirqa* of *khilafat* by the *murshid* just before his death, 'Ainu'd-Din devoted himself to guiding the disciples in the Path. During the time of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, the tomb of 'Ainu'd-Din Qattal was a site of popular veneration in the town of Kanastur.

Mi'rat'ul-Asrar (U), pp. 1008-9.

'Ainu'l-'ilm: Shah Waliu'llah refers to it while praising the insightful comments of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl on its margin. The Naqshbandiyya Sufi scholar of Kashmir, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, mentions it in his biographical notice of Mulla Muhammad Khushoo (d.1119/1707).

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 360.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 364.

'Ainu'l-'irfan: It was authored by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri (11 Rabi'u's-Sani 1186/12 July 1772), affiliated to the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir.

Akbar Yar Khan, Mulla: He belonged to Kashmir. He was the son of Maulana Abu'l Khayr from whom he obtained early education. His teachers in esoteric knowledge were Mir Abul Fath Qadiri and Shaikh Muhammad Radhu Chisti. He visited Delhi and obtained a *sanad* in *Hadis* from 'Abdu'l-Khaliq Dihlawi. The emperor of Delhi offered him the position of *darogah* and bestowed the title of Khan on him. He performed his official duties punctiliously and died on 4 Shab'an 1157/ 3 September 1744.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 435-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 810.

Akhassu'l-Khawass: Written by Shaikh Muhibbu'llah (d. 9 Rjab 1058/30 July 1648), this treatise, available in Raza Library, Rampur, deals with several aspects of *Wahdat al-Wujud*. [See Muhibu'llah Mubariz.]

Akhbar al-jamal: See *Ashjar al-jamal*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar fi Asrarul-Abrar: Compiled by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq bin Saifu'd-Din at-Turk Dilawi in 996/1588 and revised and completed by the author three years later, this is a treasure of information on Indian Sufis from the days of Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti to the sixteenth century. What makes it invaluable is the author's use of a large number of sources, some of them today not extant, besides his fame as an acknowledged scholar of *Hadis* and Sufi of the Qadiriyya order in India. His long life was entirely devoted to the unrelenting pursuit of knowledge. He went to Hejjaz in pursuit of knowledge. As a scholar well-versed in the domain of *Hadis*, he rose to eminence and came to be popularly known as Muhaddis. He was an heir to the rich scholarly and spiritual heritage of his male ancestors and relatives. His library stored all the *malfuzat* and Sufi works written in India, in addition to a large number of works written outside India. His profound knowledge of *Hadis* enabled him to critically investigate the authenticity and historical value of religious traditions. He authored the *Madariju'n-Nubuwwa, Jazbu'l-Qulub ila Diyari'l-Mahbub, Tafsir-ayatu'n-Nur* and *Zadu'l-Muttaqin*. But his skill can be clearly seen in his *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar fi Asraru'l-Abrar* which incorporated 225 biographies of Indian Sufis. In his introduction to the book, 'Abdu'l-Haqq first deals with the life of the most renowned Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. He ends with an account of his own ancestry and some details of his life.

Rizvi observes: "Using as model the *Tabaqat* literature of the biographies of narrators and transmitters of the *Ahadis* and of the Sufi *Tabaqat* literature, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq classified the biographies into three sections (*tabaqas*) which cover the following Sufis: Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Sijzi, his contemporaries and disciples, Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar and his followers and disciples, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli and Sufis from his time to that of the author. Such a classification helped Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to place the biographies of Sufis, whose dates were questionable into a reasonable historical sequence, thus avoiding the acceptance of dates based on unauthentic traditions. He scrupulously excluded all references to supernatural and miraculous elements, highlighting instead the mystical and spiritual ideas, ethical behaviour and psychological perceptions of the great Sufis, using authentic *malfuzat* and the letters and writings of the Sufis themselves."

Notwithstanding scholarly discovery of a large number of *malfuzats* in the last century, the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* continues to remain an important source of information on the lives of Indian Sufis.

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, Delhi, 1914; Urdu tr. Maulana Iqbalu'd-Din Ahmad, Karachi, 1963;

——*Madariju'n-Nubuwwa*, Lucknow, 1867.

——*Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, Rampur, MS.

Muhammad Sadiq, *Kalimat'u's-Sadiqin*, pp. 64-5, 245.

Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Ma'asiru'l-Kiram*, Hyderabad, 1910.

K.A. Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi*, Delhi, 1953.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I-II vols.

Akhbaru'l-Asfiya: Compiled by Shaikh 'Abdu's-Samad bin Afzal Muhammad bin Yusuf Ansari in 1015/1606-07, it is a general biographical dictionary of Sufis. The author was a nephew of Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami. He seems to have access to material collected by Shaikh Faizi for compiling a biographical dictionary of the Indian Sufis. Although informative and patterned on 'Abdu'l-Haqq's *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, it is wanting in the mystical and scholarly insights contained in the latter. Manuscript copies of the work are in the India Office Library, London, the Khuda Bakhsh Library, and Aligarh Muslim University.

Akhi Siraju'd-Din 'Usman, Shaikh: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, in spite of his semi-literacy, he is reputed to have set in vogue the real traditions of the Chistiyya order in Bengal. Such was the confidence placed by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya in Akhi Siraj that he described him as the 'Mirror of India'.

The real success of Akhi Siraj lay in his zeal for learning, emphasized, of course, by his *pir* for his disciples. Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi is said to have volunteered himself for imparting lessons to the trusted *khalifa* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. The Maulana wrote a book entitled *'Usmani* for this purpose. Subsequently, Shaikh Siraj studied *Kafia Mufsil Qudwi* and *Majma'ul Bahrain* under Maulana Rukunu'd-Din. Besides, he also read several religious books. Akhi Siraj died in Bengal some time in 1356-7.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 368-452.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 162-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 888-91.

akhyar see *abrar*.

Akhwund Baba Wali Zahgir: A disciple of his uncle, 'Abdu'r-Rasul Zahgir, he also received guidance from Shah Sanau'llah Qalandar. Known for his deep knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences as well as for his righthousness, Baba Wali guided a good number of seekers in the Path. He also composed mystical poetry and died on 8 Safar 1276/6 September 1859. His tomb is situated near Patwal Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 395.

Akhwund Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi: A *khalifa* of Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri. He was a Kubrawiyya Sufi of great worth. His *'urs*, celebrated at Batakpura in Srinagar, is marked by the organization of the assemblies of *durud*, *khatamat* and *azkar*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 271-2.

Akhwund Mulla Jamal: The grandson of Qazi Jamal Badshahi and a disciple of the famous sixteenth-century Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Fathu'llah Sani, he was also related to his *murshid* by virtue of being his son-in-law. From his spiritual preceptor, Mulla Jamal also received *sanad* in *Hadis*. A scholar well-versed in exoteric sciences as well as Sufism, the Mulla devoted himself to the mission of imparting secular and spiritual knowledge.

Akhwund Mulla Jamal is said to have been insensitive to the popular esteem in which Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi was held in Kashmir. Once he had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad. The person sitting close to the Prophet was introduced to him as Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. After being told by the Prophet in a dream that the contribution of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din to Islam in Kashmir was unparalleled, Akhwund Mulla Jamal led the life of self-denial. He did not eat meat but only tasted the broth on occasion. He was always dressed in just a shirt.

The spiritual and intellectual merits of Mulla Jamal were extolled by his contemporaries. While Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi describes Mulla Jamal as a great pious scholar of his time, Shaikh Isma'il Chisti attributed his own popularity as a Sufi to him. In spite of his deep learning, Mulla Jamal often visited the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Mulla Jamal lies buried at Malkah in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 190-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 205-6.

Akhwund Mulla Kamal: The brother of Akhwund Mulla Jamal, he received early education in Srinagar under the Kubrawiyya Sufi and scholar, Baba Fathu'llah Sani. He was regarded as a more profound scholar than his brother and is reputed to have been an expert in expounding the subtleties of Sufism.

Disgusted with the Shia-Sunni trouble in Kashmir, Mulla Kamal migrated to Sialkot along with his teacher where he became a pupil of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Shahid Naqshbandi, the grandson of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. After completing his education, Mulla Kamal taught at the mosque of Miyan Waris in Sialkot. Numerous persons are said to have learnt at his feet, the most prominent among them being Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti, and Nawab Sa'dullah Khan Allami.

Mulla Kamal died in 1017/1608 and is entombed in Lahore.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 206.

Akhwund Mulla Muhammad Muqim *alias* Topigaru: Born in Srinagar in 1101/1689-90, he was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Fazil Topigaru and obtained guidance in exoteric sciences from Mulla Amanu'llah Shahid and earned the title of Shamsu'l-'Ulama. Although he started his career as a religious preacher, his inner urge led him to seek the spiritual guidance of Qazi Daulat Shah Bukhari (d. 1126/1714). After being initiated into Sufism, he successfully passed through various stages in *suluk*. He went to Peshawar via Pakhli and met with various ulama and Sufis in the town. His next visit was to Lahore via Jammu. After leaving a profound impression on the ulama of Lahore, he returned to Kashmir and was appointed *mufti*. However, after some time, he resigned the high positions that he held in judiciary and devoted himself entirely to teaching the people. His pupils and disciples earned good name.

On 15 Shawwal 1171/22 June 1758 Mulla Muqim died and was buried in the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 448, 910, 960.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 335.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 247.

Akhwund Mulla Nazuk Tashwani: A scholar and poet of high merit, he was initiated by Hajji Muhammad Fath Sialkoti during the latter's visit to Kashmir. Mulla Nazuk visited Sialkot several times in order to improve his knowledge of Sufism at the feet of his *murshid*; and the latter also came to Kashmir on a number of occasions for satiating the spiritual thirst of his *murid*. After obtaining *irshad* from his spiritual teacher, Mulla Nazuk guided many seekers in the Path. His humility, wisdom and affability won him many friends.

Mulla Nazuk composed verses in Arabic and Persian. Diddamari has quoted a few of his verses. He died in 1097/1685-6 and lies buried near the mausoleum of Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi at Tashwan in Srinagar. A dome was raised over Mulla Nazuk's tomb by some of his friends.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 147-8.

Diddamari (US), pp. 304-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 274.

Akhwund Mulla Shah: He was the son of Mulla 'Abdi, the *qazi* of a village in Badakshan. His real name was Shah Muhammad. After completing religious education, he earned a good name because of his acesticism and piety. Dara-Shukoh writes that once Mulla Shah told him that when he left his native land, he first came to Kashmir and stayed there for three years. He then went to Lahore where he received initiation into the Qadiriyya order from Miyan Shah Mir Lahori. He remained in the service of his *murshid* for thirty years.

Mulla Shah's friends and disciples called him Hazrat Akhwund, Revered Teacher. His disciples, the most prominent among them being the Mughal prince Dara-Shukoh, believed that he had received the title Tongue of God (*Lisanu'llah*) from God himself.

Having completed his long course of spiritual training under the guidance of his *pir*, Mulla Shah was ultimately sent to Kashmir on a mission where he settled at the foot of the Koh-i Maran in Srinagar. During the early phase of his stay in Kashmir he would spend the summer in the Valley and the winter in Lahore. Later in life, he did not leave the Valley in winter.

Dara-Shukoh describes his visit to the abode of Mulla Shah in Srinagar. He talks about the Mulla's strenuous spiritual exercises including *habs-i dam* (q.v.) and *zikr-i khafi* (q.v.) We are told that until 1052/1642 the Mulla had spent sleepless nights for thirty years. The prince built a house and *khanqah* for him in Srinagar. The ulama, *fuzala* and some *masha'ikh* often called at his *khanqah.*

Once Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi was persuaded by his disciples to see Mulla Shah during his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Significantly, however, Mulla Shah had himself nursed a keen desire to see the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir for a long time. To Mulla Shah's query whether unity was the opposite of diversity, the Baba replied: "Unity lies in diversity."

Throughout his life Mulla Shah remained celibate. Being absorbed in the ocean of divine Unity, he adopted *faqr* and solitude as a way of life. His letters, addressed to Dara-Shukoh, quoted by the prince in the *Sakinatu'l-Auliya*, testify to the profundity of his thought deep-rooted in the Qur'an, *Hadis* and *tasawwuf.* He urges the *saliks* and *'arifs* to remain steadfast in the Path. Describing the *Shari'ah, Tariqa and Haqiqa* as both the degrees of the *Shari'ah* and the one whole itself, he divides their followers into three groups: the externalists who strictly adhere to the *Shari'ah* in their everyday life (*ahl-i zahir*); the wayfarers in the Path are called *ahl-i suluk*; but then the most exalted rank is that of the *ahl-i Haqiqat* who reach the highest stage of the *Shari'ah* by recognizing the Reality. The secret of the latter category of believers lies in their self-effacement (*fana*). Annihilation of one's self in Allah's all-pervasive existence enables them to realize the Truth in its deepest dimensions. Thus Sufi recognition of the truth by way of a spiritual experience is, in essence, the reaffirmation of the fundamental Islamic belief that Allah alone is infinite and that a finite entity can understand the eternal only in a spiritual state that distinguishes the seeker from the real. Mulla Shah thus defends Mansur Hallaj, Bayazid Bistami, Junaid Baghdadi and 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani for their ecstatic utterances, such as *anal-Haqq, subhani ma a'zama shani, laisa fi jubbati siwa Allah* and *haza 'ala raqaba-ti kullim Wali-e Allah* respectively.

About one lakh verses were composed by Mulla Shah. Some of these have been quoted by Dara-Shukoh at some length in his *Sakinatu'l-Auliya.*

Mulla Shah lived in Kashmir for forty years, and Shah Jahan called on him several times. The emperor's daughter, Jahanara Begum, became his disciple. Once during the illness of the latter, Shahjahan sent a huge sum as a gift to Mulla Shah seeking his blessings for the speedy recovery of Jahanara Begum. Mulla Shah returned the present, saying, "This is a time to seek the advice of the physicians. What will (my) prayers do? Take back this *nazr*. I cannot deceive."

After the accession of Aurangzeb, Mulla Shah was summoned to the royal court owing to the intrigues of the adversaries of Dara-Shukoh. Distressed, he went to Lahore where he spent the remainder of his life in fear and hope. Often in moments of distress, he used to thank Allah for giving him an opportunity to live in poverty towards the beginning and end of his life.

Mulla Shah died in 1070/1659-60 or 1072/1661-2 and lies buried at Hashimpora in Lahore.

The Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, pays glowing tributes to Akhwund Mulla Shah for guiding such Sufis as Mulla Miskin Mughal, Shah Gadda, Mulla 'Abdu'n-Nabi Diwani, and Khwaja Hasan Buchh. Dara-Shukoh extols his contribution to the dessimination of the teachings of Sufism among non-Muslims and states that they accepted Islam under his influence.

Dara-Shukoh, *Sakinatu'l-Auliya*, Urdu trans. Maqbul Beigh Badakshani, Delhi, 1971, pp. 179-243.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 87-90.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 268-70.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 260-1.

Akhwund Mulla Taiyib: He was a *khalifa* of Ab'ul Fuqara Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi in the Suhrawardiyya order of Kashmir. His companions were venerable Sufis like Salih Khan Ju, Mir 'Ali Qadiri and Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi. He was also affiliated to the Naqshbandiyya order. His quest for the Truth was not satiated even while giving simultaneously allegiance to two popular orders in the Valley. During his spiritual explorations, Akhwund Mulla Taiyib came in contact with a *qalandar*. Such was the impact of the *qalandar* on him that he was overcome with ecstasy and in a state of intoxication and absorption (*jazba*) he ceased to offer the prescribed prayers for some time. However, after returning from the spiritual experience, he resumed guiding the seekers in the Path.

The Persian sources testify to the spiritual excellence of Akhwund Mulla Taiyib in a terse sentence that his inner state and miracles are beyond description. His *diwan* is saturated with *sozu gudaz* and *razu niyaz*. He compiled *Asrar-i Haqiqat wa Tariqat*.

Mulla Taiyib died on 24 Zilhaj 1086/1 March 1676. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb raised a mausoleum of stone over his grave at Watalkadal in Srinagar which was later repaired by Shaikh Ghulam Muhiu'd-Din, the governor during the Sikh rule in Kashmir (1819-46).

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 181-2.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 283-4.

Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD. f. 111.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 73.

Akhwunzada Nuru'llah: A rich Afghani trader, he settled in Kashmir. He adopted the life of self-denial after being initiated into Sufism by Sarfaraz Shah. So long as his *murshid* lived he remained in a state of mystical trance. It was only after the death of Sarafaraz that Nuru'llah regained consciousness and while secluding himself at the Hazratbal shrine followed the norms of the *Shari'ah* strictly.

He died on 8 Jamiu'd-Sani 1296/1 June 1879 and lies buried at Hazratbal.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 409.

Akram, Shaikh Muhammad: He became a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Saundha of Safidun (in Jind) in 1111/1699-1700. His biography of the Chistiyyas provides detailed information particularly from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi to his *pir*. See *Sawatiu'l-Anwar*.

'Ala, Shaikh Muhammad: Also known as Qazan, Shaikh 'Ala was the most distinguished disciple and *khalifa* of Shah 'Abdu'llah Shattari in Bengal. His initiation in Shattariyya order was somewhat interesting. Although he first called 'Abdullah Shattari the "chattering fellow" of Khurasan for claiming spiritual eminence, the spirit of his deceased father advised him to be the disciple of Shaikh 'Ala during a forty-day retreat (*chilla*). Thereafter he rushed to Mandu and was initiated into the Sahttariyya order by Shah 'Abdu'llah. His contribution to the success of the Shattariyya order in Bengal was considerable.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 183-4.

'Ala'i Qureshi, Shaikh: A disciple of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, after the *hajj* he settled in Kalpi. He wrote treatises on grammar and Sufism. He died in Kalpi in 1464.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 290.

'Alam Allah Muhaddis, Shaikh: He was a migrant from northern India to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). Eaton describes his affiliation to the 'Aidarusi order, a Sufi *silsilah* based in Hadramaut, Arabia, owing strict adherence to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. He died in 1616.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 74, 274-5.

'alam al-Ghaib: the (uncreated) world of mystery.

'alam al-mithal: the word of analogies; the world of the spiritual powers between the human (*nasut*) and the divine (*malakut*) spheres; there the advanced Sufi can see such events related to both past and future as are beyond ordinary description.

'alam al-mulk wa shahada: See nasut.

'Alam-i malakut: The spiritual domain corresponding to the celestial and angelic kingdom, "intermediate between the *'alam-i jabarut* (the domain of Divine Omnipotence) and the *'alam-i mulk* (the physical world of existence)".

'Alamu'd-Din Hajji, Shaikh: He was of the Chistiyya order. He never revealed that he was born a Saiyid. He earned his living by the sweat of his brow in a state of renunciation. While leaving for Mecca, he took his axe, sickle, and hoe with him in order to sustain himself as a labourer. 'Alam Khan Mewati, a disciple of 'Alamu'd-Din, wished to construct a house and *khanqah* for his *pir*. Instead of allowing this, 'Alamu'd-Din directed him to raise a dome over the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Turk. In so doing, 'Alamu'd-Din seems to have kept alive the Chistiyya tradition of venerating the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Turk. [See Muhammad Turk, Shaikh for Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chirag's experience.]

According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, 'Alamu'd-Din lies buried on the outskirts of Narnaul.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 354-5.

Alangi Majzub: A *majzub* who lived in Bijapur, he died in the early eighteenth century.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, p. 227.

‘Ala’u’d-Din ‘Ali bin Ahmad Sabir, Shaikh: The founder of the Sabiri branch of the Chistiyya order and a prominent disciple of Baba Farid; earlier sources are silent about him. From the time of Shah Jahan, literature about him becomes abundant, thanks to the author of *Siyaru’l-Aqtab* and the circumstances resulting in the discovery many years after his death, of his grave in Kalyar, a place near Roorkee in the Saharanpur district of Uttarakhand. With the foundation of a great Sufi centre at Rudauli (in the Barabanki district) by Shaikh Ahmad ‘Abdu’l-Haqq (d. 837/1433), the teachings of Sabiri *silsilah* began to be propagated within the purview of history. Shaikh ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Chisti who gives the date of the death of Shaikh ‘Ala’u’d-Din as 13 Rabi‘ul-Awwal 690/16 March 1291 writes that during his time the *‘urs* of the Shaikh was celebrated by thousands with fervour. For three days, observes the Chistiyya hagiographer food was distributed in abundant quantity.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), pp. 135-6.

Mir’atu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 851-8.

Ma‘ariju’l-Wilayat (R), MS, Panjab University Library; Shirani Collection (Panjab University, Lahore, Library, no. 7765), f. 104.

Siyaru’l-Aqtab, Lucknow, 1881, pp. 177-84, 215-22.

‘Ala’u’d-Din ‘Attar, Khwaja Muhammad: A native of Khwarazm, he distinguished himself as the leading *khalifa* of the Khwaja Baha’u’d-Din Naqshaband. After the death of his spiritual teacher, he settled in Chaghaniyan near Hisar-Shadman (Dushanbe in Tajikistan). Both ulama and Sufis regarded him as a leader with great spiritual sensitivity. His own contribution, along with that of his celebrated disciple Maulana Ya‘qub Charkhi, to the development of Naqshbandiyya order was enormous. He died in 802/1400. One of his descendants, Khwaja Mahmud Naqshabandi ‘Alwi Husaini, played a seminal role in the spread of Naqshbandiyya teachings in Kashmir and at the Mughal court.

Rashahat, pp. 56-7, 80-90.

Mir’atu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 1063-7.

Hasan Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, first published in Turkey as *Hacegan Hanedani*, English tr. Muhtar Holland, Oxford, 1983.

‘Ala’u’d-Din Awadhi, Saiyid: Khalifa of Shaikh ‘Abdu’s-Salam Paran, he was a Sufi of high spiritual worth, fond of *sama‘*. He died in 977/1569-70.

Miratu’l-Asrar (U), p. 1118.

‘Ala’u’d-Din Nilay, Maulana: He was an *‘alim* of Awadh and earned good name for his dedication to the Sufi Path. Shaikh ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Chisti describes him as one of the *khalifa*s of Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), pp. 170-1.

Mir’atu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 880.

‘Ala’u’d-Din Qureshi Gawaliari, Shaikh: His ancestral home was Gwalior, and he was disciple and *khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz. On the advice of his *pir*, ‘Ala’u’d-Din secluded himself at his residence until his death. According to Shaikh, ‘Abdu’l-Haqq, his tomb in Muhammadabad (Kalpi) was a place of pilgrimage for high and low.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), p. 290.

‘Ala’u’d-Din Usuli, Maulana: He was resident of Badau’n. The story behind his initiation in Suhrawardiyya order, recorded in the *Khyar al-Majalis*, is interesting. Once during the days of his youth, the Maulana was passing through a street of Bada’un. Shaikh Jalalu’d-Din who happened to be there called him and after taking off his own clothes asked the boy to wear them.

The Maulana was a paragon of virtue and excellent qualities. He imparted free education. Although he lived in abject poverty, he accepted gifts only under compelling circumstances. One day the Maulana’s barber, moved by the appalling conditions of his household, persuaded a wealthy person to offer a thousand *jittal* and several articles of food as gifts to him. The Maulana was furious; he refused the gift and rebuked the barber for revealing the secrets of the *dervishes*.

‘Ala’u’d-Din Usuli’s prominent pupil was Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya who took lessons from him in Muslim law.

Fawa’id al-Fu’ad, English tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Delhi, 1996, pp. 315-17.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 190-1.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar, p. 77.

‘Ala’u’d-Din, Hajji: He was an ascetic who came from the Islamicized Khukhar tribe in the Panjab. He is reported to have made several pilgrimages to Mecca. His son Naushah Ganj Baksh (d.1064/1654) exercised a considerable spiritual and social influence on various villages around Lahore. See Naushah Ganj Baksh.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 67.

‘Ala’u’l-Haqq, Shaikh: *Khalifa* of the well-known Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Akhi Siraju’d-Din, he was a distinguished scholar and a member of the elite in the government of Ilyas Shah (1342-57) of Bengal. He became a disciple of Shaikh Akhi Siraju'd-Din on the latter's arrival in Pandua. Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir traces his ancestry to the noted companion of the Prophet, Khalid bin Walid. Known for his charities, he died on 1 Rajab 800/20 March 1398. His disciples made their mark in various parts of northern India. His *khalifa* in Bengal was his son, Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, popularly known as Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 143.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1013-15.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 199b-201a.

'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani: Born in Simnan in Zu'l-Hijja 659/November 1261, 'Ala'u'd-Dawla's father was the governor of Baghdad and Iraq under the Ilkhanid Arghun (1284-91), and his uncle was a *wazir*. 'Ala'u'd-Dawla entered the service of the Ilkhanids at the age of fifteen. What, however, led to his conversion to Sufism was a vision in 1284 that aroused in him a desire for further spiritual experience. In October 1286 he went on leave and later resigned.

'Ala'u'd-Din left Simnan for Baghdad in February-March 1287 in order to learn at the feet of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Nuru'd-Din 'Abdu'r-Rahman al-Isfara'ini al-Kasirqi (d. 717/1317). He could not continue his journey as the officers of Arghun's government at Hamadan seized him and took him to Sultaniyya near Tabriz, which was then under construction. There Simnani took part in several debates against the *bakhshis* or *bhikhsus* (those who beg) who, under the patronage of Hulagu (1256-65) the Ilkhanid, had addressed themselves to the revival of Buddhism. Their activities had, however, resulted in the emergence of syncretic beliefs in Buddhism, as for example, that Allah was the exalted, supreme deity, Shakyamuni or the Buddha was a prophet blessed with a life span of 84,000 years. The *bakhshis* believed in the existence of hell and heaven (Karl Jahn, *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, pp. XXXV-XLIX). Impressed with the victory of Simnani over the *bakhshis,* the Arughun invited him to remain at his court. But he declined, making his escape. The local Sufi Sa'du'llah, under whom he had earlier been initiated into the practice of ascetic exercises, gave him Isfara'ini's *khirqa*. He received further spiritual training directly from Isfran'ini after reaching Baghdad in 1289. In 1290 he established a *khanqah* at Sufiyabad, near Simnan. After going on *hajj*, the remainder of his life was spent in teaching and writing.

As a Sufi, Simnani preached that the final stage of Sufi ascent was serving—*'ubudiyya*. Unity of Being, in his view, was merely an initial stage in the Sufi journey leading ultimately to the belief that the relationship between all creation and the Oneness or the divine essence was distant, the latter being exalted far above the former. Known as the Unity of Appearance (*Wahdat al-Shuhud* or *Wahdatus'h-Shuhud*), this theory was distinct from that of the Hallaj school whose members believed that it is not only 'sight' or 'look', but an actual presence. In other words, *Wahdat al-Shuhud* is total witness: it is God witnessing to Himself in the heart of his votary (*'abid*).

Simnani was a firm believer in the efficacy of Sufism as a moral and spiritual force. This explains the fact that he used *khanqahs* as centres for the dissemination of spiritual and moral education. He abhorred the idea of living in poverty as this amounted to a rejection of God's bounty. Instead, he bought large tracts of land in order to create vital resources for the upkeep of his *khanqah*. He said *pirs* were like fowlers and could not always expect to catch a falcon. By this he meant that Sufis should enrol disciples in large numbers irrespective of competence and abilities. The impact of his ideas on his own disciples trained in his *khanqah* was immense. They travelled in Iran and India. Such was the influence of the teachings of Simnani that after his death scores of Sufis of the Kubrawiyya order came to Kashmir, established *khanqahs* there and played a significant role in the evolution of *Shari'ah*-consciousness in the Hindu-Buddhist social environment of Kashmir. It is not correct to say, as Rizvi believes, that the aim of his disciples was to "divert Indian Sufis from belief in the Unity of Being, which by then most had adopted." The fact is, as Rizvi himself admits, that some of Simnani's leading disciples subscribed to the ideas of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* of Ibn 'Arabi. They even wrote commentaries on the *Fusus al-Hikam*. None of them dramatized polarity between the *Wujudi* and the *Shuhudi* concepts in the manner of modern scholars.

Encyclopaedia Islam, III, p. 102.

Karl Jahn, *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, The Hague, 1965, pp. XXXV-XLIX

Chihl Majlis, ff. 62a-62b, as quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 250.

'Alau'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din bin Shaikh Badru'd-Din bin Sharafu'd-Din Ansari (d. 788/1386). His father was very popular among the Rajput cultivators of Barnawa, a village near Delhi in a forest. He succeeded his father as a Chistiyya Sufi.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 275-6.

'Ali Bada'uni, Khwaja: Also known as 'Ali Maula, he was a noted disciple of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi. His piety and spiritual exaltedness were recognized by his contemporary ulama including Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Usuli, who asked 'Ali Maula to tie the *dastar* round Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's head at a feast arranged by the latter's mother. 'Ali Maula was so moved by the young Nizamu'd-Din's simplicity and great humbleness of mind and behaviour that he prophesied, "O Maulana! He will rise high".

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 190-1.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, p. 181.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 145.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, p. 155.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 155.

'Ali bin Qiwam, Saiyid: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din, an eminent Chistiyya ascetic of Jaunpur. Now and then he would either wear a *khirqa* or military uniform. He considered himself a servant of *dervishes*. He died in 905/1499-1500.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 188.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 302a.

'Ali Khan Ju: A resident of the village of Saibug in the modern district of Badgam, Kashmir, and a *khalifa* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he distinguished himself as a Suhrawardiyya Sufi of immense piety. His diciples were numerous and lies buried in the village of his birth.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 183.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 241.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 201.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

'Ali Khatib, Shaikh: Nothing is known about him beyond the fact that he was a disciple of the famous Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Qutb-i 'Alam, and that the former's well-known disciple was Shaikh Siraju'd-Din. Sultan Mahmud Begarh of Gujarat was the latter's devotee.

Mira't-i Sikandari, pp. 79-84.

Al-i Muhammad: The offspring of the Prophet Muhammad.

'Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh: His ancestors were from Jaunpur. Born at Burhanpur in 885/1480-1, he was the son of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din. When 'Ali Muttaqi was just seven or eight years old, his father took him to Shah Bajan Chisti Burhanpuri who enrolled him as his disciple. After completing his education, he joined the court of the sultans of Mandu and became wealthy. However, neither the court atmosphere nor the riches suited 'Ali Muttaqi's temperament. He renounced his possessions and obtained initiation in the Chistiyya order from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hakim, the son of Shaikh Bajan, who also bestowed on him a *khirqa* of *khilafat* (succession). From Burhanpur he travelled to Multan where he performed severe ascetic exercises under Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Muttaqi for about two years in addition to studying under him the *Tafsir Baizawi* and the *Kitab 'Aynu'l-'ilm*.

During his wanderings in search of pious men, 'Ali Muttaqi visited many places and distanced himself from the crowd. He reached Gujarat and married only to fulfil the obligations of the *Sunnah*. A child was born to him who died in infancy. Such was the impact of his personality on his wife that she volunteered to remain with him and serve him as his disciple after being divorced by him. Some of her relatives too became his disciples and later built a *khanqah* and mosque outside the Shahpur gate in Ahmedabad.

The Shaikh did not grant an interview to Sultan Bahadur (932/1526-943/1537) of Gujarat when he decided to call on him. However, thanks to the intervention of Qazi Abdu'llah Sindhi, a personal friend of the Shaikh, the Sultan ultimately called at his *khanqah* to listen to his discourse with devotional joy. A huge amount of money later sent by the sultan to the Shaikh was immediately passed on to the Qazi (*Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, f. 66).

Shaikh 'Ali left Ahmedabad for Mecca after the defeat of Sultan Bahadur at the hands of Humayun in 942/1536. There in the holy land he became the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hasan Bakri of Diyar Bakr, a renowned Sufi of excellent qualities. Later he was initiated as a Qadiriyya, Shaziliyya and Madyaniyya by Shaikh Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Sakhawi in Mecca (*Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, f. 66). He was also appointed as a *khalifa* of these orders besides being vouschafed a *khirqa*.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud (943/1537-961/1553-4), he returned to Gujarat for a short sojourn but finally settled in Mecca dedicating hismself to study, writing and teaching.

'Ali Muttaqi had a passion for collecting manuscripts. He would on occassion pay a price for elegantly copied manuscripts and once did not hesitate to borrow money from a non-Arab merchant in Arabia for procuring the *Mawahib Laduniya* at an exorbitant price. He had several copies made and sent one to Gujarat. Although he earned his own living by copying manuscripts, he received huge gifts (*futuh*) from the Sultan of Turkey. But such was the concern of the Shaikh for widows, the poor, and *dervishes*, that even the resources of Turkey and his loans money from merchants were insufficient to meet the needs of his charities (*Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, ff. 17b-18a).

True to the tradition of the Chistiyya *silsilah*, 'Ali Muttaqi believed in the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and his attitude to the same was a moderate one. He was critical of those Indian Mahdawis who accepted Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpur as a Mahdi. Having declared himself a Mahdi once in a state of trance in Mecca, he recanted immediately on regaining consciousness. 'Ali Muttaqi travelled to Gujarat from Mecca in order to undermine the influence of the Mahdawi movement on Gujarat. But neither the Shaikh's "outpourings" nor the *fatwas* issued by the ulama of Mecca and Medina could cow down the Mahdawis who nicknamed him *Muftari* (Liar). Disgusted, he returned to Mecca. He died in 975/1567.

'Ali Muttaqi was a prolific writer of over hundred books, most of them being short treatises. His great work on Sufism titled *Hukm-i Kabir* contained a summary of all issues on Sufism. He is said to have advised his friends to consult the latter as and when they needed an answer on any issue related to *Tasawwuf*. His masterpiece was an encylopaedia of *Hadis*, the *Kanz al-'Ummal*. It sought to rearrange in alphabetical order the *ahadis* compiled by Jalalu'd-Din Abu'l-Fazl 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad's as-Suyuti (d. 911/1505) in his *Jama' al-Jawami'* or *Jami' al-Musnad*. According to Rizvi, "Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi's work was designed to facilitate consultation of these traditions by Faqihs, and is still recognized as a masterly contribution". His teacher, Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Bakri commented that Suyuti's *Jama' al-Jawami'* was a gift to the world. The greatness of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi as a Sufi and scholar of *Hadis* was recognized even during his lifetime in the Arab world. Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Hajar of Mahallat Abi'l Haitam in al-Gharbiya (Egypt), a renowned Shafi' jurist who had settled in Mecca in 924/1518-19 and lived there until his death on 23 Rajab 974/3 February 1567, often consulted the *Kanz al-'Ummal* and found it useful (*Zadu'l-muttaqin*, f. 12a). His disciples spread from the Yemen to Syria and from Gujarat to the Deccan. His successor was an Indian, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab al-Muttaqi al-Qadiri, who joined him in Jumada 963/March-April 1556.

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, who spent considerable time in Mecca with Shaikh 'Ali's closest disciple and *khalifa*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, wrote a testimony to the excellence of the former's knowledge and its effect on the ulama and *masha'ikh* of the Holy Land. Although Shaikh 'Ali initially learnt at the feet of the redoubtable Meccan scholar and theologian, Shaikh Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani, later the latter took pride in calling himself a pupil of his erstwhile student. So impressed was 'Asqalani by the learning of his Indian born pupil that he became a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali and had not the slightest reservations or doubts in obtaining a *khirqa* from him.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l Haqq, *Zadu'l-Muttaqin*, Rampur Ms. *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* (U), pp. 435-53.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 370-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 319-23.

'Ali Piru, Shaikh: He belonged to Gujarat. Author of several useful and fine books, his commentary on the Qur'an, known as *Tafsir-i Rahmani*, was described by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis-i Dihlawi as well researched. While his commentary on *Fususu'l-Hikam* seeks to reconcile exoteric and esoteric, his *Risala al-Tawhid*, though brief, is composed of fine essays. Shaikh 'Ali quotes several verses of the Qur'an to impress upon *saliks* the omnipotence and omnipresence of Allah. His advice to people is to dispel doubts on the basis of knowledge. The *ma'rifah* of Allah can be obtained on the firm foundations of spiritual knowledge, i.e. the Qur'an, *Hadis*, and the way of life of the majority of ulama dedicated to the supreme task of recognizing Allah in this world through deep reflection on His signs.

'Abdu'l-Haqq, though all praise for Shaikh 'Ali Piru's perfect understanding of exoteric and esoteric knowledge, does not either give the date of his death or any clue related to the period in which he lived. However, Ghausi Shattari describes his date of death as 803/1400-01.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 318-20.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 127-8.

'Ali Rishi: The brother of Mahdi Rishi (d. 1099/687-8 or 1090/1679) and a disciple of Mir Muhammad Baqir, described as an *'abid* and *'amil*, he was cast in the mould of the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir. 'Ali Rishi devoted himself to the worship of Allah at the village of Kuneel in the *pargana* of Chrath. One of his disciples, Shaikh Ya'qub, secluded himself at Jamalata in Srinagar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 146.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

'Ali Shah Chisti, Saiyid: A *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi of Jalandhar, Saiyid 'Alimu'llah (d. 1202/1787), he died in Jalandhar in 1213/1798-9.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, p. 508.

'Ali Shaikh: Nothing is known about him except that he was a Sufi of intrinsic qualities and lived at Khunamoh in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

'Alif: first letter of the Arabic alphabet; symbol of Allah; numerical value 1.

'alim: a scholar learned in religious sciences; a member of the ulama class.

'Alimu'llah Gangohi, Maulavi: A disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mirza Jan-i Janan (d. 1195/1781), who came from the last resting place of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, he joined the fold of the Naqshbandiyyas rather than the Chistiyyas.

Shah Ghulam 'Ali (originally named Shah 'Abdu'llah), *Maqamat-i Mazhariyya*, Delhi, 1309/1892, p. 69.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 688-9.

'Alimu'llah, Saiyid: He was the son of Saiyid 'Atiqu'llah Chisti of Jalandhar. Born on 22 Jumada 1 1109/6 December 1697, he received his early education from Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali. Later Miran Shah Bhikh initiated him as a Chistiyya. Having received advanced spiritual education from two well-known Chistiyya Sufis, he wrote treatises on Sufism and commentaries on Shaikh Sa'adi's *Bustan* and *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*. Both as a Sufi and a poet, Saiyid 'Alimu'llah Saiyid gained considerable popularity in Jalandhar and its neighbourhood. He died on 16 Safar 1202/27 November 1787 and was buried in his hometown.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 55-6.

Allah: the name of the creator of the universe in the Qur'an.

Allahdiya Khairabadi: A disciple of Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi who died in 993/1585.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 273.

Allahdad Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he was a disciple of the famous seventeenth-century Suhrawardiya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Amanu'llah Afghan, Shaikh: a disciple of Saiyid Ibrahim Bhakarri. He followed the principles of *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa* and performed *hajj*. He died in Madina.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 389-90.

Amanu'llah Malik Shahabad: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'ruf (1180/1766-7) was buried at Shahabad in the Valley.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 351.

Amanu'llah Panipati, Shaikh: His original name was 'Abdu'l-Malik but he was better known under his title, Amanu'llah. Although affiliated to several Sufi orders, he distinguished himself as a leading Qadiriyya after becoming a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Maudud Lari. He read the *Fusus al-Hikam* and several other related works on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* on the advice of his *pir*. Himself an author of several treatises on *tasawwuf*, Amanu'llah's most important works include the *Asbat al-Ahadiyya* and a commentary on the *Lawa'ih* of Mawalana 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami. In the former he dispels several false notions about the *Wahdat al-Wujud* on the basis of Mawlana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi's *Sharah-i Ruba'iyat*. He argued that divine reality was not infused into all existence and that "the unknowable essence (or God existing in Himself) was so absolute that it was even free from the attribute of absoluteness". The recurrence (*tajdid*) of creation could therefore be understood only in terms of the self-revelation of the essence and then "in a perpetual cycle of the passing away of forms". In his commentary on the *Lawa'ih*, Aman'ullah emphasized the importance of refining one's morals in the Sufi way while being devoted to the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and descendants. His excessive *zikr* and meditation did not lead him to neglect his routine obligatory prayers in the strictest sense; rather it was his ecstatic state that rendered him unable to recite

"Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help" (Qur'an 1:4) during the course of prayer. Shaikh Aman founded no *khanqah*. So scrupulously did he detest the idea of having any form of ownership that he invariably distributed gifts in charity to those who flocked to his humble dwelling. He slept a little and fasted continuously. He died on 11 Rabi' II 957/29 April 1550, a day after collapsing while distributing food to the people of Delhi on the eve of the *'urs* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. He was buried near the tomb of his *pir* in Panipat.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 241-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 244-5.

Aminu'd-Din A'la: He was the grandson of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Bijapur, Shah Miranji. Shahpur Hillock, the resting place of Shah Miranji and his son, Burhanu'd-Din Janam and the grandson, Aminu'd-Din A'la, is now locally known as the "Amin Dargah".

Born in the year of his father's death, 1597, Aminu'd-Din received spiritual training at the Shahpur Hillock from three of Burhanu'd-Din Janam's most leading *khalifas*: Mahmud Khush Dahan, Saiyid Dawal, and Sayid Khudawand Shah. A Sufi immersed in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, Aminu'd-Din's apparent laxity in terms of following the laws of the *Shari'ah* became a source of great concern for the ulama. According to *Makhzanu'l-Amin*, the Sufi was criticised by his contemporary leading *'alim*, Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari (d. 1685-6), for creating the cult of *pirs* among his followers in conscious violation of the fundamental Islamic teaching that God alone deserves to be worshipped. When a group of ulama along with Muhammad Bukhari were allowed by Aminu'd-Din to present their arguments in light of the Qur'an, the *Hadis*, and the commentaries and opinions of earlier scholars, the learned assembly, however, ruled in favour of the Sufi. This ruling distinguished the prostration of servitude (*sijda-i bandagi*) reserved for God from the prostration of respect (*sijda-i ta'zim*) lawfully suitable for any of five special relationships: the faithful to the Prophet, a *murid* to a *pir*, a citizen to a king, a child to a parent, and a slave to a master. While accepting the ruling of the ulama, Muhammad Bukhari later regretted accusing Aminu'd-Din of violating the *Shari'ah*.

Aminu'd-Din's followers included both Muslims and Hindus. Eaton has identified fourteen *khalifas* of Aminu'd-Din A'la, including his only son and *sajjada-nishin*, Baba Shah. He authored several works including those given below.

Aminu'd-Din A'la died at the age of 78 in 1675.

M. Akbaruddin Siddiqi, "The Dakani Inscription on the Amin *Dargah* in Bijapur", *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1968, pp. 79-81.

Aminu'd-Din A'la, *Risala-i Wujudiyya*, Dakhni MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tasawwuf and Akhlaq no. 102), fol. 4b.

——*Risala-i Qurbiyya*, Dakhni MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tasawwuf and Akhlaq no. 99), fol. 70b.

——*Risala-i Tasawwuf*, Dakhni MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tsawwuf and Akhlaq no. 59).

Aminu'd-Din A'la II, *Makhzanu'l-Amin*, Persian MS (Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, Tasawwuf no. 1722), p. 194.

Shajatu'l-Atqiyya, p. 35, lines 2-6.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 78; 136.

Amir Hasan Sizji: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu-d-Din Auliya' and the author of *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad*. He was also an eminent poet. His full name was Amir Najmu'd-Din Hasan Sijzi. He was born in Bada'un in 652/1254-5 and started writing poetry at the age of thirteen. True, as a poet, Hasan is less-known as compared to his contempory, Amir Khusraw. Yet it has been observed that at times, he seems superior to Amir Khusraw and "his verses convey more of truly mystical spirit" than the latter's.

Amir Hasan seems to have become the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' some time before 707/1307. The Shaikh advised him to devote more time to recitation of the Qur'an than to the writing of poetry. Though punctilious about obligatory prayers, he took great comfort in *sama'*.

Hasan authored two works in prose, namely, *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* and *Mukhkh al-Ma'ani*. While the latter work deals with the theme of love, about *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* K.A. Nizami observes: "There is hardly any Indo-Muslim mystic work of the middle ages in which the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* has not been approvingly quoted. It gives us an insight into the life and principles of the Chisti saints besides illumining many aspects of popular life during the early middle ages." According to Ziau'l-Hasan Faruqi, Amir Hasan's book "deserves to be classified as one of the classics in didactic literature on *tasawwuf*. Its value as a great literary work can well be judged by the envious offer of Amir Khusraw to give Hasan all his works in exhange for *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*."

Hasan remained unmarried and died at Daulatabad either in 737 or 738/1336 or 1337.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, English translation with introduction and historical annotation by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Delhi, 1996.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 911-14.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India in the Thirteenth Century,* rpt. Delhi, 1978, pp. 375-6.

Shakil Ahmad Siddiqui, *Amir Hasan Sizji Dehlawi: Hayat aur Adabi Khidmat,* Lucknow, 1979.

Amir Husain: Son of 'Alim bin Abu'l-Hasan al-Husaini, he was popularly known as Husaini Sadat Amir. His father was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya who accompanied his spiritual master to Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish in connection with a *mahzar* organized to enquire into the charge of adultery levelled by the Shaikh al-Islam, Najmu'd-Din Sughra, against Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi. Rizvi rightly considers him to be a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif. True, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti quotes some verses from Amir Husaini's *Kanzu'r-Rumuz* to show him as a disciple of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya; but this view is not borne out by Amir Husain's work entitled the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah* (Delight of Souls) that leads S.A.A. Rizvi to assert that the author must have been born ten years after the death of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, in December 1318. Rizvi does not agree either with 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami who describes the date of death of Amir Husain as 16 Shawwal 718/11 December 1318 while the latter's work the *Zadu'l-Musafirin* (Supplies for Travellers on the Mystic Road) bears the date of its composition in 720/1320.

Amir Husain was an erudite scholar born in Ghizv, a village in Ghur, where he received good education. From there, he migrated to Multan to become a disciple of the Suhrawaridyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif. He lived in Multan for a long time and composed verses in praise of Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Firuz Khalji (1290-6). From Multan he went to Herat, where he became famous. His letter written to the distinguished Sufi of Tabriz, Sa'du'd-Din Mahmud Shabistari (d. 720/1320) in early 1311, raises fifteen questions on Sufism. A brief outline of this is necessary:

Q. 1. "What is the exact nature of thought (*tafakkur*) relating to the sole existence of Real being?" A. "Thought is of two kinds: one logical reasoning, the other spiritual illumination. The first method is inapplicable, because sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena. They are powerless to shake off the illusion of the apparent reality of the sensible world. Whatever philosophers and theologians may say of God merely serves to prove their own incapacity to understand Him." Q. 2. "What sort of thought conditions the mystic path?" A. "Reason is blinded by excessive light, as a bat is by the sun. In the phenomenal world are reflected, as in a mirror, various attributes of being. 'Natural realism' should be abandoned and then 'the Truth,' from which all else emanates, can be seen. Although man, who is the 'microcosm' in a macrocosm may see in himself reflections of all the divine attributes, there is a side to his nature which is both evil and non-existent. This deters him from a union in which thought is no longer possible." Q. 3. "What is 'I' and the meaning of 'travel into yourself'?" A. "The journey entails travelling from the phenomenal, non-existent self to the real self, which is one with the Truth. When a man's phenomenal self is effaced, only the real self remains, the control of law over him is rendered ineffective." Q. 4. "Who is the traveller and who is the perfect man?" A. "The traveller is one who journeys to God. But the perfect man is one who does not rest at this ecstatic union with the Truth. He journeys back down to the phenomenal world where he conforms to outward laws and by so doing brings forth the fruit of good works. Perfection in the saintly state would be seen in the Mahdi, 'the seal of the Saints' who would have attained the 'Truth' in a perfect way." Q. 5. "Who learns the secret of unity?" A. "One who knows that all things are One dies to his own self and lives, with his regenerate soul, in God. This is achieved by sweeping away everything that separates God and the soul, for true mystical union cannot be achieved when duality and self remain." Q. 6. "If the Knower and the Known are one, how does the Knower feel drawn towards the Known?" A. "The fact that man in his phenomenal state does not exist without God makes him aspire to a union and he is drawn magnetically towards him." Q. 7. "Why is a person who says, 'I am the Truth', a vain babbler?" A. "Someone like Mansur al-Hallaj, who has discarded his phenomenal self can say 'I am the Truth.' However, God can withdraw what belongs to Him and all things can fall away into their original nothingness contained in the phenomenal self." Q. 8. "How one can become 'united'?" A. "Union means annihilation of the phenomenal element in man. But this cannot be achieved on one's own. It is a continuous process in which phenomena are constantly annihilated. Annihilation is union." Q. 9. "What is the union between contingency and necessity?" A. "The illusion of free will is Magianism, involving the belief that initially there is an evil cause which can be routed by a good one. This, however, is an illusion because the only free agent is the Truth. Man is a passive instrument in God's hands, his only glory lying in abandoning his own will to that of God's." Q. 10. "What is the relationship between the holy law and sainthood?" A. "The law can be compared to a shell and the state of sainthood to the pearl within it. The Sufi must extract the pearl, without breaking it until it is fully formed. So without the law a mystic cannot develop towards the higher state to which he aspires, but it is the disposition of saintliness which sanctifies the efforts of devotees." Q. 11. "What part is greater than the whole and how can it be found?" A. "Absolute Being is the all-embracing Being. However, in one sense phenomenal being is wider because it is a combination of the two and is renewed at every moment. In a perfect union there remains no duality, so faith, reason, devotion, paradise and so on become meaningless. Union in the world is followed by separation." Q. 12. "Are the eternal and temporal separate? Is one the world and the other God?" A. "No, all is One and the eternal and temporal are not two distinct entities. The temporal is a subjective illusion, just like a circle of fire which can be seen when a single spark is whiled around quickly." Q. 13-15. "How can the use of various Sufi symbols in poetry, such as the eye, lip, cheek, curl, and mole, be explained? How can one also explain that Sufis haunt taverns and may even believe that idol-worship, ideas from Christianity, and so on, can be useful in the mystic path?" A. "Sufis express their conception of God and universe, and of their own ecstatic experiences in language which may appear unseemly to others, but it is not so to them. They are also ready to appreciate the positive and true aspects contained in other religions such as Christianity, Magianism and even in idolatry."

Amir Husaini was a scholar and Sufi of great standing. While on the one hand he combined in himself passion for both poetry and *sama'*, on the other, he believed Sufis to be a divine army with *Shari'ah* the hair and and *Tariqa* the head. He was critical of charlatans disguised as Sufis in order to oppose *Shari'ah* in the name of *Haqiqa*. Considering the ulama and the Sufis to be the leaders of the community by virtue of their knowledge and asceticism respectively, he believed that their discourses showed light to the misguided. Notwithstanding his commitment to *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*, Amir Husaini was tolerant of Hinduism. As he observes, "The Hindu, who always worships idols, Every morning makes invocations. On his tongue there is nothing but Thy *zikr*, Brahmanical thread he wears and the names he takes are only intermediaries. All these are part of his religion and faith, In Reality he sees nothing in his faith but Thou" (*Zadu'l-Musafirin*, f. 8b).

Husaini authored several works on Sufism. Written in mixed prose, *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah* focuses on the spiritual path of the holy pilgrims. *Kanzu'r-Rumuz* in the form of *masnawi* describes the obligatory duties of Islam from the Sufi standpoint. It also deals with knowledge, truth, *ma'rif*, the heart, Sufism in general, and the stages of a Sufi journey. *Tarabu'l-Majalis* (Emotion of Mystic Assemblies) is prose work of Sufic and ethical importance. *Zadu'l-Musarfirin* (Provisions for Travellers on the Sufi Path) imitates both Sanai's *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqa* and the *Gulistan* of Sa'di of Shiraz. *Haft Ganj* (Seven Treasures) is collection of the poems of Amir Husaini. Other works of Amir Husaini such as his *Diwan*, *Sirat al-Mustaqim*, *Ruh al-Arwah* and *Sirr-Nama*, though referred to in various texts, have not yet been discovered.

Nizami remarks that Husaini, along with Iraqi and Awhadi, "form that famous Suhrawardi trio which played a very prominent part in popularizing mystic ideas through their *Lama'at*, *Tardji* and *Zad al-musafirin*." Daulat Shah calls him a second Junaid in "scholarship and eminence"; a modern literary critic "places him next to Sa'di and Rumi in the history of Persian literature" (*Rahnuma-i Kitab*).

Kanzu'r-Rumuz, Ethe, 1830, f. 45a.

Zadu'l-Musafirin, Ethe, 1832, f. 8b.

Jamali, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin*, Delhi, 1311, pp. 110-11.

Jami, *Nafahatu'l-Uns*, Lucknow, 1915, p. 545.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 823-5.

Gharib Yemeni, *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*, Delhi, 1298/1880-1, pp. 366-7.

Sultan Husain, *Majalisu'l-'Ushshaq,* Lucknow, 1897, pp. 126-8.

Amin Razi, *Hafi Iqlim,* ed. Javed Fazil, II, pp. 124-7.

Dara-Shukoh, *Safinatu'l-Auliya,* 1900, pp. 115-16.

Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya,* Lucknow, 1873, II, pp. 43-4.

Rahnuma-i Kitab, Tehran, vii, no. I, Autumn 1964, pp. 25-35.

Nizami, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new edn., III, p. 635.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, p. 206.

Amir Khusraw, Abu'l-Hasan: Son of Amir Saifu'd-Din Mahmud, an immigrant in Delhi from the area near Balkh, Abu'l-Hasan Khusraw was born in 651/1253-4. His father held a high official position at the court of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish. He received a fine literary education, developed a taste for poetry at an early age, and began composing verse (as per his own statement in the *Ghurrat al-Kamal*) at the age of twelve. Besides acquiring proficiency in Persian language he learnt some Turkic dialects, and Hindawi in the multi-ethnic environment of Delhi.

Khusraw enjoyed immense respect at the court of the provincial governors and later the sultans of Delhi from Balban to Ghiyasu'd-Din Tughluq for his writing, his eulogies of his patrons, their victories, etc. He earned the title of *Tut-i Hind* (Parrot of India).

Notwithstanding Khusraw's close association with the sultans, he was essentially rooted in the Sufi tradition as a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. This is evident not only from his regular attendance at the *jama'at-khana* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya at the end of the day, but also from his abiding contribution to the development of Sufism in India in its specific historical and cultural context. He invented the *sitar* and several melodies for it in a mixture of Persian and Indian tunes. Popular Indian melodies such as *Qawl*, unquestionably the creation of Amir Khusraw, were designed to create uniqueness in Sufi *sama'* rituals, in which he himself participated. He was often overcome with ecstasy and, sometimes, he would himself sing in the presence of the Sufis including his revered *murshid*.

Ziyau'd-Din Barani draws a vivid picture of his intimate friend, Amir Khusraw, in these words: "Above and beyond all his scholarship, fluency and proficiency he was an upright Sufi. For the most of his life he offered prayers, observed fasts, recited the Holy Qur'an, etc. He was equally exceptional in performing obligatory worship and doing beneficence to others by way of charitable acts. He kept fasts regularly and was among the most trustworthy disciples of the Shaikh. I have not met any other devotee more sincere and more faithful than Khusraw. He was impregnated with divine love and participated in *sama'*. He was a maestro who used to invent new *ragas* and tunes. Khusraw had a poetic nature and was a kind-hearted man of elegant taste. In every art related to skill and refined taste, God had made him unique. He was completely inimitable and his personality in this era was one of the wonders of time."

Amir Khwurd says that Khusraw, after having offered *tahajjud* prayers, would recite seven chapters of the Holy Qur'an everyday. "Tell me O Turk", Nizamu'd-Din Auliya once asked him, "how did you find your devotion?" "Sir, it so happens that I bitterly weep late in the night", Khusraw submitted. "Praise be to Allah, now some signs have begun to emerge" the Shaikh gave him glad tidings.

Khusraw was a prolific writer in both poetry and prose. Whenever he wrote a new book he would bring its first copy to his Shaikh to bless by reciting the first chapter of the Qur'an. The Shaikh would then pray for its popularity.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis pays glowing tribute to Amir Khusraw for his impeccable integrity and character. In spite of the fact that he attended court regularly and had close links with the royal family and the nobility, he did not neglect his spiritual development. Even during his extensive travels, he felt spiritually elevated, thanks to the blessings showered on him by his *murshid*. When Khusraw was not in Delhi, Nizamu'd-Din Auliya would write to him. Such letters expressive of the Sufi master's affection and love for his favourite disciple, who was addressed therein as *Turkullah*, were preserved by Khusraw with great care. However, in accordance with the will of Khusraw, the letters are said to have been buried along with him after his death. The contents of some of these letters, nonetheless, intermittently adorn the pages of the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*. One such letter reads: "After protecting yourself against deeds contrary to the *Shari'ah*, you should keep away from unpleasant things and should stick to your time table conscientiously. This precious life which is the means for accomplishing all aspirations should be valued and time should not be squandered in running after worthless trifles. If you are content with your sense of right and wrong, you should follow it as this is realistic in the Sufi way of life (*tariqat*). In all affairs you should seek Allah's guidance."

At the time of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's death, Amir Khusraw was with Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Tughluq on his Bengal expedition. The news of his *murshid's* death shocked him. Returning to Delhi within the shortest possible time, he made his way straight to the tomb of his preceptor. Clad in black clothes and with his collar open, hair matted and uncombed, he embraced the grave and shed abundant tears in distress. Afterwards he said to those present: 'Who am I to wail for this monarch? I lament my own fate, because I will not survive him much longer." Simultaneously he composed an elegy in memory of his *murshid*. Until his death on 18 Shawwal 725/27 September 1325, Amir Khusraw sat near the Shaikh's tomb as *mujjawir* in total renunciation of the world.

Amir Khwurd, Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak, *Siyaru'l-Auliya'*, Delhi, 1302/1885.

Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Urdu tr. Moinu'l-Haq, Lahore, n.d.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 182-5.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 907-11.

Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta, 1935.

Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, Bombay, 1927.

Dr. Aftab Asghar, "Elegy Writing of Amir Khusro and the Elegy of Hazrat Khwaja Nizam al-Din Auliya", in *Majallaae Tehqiq*, vol. I, nos. 3-4, Lahore, 1979.

Nisar Ahmed Faruqi, "Ameer Khusro in the Presence of His Mentor Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia", *Contemporary Relevance of Sufism*, ed. Syeda Saiyidain Hameed, Delhi, 1993, pp. 59-81.

Amir Khwurd: See Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Mahmud Kirmani.

Amir Saiyid Ahmad: He was the son of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani. He became a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 103.

Amrit-Kunda: Originally believed to have been translated into Arabic by Qazi Ruknu'd-Din Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Amidi of Samarqand, the author of the *Kitab al-Irshad*. He visited Lakhnauti between 1209-10 and 1216-17 and was initiated into Hatha-Yogic priniciples by a Siddha, called Bhojar Brahman. The work was later translated into Persian. A further Arabic version was again prepared by a Brahman from Kamrup, apparently in collaboration with a Muslim scholar. This version was re-translated into Persian by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari (906/1500-1 to 970/1562-3). Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi who had an extensive knowledge of the Arabic and Persian versions of the *Amrita-Kunda*, which were widespread before the translation by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, imparted its essence to one of his disciples, Shaikh Sulaiman. The title of the book given by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus is *Hauzu'l-Hayat*, an exact equivalent of the *Amrita-Kunda*. Another title of the book is *Bahru'l-Hayat* (Ocean of Life or Immortality).

Catalogue Codicum Orientalium, Or F. 113 (3), ff. 29a-47a; Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, 7732 (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 335).

T.W. Arnold, *A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures*, I and III, revised and ed. by J.V.S. Wilkinson, London, 1936.

'Abdu'l-Quddus, *Maktubat-i Quddusiyya*, Delhi, 1871.

ana al-Haqq: "I am the Creative Truth", uttered by al-Hallaj (exec. in 922 in Baghdad). Superficially interpreted as "I am God" but, in its deeper meaning, affirmation of the existential unity of the Creator and the created.

Anfas-i Rahimiyya: These letters of Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, the father of Shah Waliu'llah, are marked by a brilliant exposition of views concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. The author's approach to the issues is broadly humane. Published in Delhi in 1915.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin: Written by Shah Wali'ullah Dihlawi, it is actually the compilation of seven different tracts, *Bawariqu'l-Wilaya, Shawariqu'l-Ma'rifah, Al-Imdad fi Maasiru'l-Ajda, 'Atiyaus-Samadiyya fi Anfasu'l-Hamadiyya, Al-Nubzatu'l-Bariziyya, 'Ain fi Masha'ihu'l-Haramayn and Al-Juzzu'l-Latif fi Tarjamatu'l 'Abdu'l-Za'if.* Although a biography of the author's father, Shah Abdu'r-Rahim Dihlawi, and uncle, Shah Abu'r-Riza, it provides biographical details concerning prominent Sufis in Mecca and Madina in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, besides being a source of valuable information about the contemporary social and religious life of Delhi. The marked quality of the work is the author's rich account of his father's spiritual experiences and the latter's meetings with such Sufis and *majzubs* as have not been mentioned in other sources. Shah Waliu'llah offers a useful explanation of the matters pertaining to the exoteric and esoteric sciences. Little wonder that 'Ubaid-u'llah Sindhi describes the *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* as the epitome of Shah Waliu'llah's philosophy and Sufism.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin*, Delhi, 1315/1897; Urdu tr. Saiyid Muhammad Farooq al-Qadiri, Deoband, 4th edn. n.d.

'Ubaidu'llah Sindhi, *Shah Waliu'llah aur unka falsafa*, p. 15.

Maulavi 'Abdu'r-Rahim Dihlawi, *Hayat-i Wali*, Lahore.

Anisu'l-Arwah: The alleged discourses of Shaikh 'Usman Harwani, authorship attributed to Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Sijzi.

Anisu'l-Musafirin: authored by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari [See 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari, Shaikh].

An-Nar: "the fire", occurs in the Qur'an very frequently as a term for hell. All commentators understand the fire of hell in its literal sense. However, Sufi writers also understand it as figurative.

An-Nasa'i: "Sunanu'n-Nasai", or al-Mujtaba (the selected), a name given to the collection of traditions by Abu 'Abdu'r-Rahman Ahmad an-Nasa'i. Born in 215/830, he died in 303/915-16. He first compiled a large collection of traditions called the *Sunaun'l-Kubra*, but he afterwards revised the whole and acknowledged only certain authoritative traditions. This collection (*Sunanu's-Sughra*) is one of the *Kutub's-Sittah*, or "six (correct) books".

An-Nujaba: Plural of Najib. "The excellent ones". According to the Sufis, forty saintly characters who always exist on earth for the benefit of its people.

An-Nuqaba: Plural of Naqib, "the Watchmen". According to the Sufis, they are 300 persons who are always to be found in the world, and who are engaged in its enlightenment.

An-Nur: "the light". One of the ninety-nine names or attributes of God. It occurs in the Qur'an, Surah xxiv, 35 "God is the Light of the Heavens and of the Earth".

Anfas al-Khawass: Written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah on the pattern of the *Fusus al-Hikam*, a manuscript copy is to be found in Khuda Bakhsh and India Office Library.

Anwaru'l-'Uyun: Written by the Sufi of the Chistiyya- Sabiriyya order, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi (d. Jumada II 944/27 November 1537), it deals with Sufism *vis-a-vis* the life of the well-known Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1434). Urdu translation, Delhi, 1894.

Anwaru'l-Asrar: See Shaikh 'Isa.

'Aqibat Mahmud: He was a disciple of Shaikh Mahmud bin Jalal (d. 989/1581-2). Although elected to succeed his *pir* by the latter's *khalifas*, he spent most of his time in the company of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah and Shaikh Ziya'u'llah, the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He returned to Mandu, a thriving centre of the Shattariyya order, in 1020/1611-12.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 349.

'aqida-i Sunniya: Belief of the large majority of Muslims acknowledging the first four *khalifas* to have been the rightful successors of the Prophet Muhammad, receiving the *Kutub Sittah*, or "six authentic books of tradition, and who belong to one of the four schools of jurisprudence founded by Imam Ahmed ibn Hanbal". The word Sunni with its plural Sunniyan is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *Ahlu's-Sunnah*, "the people of the Path". The Shias who claim to follow the traditions of the Prophet, have, however, allowed the Sunnis to claim the title of traditionalists.

'aql: intellect.

'Ara'is al-Bayan: The Qur'anic exegesis of Abu Muhammad Ruzbihan bin Nasr al-Baqli (d. 606/1209) was translated from Arabic into Persian by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, under the orders of Dara-Shukoh. Ruzbihan's interpretations of the Holy Book are mystical.

'Arafatu'l-'Ashiqin: Compiled at Agra in 1024/1615-16 by Taqi Auhadi, it is an important biographical dictionary of 3000 important poets with a selection of verses from their poetry. The author migrated to India from Iran in Rajab 1015/November 1606.

al-'Arf al-nadi fi nusrat al-Shaikh Ahmad al-Sirhindi: It is a defence of the views of the Mujaddid on the superiority of the Ka'bah to the Prophet Muhammad written by Hasan bin Muhammad Murad al-Tunusi in 1683.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 342.

'arif: the gnostic, advanced Sufi, who possesses true knowledge gained by contemplation, meditation, and so on.

'Arif Chisti, Shaikh Muhammad: He was a *khalifa* of Shah Kaku Chisti and a contemporary of Shaikh 'Abdul-Khaliq (d. 1039/1630) in Lahore. Often, he was overcome with ecstasy at the *sama'* gatherings. He would seclude himself every last ten days of the lunar month. During this period he abstained from food and sleep. His disciples were many. He died in 1064/1653-4.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 476-7.

al-'Asab al-Hindi: Written by Hasan bin 'Ali, it's author was, like 'Abdu'r-Rasul al-Barzanji [see al-Barzanji], critical of the views of the Mujaddid regarding the superiority of the Ka'bah to the Prophet Muhammad. Manuscript copy is in Asafiya, Hyderabad.

'Ashur Baig: A *mansabdar* who was initiated into the Rishi order of Kashmir by Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo, he obtained authority to enrol disciples from his spiritual preceptor's *khalifa,* Nur Muhammad Parwana.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 221.

Asghar Husaini, Shah: He migrated from Gulbarga to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). Owing affiliation to the Chistiyya order, Asghar Husaini died in 1611.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 61.

Ashi'at al-Lama'at: The most important work of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis on *Hadis*. Completed in the Khanqah-i Qadiriyya in 1025/1616, it is the Persian commentary on the *Mishkat al-Masabih*.

Ashjar al-jamal: Written in 1151/1738 by Muhammad bin Yar Muhammad bin Raji Kamman Kolawi, it is full of legendary and interesting details concerning the Sufis of Kol (Aligarh). Copies of the work are available in the Curzon Collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Rampur. The work is also known as *Akhbar al-Jamal*.

Asma' al-Rijal: Compiled by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, it contains the list of narrators of *ahadis* in the *Mishkat*.

Asmaru'l-Asrar: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Asmau'l hasna: the most beautiful Names or Attributes of Allah.

Asnad-i ashghal-i Shatariyya: Written by Mulla Ja'far in 1045/1635-6, it describes several forms of *zikr* of Shattariyyas including their "magical prayers and incantations". MS Curzon collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Asraru'd-Da'wat: It was authored by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari.

Asraru'l-Abrar: Completed in 1065/1654-5 by the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Mishkati. It contains biographical notes on Kashmiri Sufis, both of Central Asian and Persian origin and, also, the indigenous order of the mystics, called the Rishis. Manuscript copies in the Research and Publication Department of Jammu and Kashmir Government.

Asrar-i Haqiqat wa Tariqat: It is by the Kashmiri Sufi of the 7Suhrawardiyya order, Mulla Taiyib. [See Akhwund Mulla Taiyib.]

Asraru'l-Asjhar: It is by the Suhrawardiyya Sufi and scholar, Baba Dawud Mishkati.

Asraru'l-Auliya: The alleged discourses of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din; the authorship is attributed to Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 132-3.

Asraru'l-Nabi: Compiled by Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din of Malwa during the stay of Shaikh Husain Nagauri at the former's court, this collection of the latter's table talks (*malfuzat*) is extinct.

Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi, f. 77b.

As-Samad: "The Eternal". See Muhammad Ishaq Khan, "Samad and Dahar: The Changeless and the Changing", *The Indian Express,* New Delhi, 12 September, 2002.

As-Sihahu's-Sittah: Also called *al-Kutub's-Sittah*. "The six correct (books)". The title given to the six most reliable collections of traditions received by such compilers of *ahadis* as Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmizi, Abu Da'ud, Ibn Shu'aib an-Nasa'i and Ibn Majah.

As-Simt al-Majid al-Jamil-Salasil: Compiled in 1048/1638-9 by Saifu'd-Din Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdu'n-Nabi bin Yunus al-Badri al-Qudsi al-Yamani al-Ansari al-Qushashi al-Dajjani al-Madni, it deals with the Sufic orders the author was initiated into and also describes briefly the rites of initiation for novices. Both at Medina and Yemen he sat at the feet of "altogether some hundred Shaikhs" of different orders. But finally he accepted Saiyid Sibghatu'llah (d. 1015/1606-7) as his principal *pir* from whom he was to trace his Sufic affiliations.

asthan: abode; shrine; place of pilgrimage.

'Atiqu'llah Qadiri: A *majzub* who lived in Bijapur, he died in 1614-15.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, pp. 104-5.

At-Tibbu'r-Ruhani: "The science (medical) of the heart". A term used by the Sufis for knowledge of the heart and of remedies for its health.

awrad: invocatory prayer.

Awrad-i Fathiyya: of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani has run into several popular editions. There is hardly a mosque in Kashmir, excepting that of the *Ahl-i Hadis* and the Jam'at-i Islami, which does not possess several copies of this age-old invocatory prayer for the use of such Muslims as have not committed it to memory. For the Urdu translation of and commentary on the *awrad*, see Assadullah Shah Dawarki, *Tafhim al-Awrad*. n.d. Lahore. See also *Awrad-i Fathiyya* (Urdu tr. by Maulavi Muhammad Ibrahim), Srinagar.

Awrad-i Sufiyya: written by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari.

'Awarif al-Ma'arif: Authored by Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234-5), this work remained the standard text in Indian Sufi circles. Baba Farid encouraged his disciples to read the *'Awarifu'l-M'aarif* to understand the true spirit of Sufism. The author reconciles Sufism and the *Shari'ah* in lucid terms. Although he did not accept the idea of tracing the roots of the word Sufi from *suffa* for etymological reasons, he drew striking parallels between the lives of Muhammad's Companions at the Medina mosque, the People of the Verandah, and those of later Sufis.

Suhrawardi stresses the importance of spiritual knowledge, rather than mere chosen poverty (*faqr*) and acesticism (*zuhd*), as the very foundation of Sufism. Such knowledge, intrinsically a legacy of the prophets, is not acquired in schools. Rather, it is inherited by those whose hearts perceive the truth in totality. He categorized the Sufis either as those whose spiritual insight was centred on their own total perception of the truth, or whose spirituality was the outcome of their own self-mortification. Against such formulations, he quotes Junaid: the way to Sufism does not lie in reason or intellectual discussion but in hunger, self-denial, and abstension. Sufism therefore demanded a balanced detachment from the material world in consonance with the inner spirit of the *Shari'ah* in contrast to formal adherence to the exoteric aspect of the law. Spiritual perception could enable a Sufi to follow the middle path. A Sufi was superbly capable of abiding in God (*baqa*), but only after annihilating (*fana*) his lower self.

An important feature of the *Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* is an illuminating discourse of the way of life of the Sufis and their ethics. As the *khanqah* life reached its high watermark by the twelfth century, Suhrawardi recognized its importance not only in terms of its contribution to the making of an individual in spiritual and ethical terms, but, also, its numerous advantages for society.

Besides decribing the rules of journey and *sama'* eloquently, Suhrawardi gives a clear definition of *ma'rifaht-i ruah*, *ma'rifaht-i dil*, *ma'rifat-i murid* and many other concepts of Sufism.

Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Abi Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardi, *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*, Arabic Text, Cairo; Urdu tr. Maulavi Abu'l-Hasan, Lucknow, 1926; English tr. Lieut. Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke, Delhi, 1997.

awtad: props or pillars; in *tasawwuf* the term is used for the four saints, "by whom the four corners of the world are said to be supported".

ayah: sign, index or evidence of God. pl. *ayat*.

'Aynu'l-'ilm: Hafiz Fakhru'd-Din bin Shaikh Muhibbu'llah bin Shaikh Nuru'llah, a grandson of Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq, wrote a Persian commentary on the *'Ayn'ul-ilm*. The original Arabic is attributed to Muhammad 'Usman bin 'Umar Balkhi, a fourteenth-century scholar. The original version of the work in Arabic and its Persian translation are preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, and the Oriental Institute, Tashkent.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 17.

'Aynu'l-Ma'ani: Compiled by Shaikh 'Isa bin Qasim bin Yusuf bin Ruknu'd-Din bin Ma'ruf bin Saihabu'd-Din al-Ma'rufi ash-Shihabi al-Jundi as-Sindhi al-Hindi al Berari al-'Ishqi ash-Shattari, a disciple of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif, it gives a mystical interpretation of the ninety-nine epithets of God. The author, settled in Burkanpur in 997/1589, was inspired by a dream to improve upon his earlier work under the same title. MS. transcribed in the seventeenth century is available in the Khudabakhsh Library Patna.

Ayyam-i bid: The days of the bright nights, i.e. the 13th, 14th and 15th of the Hijra month. [See Nizamu'd-Din Auliya for Ziyau'd-Din Barani's assessment of the impact of the role of one of the most venerable Chistiyya Sufis on various sections of Indo-Muslim society.]

azan: announcement; the call or summons to public prayers proclaimed by the crier (*muazzin*).

'Azizu'd-Din Sufi, Khwaja: The son of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj Shakr's daughter. A student of Qazi Muhi'ud-Din Kashani, 'Azizu'd-Din was an excellent calligrapher. He compiled the *malfuzat* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya under the title *Tuhfatu'l-Abrar wa Karmatu'l-Akhbar*. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din took care of him and sent him to Deogir years before Muhammad bin Tughluq made it his second capital.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 177.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 150.

A'zam Shah: He lived in Kashmir in the seventeenth century and was the son of Khwaja Rafiq's *khalifa*, Mir 'Ali. He was a disciple of Khan Shah. After his initiation into Sufism, he remained steadfast in both *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. However, after a spiritual experience he took to wandering in the forest. Often, he spent nights on the trunks of the trees.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 471.

'Azizu'llah Chisti: Worked for the poor and helpless who came to him with their complaints. He journeyed on foot and covered long distances, even in a state of a forty days retreat, "and though he had to visit the house of one who was without the pale of the faith in order to gain his object".

Badauni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, English tr., III, p. 15.

'Azizu'llah Mutwakkil, Shaikh: Born in 819/1416, he belonged to Burhanpur. Affiliated to the Chistiyya order, he proved true to his title Mutwakkil (Trusting in God). According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, he excelled in *faqr* and *tawwakul*. Not a morsel of food remained in his house at night in the manner of a number of ascetic Sufis of high calibre, as he used to distribute the surplus among his neighbours. He would even retain the least quantity of water for ablutions. He was averse to visits from the wealthy; if they persisted, they were asked to take their seats near the footwear left outside his room. He died in 912/1506-7. Most of his children settled in Ahmedabad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 466-7.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 307a-b.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 283.

'Azmatu'llah Akbarabadi, Saiyid: He lived in Akbarabad. Shah Waliu'llah describes him as a Sufi of exceptional integrity. Although he lived in seclusion, he is said to have initiated both the rich and poor into the Qadiriyya, Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya and Shattariyya orders. Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim also benefited from his company. He died on 4 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1084/9 June 1673 and was entombed in Akbarabad.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 82.

Az-Zahir: "The Evident". One of the ninety-nine attributes of Allah.

B b

Baba: In Sanskrit the term is a synonym of an ascetic (*sannyasi*), but in the Persian chronicles and hagiographies of Kashmir the specific use of *baba* for the Muslim Rishis has certainly the connotation of the wandering Turkish *dervish*, the *baba* of Central Asia.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Baba Aadit Rishi: Belonged to the village of Dangarpura in the *pargana* of Biru in Kashmir. After becoming a disciple of Baba Lachham Rishi at an early age, he spent his whole life in meditation and devotion. He lived in the sixteenth century and lies buried in Biru.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 129.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 218.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 39b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 319-20.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 817-19.

Baba 'Abdu'llah: A *khalifa* of Baba Mas'ud Pampuri. Entombed at the cemetery of his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 257.

Baba 'Abdu'l-Latif: Belonged to the locality of 'Adalat Masjid in Srinagar. Little is known about him except that he was deeply rooted in Sufism.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 221.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Baba 'Abdu'l-Wahhab: He was the grandson of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri. Little is known about him except that he had an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 362-3.

Baba 'Abdu'n-Nabi Kubrawi: The son of Baba Nazuk Kubrawi, he obtained initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Akhwund Mahdi 'Ali Naushahri. Pleased with his piety and the nobility of character, the *murshid* gave him his daugher in marriage. The Baba was gifted with polished manners, humility and fine speech. He was fond of *sama'* and was known for his rapture during the course of music. There is little doubt that Baba 'Abdu'n-Nabi infused fresh vigour into the Kubrawiyya order of Kashmir.

Baba 'Abdu'n-Nabi is entombed at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 182-3.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 315.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 287.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 219.

Baba 'Abdu'r-Rahman Balkhi: The son of Baba Hajji Balkhi and a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Qasim Haqqani, he secluded himself in a cave near the Anchar Lake, the one-time abode of his father. His tomb lies near the cave.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 284.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 270.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 212.

Baba 'Abdu'r-Rashid: See Baba Lusti Rishi.

Baba 'Abdu'sh-Shakur Gana'i: Little is known about this chosen *khalifa* of Shaikh Hasan Haddad save that he has been eulogized as an *awtad* (q.v.) and that he lies buried at the village of Wahapura in the *pargana* of Yech.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 336.

Baba 'Ali: He was a God-fearing disciple of Baba Mas'ud Pampuri and served his spiritual preceptor throughout his life. Known for his devotion to God and explanations of the profundities of the *Haqiqa* (q.v.), Baba 'Ali is said to have attracted even Akhwund Mulla Shah to his abode. Diddamari relates the following story about the meeting of the famous Qadiriyya Sufi with Baba 'Ali.

Once Akhwund Mulla Shah visited Pampur to meet with Baba 'Ali. The distinguished Sufi sat in the *khanqah* for some time. Since Mulla Shah had not yet learnt Kashmiri and Baba 'Ali could hardly understand Persian, they could not converse with each other. Mulla Shah, therefore, deciding to leave the *khanqah*, stood up and said loudly: "Except for the mat there is nothing here." Baba 'Ali asked the men present: "What did the Mughal say while leaving?" When his followers repeated the words of Mulla Shah, Baba 'Ali bemoaned, "If he had a little realization and knowledge of *Tawhid* and *Ma'rifah*, he would have seen the *Haqq* and not the mat." It is said that Akhwund Mulla then turned back and felt sorry for his remarks.

Baba 'Ali died in 1059/1649 and lies entombed at the cemetery of his *murshid*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 238.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 257.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 208.

Baba 'Ali Raina: He was the brother of the most renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. However, as Pir Hasan Shah observes, 'Ali Raina's contemporary Baba Dawud Khaki nowhere mentions him as the brother of his *pir*. However, his other contemporaries clearly mention him as Shaikh Hamza's brother. 'Ali Raina himself writes about the place of his birth in the village of Kashmir and his father, 'Usman—the same as that of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

'Ali Raina obtained formal religious education in Kashmir and, for some time, learnt at the feet of Baba Dawud Khaki. He then visited India, Iran, and Arabia in search of knowledge. According to Haidar Tulmuli, he remained outside Kashmir for 12 years. 'Ali Raina himself writes that most of his time was spent in travels and the service of many dear ones.

Significantly, 'Ali Raina before embarking on his long journey first undertook a pilgrimage to Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's tomb at Chrar-i Sharif. From there he left for Lahore via Shupian. During his stay at Lahore he met with Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari and derived spiritual bliss from his company. From Lahore he reached Mecca where he served as a sweeper for a year. During his three-year stay in Mecca, he learnt *Hadis* and *Fiqh* from the renowned *'alim* Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rahim. When directed by Shaikh Hamza in a vision to seek the company of *'arifs* and *saliks* in every nook and corner of the Muslim world, he left for Syria. There he improved his *zahiri* and *batini* knowledge in the company of Shaikh Nur Muhammad Shami. From Syria he moved to Yemen and thereafter Basra where Khwaja Saqnatees, a wealthy merchant, appointed him to teach his son. 'Ali Raina initiated the Khwaja in the Suhrawardiyya order and during his stay at the rich merchant's house imparted spiritual training to his son who studied several books including the *Diwan-i Hafiz* under his guidance. After staying in Basra for a year, 'Ali Raina, accompanied by Khwaja Saqnatees and his son, reached Baghdad, where he enjoyed the company of Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad Taqi, a descendant of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi. He served as a *mujjawir* at the shrine of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi for a year, and then spent a year each at the mausolea of Shaikh Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani and Imam Abu Hanifa. 'Ali Raina then visited Samarqand, and studied several books on *tasawwuf* under the guidance of Maulana Sa'du'd-Din. From Samarqand he went to Kashgar and during a three-months sojourn there, kept the company of the Sufis.

'Ali Raina was a widely travelled Kashmiri Sufi. He went twice on '*hajj*. On his return home, notwithstanding the knowledge and experience gained during his extensive travels across the Muslim world, 'Ali Raina again sought the guidance of Shaikh Hamza. But the Shaikh entrusted him to the care of Baba Haidar Tulmuli. He was advised to remain absorbed in prayers and meditations in seclusion and finally obtained *khirqa-i irshad* from Haidar Tulmuli.

Baba 'Ali Raina was a Sufi with a scholarly acumen, having a profound knowledge of *Hadis*, *Tafsir*, *Fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. He authored *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, *Markazu'l-Abrar*, *Nasimu'l-Ahrar* and *Jawaharu'l-Nukat*. Among these only the *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin* has survived. This is a significant source for understanding not only *tasawwuf* but, more importantly, for the creative interaction between the Suhrawardiyya and the Rishiyya orders of the Valley. The author provides useful insights into the Rishi order and helps us understand the vitality and relevance of the Muslim Rishi tradition of Kashmir from the Suhrawardiyya viewpoint. 'Ali Raina's eulogization of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and particularly his contemporary, Baba Hardi Rishi, testifies to the abiding influence that the Rishi movement had come to exercise on the thought processes of even the noted Sufis of the Suhrawardiyya order. In twelve chapters 'Ali Raina brings home to *saliks* the importance of prescribed prayers, fasts, *shab-i bedari*, repentance, *zikr*, *muhasaba*, *muraqaba*, and *nawafil*. He urges them to recite the *Khatam-i Mahbubiyya*.

The date of death of Baba 'Ali Raina is not mentioned in the sources. Muhammad Siddiq Niyazmand is, however, near the truth that he must have died some time after 993/1585. His tomb at Tujjar is a place of popular pilgrimage in Kashmir.

'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, CA No. 29, ff. 26a-27b, 54a, 290b.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidyatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 126ab-127a.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 126, f. 6a.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503, ff. 102a-102b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 144a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 184.

Niyazmand, *Hafi Ganj-i Sultani*, pp. 224-46.

Baba 'Ali Yassawi: He was the son of Baba Muqim Sultani's daughter and the disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Fazlu'llah (7 Safar 1217/9 June 1802). Little is known about him except that he was an expert in the interpretation of dreams.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 388-9.

Baba 'Ata'u'llah Guchhabali: The son of Baba Fatehu'llah Katli's daughter and a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadali (d. 4 Zilhaj 1195/21 November 1781), he enjoyed the company of Shaikh Muhammad Akram and was unparalleled in the recitation of invocatory prayers.

'Ata'u'llah is entombed at the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 385.

Baba 'Azizu'llah Khatbi: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawaridyya and Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Farahu'd-Din (d.1191/1777). His whole life was dedicated to guiding people in accordance with the rules of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. He lies buried at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 373.

Baba A'zam Kubrawi: the son and *khalifa* of Baba Mahmud Gana'i, he was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Baba Waali. He lies buried at Sukalipura.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 410.

Baba Abdu's-Samad: Little is known about this son of Baba Muhammad Shafi except that he was God-fearing and endowed with noble qualities. Initiated into Sufism by his father, he died in 1261/1845.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 391.

Baba Abu'l-Baqa: He was a Sufi of noble qualities who strictly followed the *Shari'ah* in his everyday life. Numerous people are said to have received spiritual guidance from him. He is buried at Shahabad in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 338-9.

Baba Abu'l-Fath Katli': Little is known about this disciple of the famous Naqshbandiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar (11 Ramdan 1099/1 August 1688) except that he was a man of learning and piety and died at the age of ninety.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 440-1.

Baba Abu'l-Hasan: A noble and revered *khalifa* of Khushhal Mir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Baba Asadu'llah': After obtaining formal education from Mulla Nuru'l-Huda, this son of Baba 'Abdu'llah Yassawi received initiation into Yassawiyya order from his father and joined the brotherhood of the Sufis.

Asadu'llah died in 1217/1802-3 leaving behind him the legacy of rightenousness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 374.

Baba Ayatu'llah: He belonged to the family of Kauls. Although he lost his father in early childhood, he received the best religious education by the standards of the time. From Khwaja Ishaq Dandru, he learnt *'ilmu'l-qira* and memorized the Qur'an. Thereafter he received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Ashraf and distinguished himself as one of the leading Sufis by dint of his austerities, meditations and learning. Baba Ayatu'llah imparted lessons on the Qur'an to a considerable number of students. He excelled in *khusnavisi* and whatever money he earned as a result of his skills was expended on the poor and the needy.

On 18 Shawwal 1198/5 September 1784, Ayatu'llah died at the age of forty during the cholera epidemic in Srinagar and was buried in the cemetery of Saadat-i Parsiya.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 382-3.

Baba Ayatu'llah': The son of Baba 'Abdu'llah Makhdumi, initially he was a great standard-bearer of theological knowledge. However, after his spiritual encounter with Shah Sanau'llah Qalandar, he adopted the lifestyle of a *qalandar*. He lies buried near the mausoleum of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 395.

Baba Badru'd-Din: Throughout his life the Baba, a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, lived in seclusion at the foot of a hill in Lar. Known for his austerities, fasts and nocturnal meditations, Baba Badru'd-Din lies buried in Lar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Baba Badru'd-Din: Little is known about this *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi except that he was an *'abid* known for his piety. His grave is in the village of Saabi in the *pargana* of Bangil, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 135.

Baba Bahi Din Rishi: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi's *khalifa,* Sadha Rishi. Both are buried in Khalnarawav, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Baba Bahrang: A *majzub*. He was sunk in the ocean of divine love and died in 1007/1598-9, and is buried in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 406-7.

Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi: A prominent Brahman ascetic before his initiation in the Rishi order, Bhum Sadh, as he was known, lived in seclusion in a cave at the village of Bamzu in Kashmir. There he was absorbed in the adoration of hundreds of idols. Once the renowned Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, felt a keen desire to meet him along with his disciple, Baba Taju'd-Din. On reaching the cave the Shaikh became involved in a lengthy discussion with the ascetic on several issues of religious and social importance, viz., the oneness of God, idol-worship, ritual practices evolved by the 'greedy' Brahmans, and above all, their social position as against that of the low castes. So vigorously did the Brahman ascetic defend his point of view to the last that no argument of the Shaikh could carry weight with him. It was only when the ascetic asked the Shaikh to prove the authenticity of his statement that God was One that, through a miracle, the Rishi made the idols speak. Hearing his objects of veneration proclaiming the truth of the Oneness of God, Bhum Sadh willingly accepted Islam and entered the discipleship of the Shaikh. The noted convert to Islam was named Bamu'd-Din.

The long coversation between Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and Bhum Sadh, assiduously recorded in the Persian hagiographies, suggests the indelible impact of the conversion of the prominent Brahman on the folk. Many lower-caste Hindus were attracted to Islam, though in stages, as the dialogue between Shaikh Nuru'd-Din and Bhum Sadh rapidly gained currency among the rural folk. In such a dialogue, while Nuru'd-Din emerges as an emodiment of human virtue, piety, and compassion, the Brahman ascetic is ridiculed for propitiating the gods through rituals for which the common people had to pay. Even if we doubt, without much reason, the authenticity of the verses attributed to Nuru'd-Din criticizing the extravagant rituals of the Brahmans, the inescapable conclusion must be that the fact of the conversion of a renowned Brahman ascetic was turned by the ordinary Kashmiris into something relevant to the collective concerns of a people at the crossroads, paving the way for their gradual adaptation to the Islamic pattern of social life.

An important aspect of Bamu'd-Din's twelve-year existence as a Muslim Rishi until his death was the reputation he earned for his abstemiousness and asceticism. The chronicler Saiyid 'Ali sounds more reliable than the later chroniclers in saying that Bamu'd-Din would eat *vopalhak* (*Dispsacus inermis*) and vegetables, notwithstanding his habit of eating crushed stones with water.

The popularity of Bamu'd-Din can be also gauged from his dialogue with Sultan 'Ali Shah (1413-20). Once the sultan expressed a desire to see the saint. Being warned not to visit his abode in royal attire, the Sultan dressed as a peasant. When he sought the advice of Bamu'd-Din, the latter replied in these words. "You have taken off the dress of king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of saints like air; the fire flares up in the air." But then the Sultan wanted to know from the saint if he could be of any service to him. Bamu'd-Din responded, "Do not come to see me again, and do not mention my name in your court." The Sultan reacted angrily: "What deep enmity you show for ordinary men!" The reply came: "Only because I am enemy of worldliness." No sooner had the Sultan left than Bamu'd-Din directed his disciple to wash the mat on which the sultan had sat.

Saiyid 'Ali,' *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 37b-39ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 98a-128a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 1671b-169b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, ff.106ab-107b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 73-88, 245.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 267-302.

Baba Darya Rishi: He was originally known as Dhar Sadhu. He spent his whole time in meditation at a temple near the spring in the village of

Uttarakhun (near Drugmulla) in Kashmir. The story of his conversion is somewhat interesting:

Although Dhar Sadhu had gained immense respect in his locality for his meditative exercises, he seems to have been fascinated by the asceticism of Baba Shukru'd-Din, the celebrated disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din. This very fact once drove him to Shukru'd-Din. However, to his dismay, the Rishi refused to grant him interview. This led to a discussion with the Rishi's disciples. Describing Shukru'd-Din's attitude towards him as unwarranted, the Brahman impressed upon the disciples that there was little difference between him and the Rishis. His main argument was that he too, like the Rishis, had dedicated himself to God after renouncing worldly possessions. Furthermore, the ascetic convincingly argued that it did not behove believers in one God to be uncharitable towards one another. It was only after the arguments of Dhar Sadhu were conveyed to Shukru'd-Din that he directed his disciples to show the visitor in. During his discussions with the ascetic the Rishi was able to convince him of the futility of venerating idols, leading ultimately to his initiation in the Rishi order.

A careful examination of the circumstances leading to Dhar Sadhu's conversion reminds one how important asceticism was in the religious life of Kashmiris in the medieval period. The very fact that even the wealthy Hindus, long before their entry into the Rishi order, had decided to renounce the world shows that it was not difficult for such men to join the brotherhood of the Rishis after coming into contact with them. In fact, it is primarily ascetic orientation of the Hindu converts to Islam that explains why certain features of the old Hindu tradition were retained in the changed religious environment.

Darya Rishi lies buried near his *murshid's* tomb at Sherkoot.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, f. 44a.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 160a-160b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 107b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 46b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 177a.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, pp. 788-9.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*.

Baba Daryau'd-Din: After travelling every nook and corner of the valley of Kashmir, Daryau'd-Din, a chosen *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, met Baba Fakhru'd-Din at the village of Ranal in the *pargana* of Phag. On the latter's advice, he secluded himself in a cave.

Notwithstanding the life of quietism he chose, he was punctilious about the prescribed prayers and supererogatory fasts. Several miracles attributed to him testify to his exalted spiritual status and philanthropy.

Daryau'd-Din's tomb at Rangal is a place of popular pilgrimage in Kashmir.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 46ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 165b-166a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 114-15.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230 ff. 44a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 284-6.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 773-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 113.

Baba Dawud: Renounced the world after becoming an Uwaisi Rishi. Not much is known about him save that he lies buried at the village of Gohan in the *pargana* of Brang in Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 363.

Baba Dawud Mishkati: He is the most distinguished disciple and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He became well versed in *Fiqh*, *Hadis*, *Tafsir*, *tib* and other fields of knowledge under the guidance of Khwaja Haidar Charkhi. He had learnt by heart all the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad contained in the *Hadis* called *Mishkat*. Consequently, the Khwaja bestowed on him the title of Mishkati.

Although Baba Dawud was intrinsically rooted in exoteric knowledge, he attained to great spiritual heigths in the company of Baba Nasib. He always remained at the beck and call of his spiritual preceptor and accompanied him during his extensive travels in Kashmir. His friendship with the two celebrated Sufis of his time, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud and Mulla Shah, was close.

Mishkati authored several works including the *Asraru'l-Abrar* and *Asraru'l-Asjhar*. Both are an important source of information concerning the Sufis of Kashmir. His description of the role of an *'alim* and *'arif* is lucid. The most marked feature of his *Asraru'l-Abrar* was a genuine attempt to understand the social roles of the Muslim Rishis of the Valley.

Mishtaki wrote a treatise in Arabic on the Rishi denomination and the mystic way of life and mode of worship followed by the order. A long passage quoted by Mishkati from his hitherto undiscovered source helps us understand the true character of this indigenous movement of the Kashmiri Sufis started by Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He focuses on the Rishis' austerities, exercises, supererogatory prayers (*nawafil*) and, above all, non-injury even to plants, birds, animals, and insects. While some Rishis, according to Mishkati, satisfied their hunger with water or wild vegetables of the forest, others took to trade and cultivation in order to bring their ascetic way of self-discipline and self-denial in consonance with the spirit of the *Shari'ah*.

Mishkati died at the age of 97 on 27 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1097/12 February 1686. His tomb is situated at Gandarpora near 'Idgah in Srinagar.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 116-17.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 298.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 244-5.

Kashmir's Transition of Islam, pp. 38, 40, 160-1.

Baba Dawud Khaki: He was the most outstanding disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. Conflicting evidence exists regarding his date and place of birth. But, 'Abdu'l-Hamid Rather on the basis of careful research gives AD 1503 as his date of birth.

Hasan and Miskin wrongly describe Kalashpura and Naupura in Srinagar respectively as the place of Khaki's birth. But Baba Nasib's statement that his *murshid* was born at 'Ala'u'd-Din Pura in Srinagar is borne out by Baba Dawud Khaki himself in his *Dastur al-Salikin*.

Belonging to the well-known Gana'i family of Kashmir, Khaki's original name was Dawlat bin Hasan, though besides his pen-name (Khaki), he was also called Dati Gana'i. Having lost his parents quite early, Khaki showed great earnestness in learning. He committed the Qur'an to memory at the age of nine and studied the *Hadis, Fiqh, Tafsir, Sarf-o-Nahaw,* and poetry, both Persian and Arabic. His teachers were such noted ulama as Mulla Raziu'd-Din, Shamsu'd-Din Pal, and Mulla Basir.

Khaki initially worked as a scribe to earn his living. But when his growing fame as a man of deep learning reached the court, his services were sought for the education of the children of the royal family. His association with the royal household was responsible for his obsession with worldly glory, until he came into contact with Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and his attitude changed. Instead of wearing expensive clothes he now dressed simply. He wore shoes made of grass and performed even menial services under the command of Shaikh Hamza. His contemporaries not only taunted him but also called him insane. It was only after Khaki succeeded in curbing his ego that he earned the discipleship in the Suhrawardiyya order.

Khaki's career as a teacher did not come to an end in spite of the rigorous spiritual exercises, including *chilla*, performed by him under the guidance of his spiritual master. He taught various disciples of Shaikh Hamza, including Mulla 'Ali Raina and Maulavi 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. Several seekers of knowledge flocked to him from distant places. He lent books to his pupils from his personal library.

Khaki undertook the pilgrimage of the tomb of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari in Uch in 1557 under the instructions of his *pir.* During his sojourn in Multan he met several Sufis, particularly the *khulafa* of Shaikh Mas'ud Multani, from whom he obtained the *khilafatnama* of their preceptor. On his return home, Khaki was appointed *khalifa* to Shaikh Hamza. Whatever gifts he had received during his travels were bestowed on him by his *murshid* including those given to him by Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Bukhari (q.v.). Shaikh Isma'il Shami of the Qadiriyya order and Mir Haidar Tulmuli conferred *khilafatnamas* on him in recognition of his high spiritual calibre.

Khaki enrolled numerous disciples and popularized the Suhrawardiyya order while travelling across Kashmir.

Author of several works, Khaki's *Wirdu'l-Muridin* versifies the spiritual exaltedness of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, besides providing some information about the Makhdum-i Jahaniyan branch of the Suhrawardiyya order and *tasawwuf.* Although Khaki composed 440 to 450 verses, only 362 are extant. His *Qasida-i Lamiyya* throws light on the Rishi way of life, particularly, that of Baba Hardi Rishi, a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The *Rishinama*, written in 988/1581, is a commentary on the *Qasida-i Lamiyya*. The *Risala-i Zaruriyyah* discusses some vital issues concerning the *Shari'ah*. Being an introduction to the *Qasida-i Wirdu'l-Muridin*, it deals with issues concerning the *Shari‘ah* particularly, notwithstanding the importance of the esoteric dimension of Islam amongst the spiritual elite. The *Qasida-i Gusul-i Yusuf Shahi*, dedicated to the Shia ruler of Kashmir, Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak, sheds light on various kinds of baths (*ghusuls*), viz., obligatory (*mufruza*) and those performed by the Prophet (*mustahabai)*. The aim is to stress the importance of cleanliness in Islam.

An important feature of Khaki's works is his praise for most Rishis of Kashmir. His eulogies however are qualified; there is a conscious attempt to portray them as followers of the *Ahl-i Sunnah wa Jam‘a*. While Khaki describes the contemplative life of Hardi Rishi as based on *pas-i anfas*, and the practice of remembering God through *khilwat dar anjuman* and *hosh dar dam*, at the same time he praises the Rishi for the Kubrawiyya practice of reciting the *Awrad-i Fathiyya* regularly. Khaki does not mince words relating the purpose behind his unlimited praise for Hardi Rishi in following the Naqshbandiyya and Kubrawiyya practices; as he points out, it was to impress upon his readers the unwavering faith of the Rishis in *‘aqida-i Sunniya*.

Remarkably, Khaki defended the Rishi practice of vegetarianism and their avoidance of ritual sacrifice to avoiding injury to animals. Verses from *Shahnama, Miftahu'l-Jannah* and Hafiz Shirazi's works are quoted to give validity to the argument that the cultivation of the virtue of non-injury to the animals was a prerequisite for attaining God's favour.

Khaki's works enable us to understand the prime importance that the Suhrawardiyyas attached to learning under the guidance of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The real aim of knowledge, Khaki believed, was to recognize reality, God Himself. For this one had to constanly struggle for purification of the inner self (*jihad-i Akbar*). It was piety (*taqwa*) gained through inner struggle alone that was instrumental in gaining true knowledge of God.

Awareness while breathing (*hosh dar dam*) and solitude while in assembly (*khilwat dar anjuman*), the two cardinal principles of the Naqshbandiyya order, found favour with Khaki. This was in congruity with the Suhrawardiyya emphasis on *zikr*, so much so that Shaikh Hamza Makhdum is said to have caused serious injuries to his head while absorbed in the remembrance of God.

Khaki stood for the education of women. He went to the extent of urging them to learn, even if it meant the defiance of their husbands.

Although the Suhrawardiyyas were generally critical of *sama‘*, Khaki was of the opinion that it enthused divine love and that one could hear it within the limits prescribed by the Sufi Shaikhs.

Khaki's impact on the growth and development of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir was considerable; this was in no small measure due to the popularity of his writings. Significantly, his *Dasturu's-Salikin* contains several sayings of the Prophet and derives a lot of information from such important works as *Ihya ‘Ulum al-Din*, *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, *‘Awarifu'l-Ma‘rif* and *Nafahatu'l-Uns*. Maulana Saiyid Muhammad Qasim Bukhari translated the *Dasturu's-Salikin* in 1982 under the title *Taju'l-‘Arifin*.

Baba Dawud Khaki died on 3rd Safar 994/14 January, 1586 and lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum at Hariparbat in Srinagar.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD Nos. 741 and 1108; Urdu translation of Saiyid Qasim Bukhari, Srinagar, 1982.

——*Qasida-i Lamiyya*, RPD No. 28, 805.

——*Rishinama*, Ms. in possession of Pir Ghulam Muhammad Khaki, Naibasti, Islamabad (Anantnag).

——*Qasida-i Gusul-i Yusuf Shahi*, RPD No. 1914.

Diddamari, *Waqi ‘at* (US), pp. 173-5.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), pp. 175-9.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 40, 149-55.

Abdul Hamid Rather, *Historical Importance of Dastur-us-Salikin of Baba Dau'd Khaki*, unpublished M.Phil dissertation, History Department, Kashmir University, Sringar, 1986.

Baba Dila Rishi: Hasan describes him, a *khalifa* of Baba Hanifu'd-Din (d. 890/1485), as *zahid*, *‘abid*, *mujahid* and *janbaz* in his service to God. He is entombed in the village of Akhal in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Baba Faqiru'llah Rafiqi: Little is known about this disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Gani Lankar except that his *murshid* once rebuked him for performing a miracle. He lived in the eighteenth century and lies buried in Fatehkadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 361.

Baba Faqiru'llah: Little is known about him, the son of Akhwund Nuru'd-Din who lived in Kashmir except that he attained to spiritual heights under the guidance of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 372-3.

Baba Farid: He was born in 569/1173-4 or 571/1175-6, his ancestors migrated to the Punjab in the middle of the twelfth century from Kabul. His father, Qazi Shu'aib, was a scholar and the Qazi of Kahtwal, a town in Multan, between Maharan and Ajodhan.

Baba Farid owed his early spiritual training to his saintly mother. He joined a seminary at the mosque of Maulana Minhaju'd-Din Tirmizi in Multan at the age of eighteen. There his meeting with Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki proved to be a turning point in his spiritual career. After his initiation in the Chistiyya order, he proved to be the most prominent Sufi because of his devotions and penitence. According to Nizami, he was "probably the first and the last Indo-Muslim saint who performed the *Chillah-i Ma'kus,* one of the most hazardous spiritual exercises". Having undergone rigorous spiritual training under the guidance of his *murshid*, Baba Farid first settled in Hansi, an ancient town in the Hisar district, and, finally, at Ajodhan.

Baba Farid's main contribution to Sufism in South Asia lies in giving an organizational focus to the *jama'at-khana* which attracted scholars, merchants, government servants, artisans, Sufis, *qalandars* and even *yogis*. Discussions in the *jama'at-khana* covered a wide range of topics. Some conversations between the *yogis* or *Nath yogi* visitors, later recalled by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, were recorded in *Fawaidu'l-Fuwad*. The steward of the *Jama'at-khana*, Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq, would write amulets (*ta'wiz*) since it was difficult for the Baba to heed all requests. Although the Sufis of his *silsilah*, including his own teachers, did not look askance at the practice of borrowing small amounts of money for domestic needs, he did not approve of it. And whatever was received as *futuh* was not kept longer than a day and was distributed immediately to the needy.

Baba Farid described the ulama as nobler than the common people, though he considered the *faqirs* to be superior on account of their concern for humankind. What he did not like in the ulama was their indifference to the wants of others. This is also the reason that he explained the difference between *Shari'ah, Tariqa* and *Haqiqa* in terms of an obligatory payment (*zakat*). That is, those who followed *Shari'ah*, have to pay five *dirhams* out of 200, those of *Tariqa* 195 *dirhams*, and those following *Haqiqa* retained nothing. The Baba believed in imparting true spiritual ethics of Islam to his disciples. He composed poetry in Arabic, Persian and the local *Hindawi* dialect. He had a deep knowledge of the Qur'an and recited its verses perfectly. He encouraged his disciples to read the *'Awarifu'l-M'aarif* to understand the true spirit of Sufism. His lectures on the *Lawa'ih* were intended to expound the subtleties of Qazi Hamidu'd-Din's philosophy. The great personal care that the Baba took in training his chief disciples is reflected in the conversations of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He did not like the practice of head shaving rituals at the tombs of Sufis during the initiation of a disciple. According to him, true initiation consisted in blessings received by the disciple from his spiritual master while holding his hand.

Several sayings of Baba Farid are recorded in the *Siyaru'l-Auliya.* Among the maxims quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti some are: (a) Always be in spiritual union with Allah for He alone is the giver whereas others are merely at the receiving end. (b) Don't consider the ignorant to be alive, and avoid the company of the ignorant masquerading as the wise. (c) Do not eat everyone's bread, but give bread to everyone. (d) If you want greatness associate with the downtrodden. (e) Do not say anything as mere guess work. (f) Do not make your heart a plaything of the devil. (g) Realize that your inner self is better than the external self. (h) Do not demean yourself to attain a high social position. (i) Seek new (spiritual) achievements every day. (j) Renounce immediately all that pleases you and do not compromise with your pestering self. (k) Do not think that you are safe from an enemy despite his (seeming) conciliatory gesture towards you. (l) Fear the one who fears you. (m) Do not rely on your strength. (n) Of all times self-restraint is most required at the time of sexual desire. (o) Do not forget religion when you are in the company of the wealthy. (p) Glory and honour lie in doing justice. (q) Be generous when you have wealth. (r) If you want to make the whole world your enemy develop pride. (s) Do good without placing the obligation of gratitude on others. (t) When God visits you with some calamity, do not turn away from it. (u) Conquer you enemy with prudence and captivate your friend by your courteousness. (v) Do not be blind to your weakness.

Amir Khwurd writes about only seven *khalifas* of Baba Farid, though later sources give a long list. The most illustrious among them was Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya. The contribution of the Baba’s sons and descendants to Sufism in South Asia was by no means small. [See Nasiru’d-Din, Shaikh Kamalu’d-Din, Shihabu’d-Din, Badru’d-Din Sulaiman, Shaikh Alau’d-Din.]

Baba Farid died on 5 Muharram 664/17 October 1265. Although he had asked to be buried in the cemetery of Ajodhan, the place frequented by him for purposes of meditation, his sons ignored it. Instead, they buried him in the *khanqah*. Since then Ajodhan, situated on the merchant caravan route connecting Multan with Delhi, became a great pilgrimage centre for the merchants, nobles, and soldiers travelling from and to Delhi. Sultan Firuz Shah’s visit to the *dargah* of Baba Farid after his accession to the throne in 1351 was indeed indicative of the importance attached to the shrine by the Delhi sultan. Barani writes that the sultan while conferring robes and land grants on the descendants of Baba Farid also gave money to the residents of Ajodhan. C.M.Wade’s description of the *‘urs* at the *dargah* of Baba Farid is worth quoting, notwithstanding the invented story about the blessed nature of one of the doors leading to the grave called *bahishti darwaza*:

> There are two doors to this apartment (the burial place of the Shaikh), one to the north and one to the east. The one to the east, called the ‘door of Paradise’, is never opened except on the fifth day of the sacred Muharram, when numbers of pilgrims, both Hindus and Muslims, come to visit the shrine, believing that all who pass through are saved from the fire of perdition. The doorway is about two feet wide and cannot be entered without stooping, and the apartment itself is not capable of containing thirty people crowded together. Yet such is the care which the saint takes of his votaries on the occasions, that no accident or loss of life has ever been known to occur. A superlative heaven is open to those who are first to enter the tomb on the day mentioned. The rush for precedence may, therefore, be better imagined than described. The crowd of pilgrims is said to be immense, and as they egress from the sacred doorway, after having rubbed their foreheads on the foot of the saint’s grave, the air resounds with the shouts of Farid! Farid!

The devotees of the *dargah* of Baba Farid continue to flock to it. Such has been the rush of visitors on the eve of the *‘urs* that the Pakistan television reported the death of many pilgrims in a stampede in 2002.

Amir Khwurd, *Siyaru’l-Auliya*, pp. 57-9, 66-9, 75, 81, 90, 107.

Fawa’idu’l-Fuwad, pp. 29, 56-60, 73, 97, 85-6, 97, 109, 112-13, 136, 160, 191-2, 213-14, 250, 257-8, 263.

Hamid Qalandar, *Khyar al-Majalis*, pp. 131-4, 219-24.

Jamali, pp. 23, 31-50.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, pp. 383-91.

Gulzar-i Abrar, ff. 27a-30a.

Miratu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 754-71.

‘Ali Asghar Chisti, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1884, pp. 217-18.

Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u’d-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Aligarh, 1955.

——*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India.*

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri, *Kalimatu’s-Sadiqin*, pp. 45-8.

Ma’riju’l-Wilayat, ff. 12a-21a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, I).

Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (tr. Gibb) vol. 2, pp. 320-1.

Barani, *Tarikh-i* Firuz *Shahi*, 1862, Calcutta, 543.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 4 -5, 12-13, 138-46, 148-60, 197-8, 223-4, 327-9, 401-2.

Baba Feri Kashmiri: He renounced the world and joined the brotherhood of the Rishis under the leadership of Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi Kashmiri.

Sabur, *Khwariqu’s-Salikin*, RPD No. 230 f. 34b.

Baba Firuz Rishi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi. A Rishi and *‘arif* of great merit, Baba Firuz is entombed at the village of Barap in the *pargana* of Nagam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Baba Gangi Rishi: Initially an Uwaisi, he later became a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Dawud Khaki. The view that he earlier received spiritual guidance from Nuri Rishi of Lolipora in Kashmir is not borne out by evidence. Nor is Baba Khalil correct in his view that he was a disciple of Neki Rishi.

There were, however, many things in common between Baba Gangi Rishi and Baba Nuri Rishi. Both had the good of the poor and the needy in their mind and dedicated their lives to their well-being.

Baba Nasib, the noted *khalifa* of Baba Dawud Khaki, often called on Gangi Rishi and enjoyed his company. He writes in his *Nurnama* that the Rishi himself cultivated the land and distributed its produce among the destitute. Nasib credits him with having laid out numerous gardens in several villages. The number of fruit-bearing trees planted by him is said to have been nearly a thousand. His services in respect of undertaking the repairs of the bridges and mosques are also acknowledged in the sources. According to Baba Khalil, once he brought salt from Thane for free distribution among the needy as well as for the use of animals.

Towards the later period of his life, Gangi Rishi spent his time in Pushkar. He is buried in the village of Wanigam in the *pargana* of Bangil in Kashmir.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 96b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 198.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 807, ff. 161ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 321-4.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 821-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 138-9.

Baba Ghulamu'd-Din: A disciple of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, he was held in high esteem because of his spiritual training and close association with his *pir*. At the request of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani entrusted him to the spiritual care of the former.

Under Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's spiritual guidance he attained great heights. Although a Saiyid, Ghulamu'd-Din came to be known as Baba understandably by virtue of his initiation into the Rishi order as well as for being the much-loved disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

After the death of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Baba Ghulamu'd-Din secluded himself at the foot of a hill in the village of Brain, not far off from Nishat Bagh in Srinagar. His tomb has been a place of veneration for the people of the area.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 134-5.

Baba Gulab Rishi: Known for his asceticism, Gulab Rishi lies buried in Khalnarawav, Kashmir. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 138.

Baba Haidar: Early in his childhood, he parted company with his parents after becoming an Uwaisi Rishi. Known for his abstemiousness and reticence, he lies buried at Haidarpura in the *pargana* of Yech, Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 364.

Baba Hajji Bahram: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki. He was a teacher and an excellent *khushnavis*. He is reputed to have sold a copy of the Qur'an at an exorbitant price and distributed the money he earned from calligraphy among the poor.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Baba Hajji Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Nandi Rishi of the Naganaran village in Kashmir. After performing *hajj* during the lifetime of his *pir*, he returned to Kashmir. Before his death, Nandi Rishi appointed him as his successor.

Although Naganaran had grown as an important centre of the Rishis under the leadership of Baba Nauroz Rishi, Baba Hardi Rishi and Baba Nandi Rishi, no disciple of Baba Hajji Rishi is referred to in the sources. It seems that the piece of land accepted as gift from a gracious lady by Nandi Rishi at the insistence of his disciples [see Baba Nandi Rishi] was used by the later Rishis for purposes of personal cultivation.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 42b.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 304b-305a.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, f. 94b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110a.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 83a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 262-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 107-8.

Baba Hanifu'd-Din Haidar: His original name was Haidar Butt and he was an inhabitant of the village of Akhal in the *pargana* Lar of the Kashmir valley. After becoming the disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi, he renounced his riches and received the title of Hanif from his *murshid*. He served his master for some years and later went to the village of Yar in the *pargana* of Lar, where he secluded himself in a cell for some period. Thereafter he returned to his place of birth, Akhal, where he stayed in the house of a disciple.

An anecdote narrated by several sources concerns his response to a woman's attempts to seduce him. One day a woman belonging to the family in whose house Hanifu'd-Din was staying desired to have extra marital sex with him. When the Rishi found the woman extremely lustful despite his moral exhortations, he put his penis into the burning coals of a brazier under his long loose wrapper (*pheran*), and became unconscious.

Once he recovered, he immediately left for Yar where he died on 7 Jumadu'l-Awwal 890/22 May 1485.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 43a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 154b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 84b- 85b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 170a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (SU), p. 114.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 251-2.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 777-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 109-10.

Baba Hanifu'd-Din: Most sources describe him as a disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. But, according to Saiyid 'Ali and Baba Khalil, he was a *khalifa* of Baba Shukru'd-Din. After serving his master for considerable time and completing several stages in the Rishi path, he settled on the mountain of Dara in the *pargana* of Machahom at the command of his preceptor. For many years Hanifu'd-Din seems to have secluded himself in a cave and did not eat anything except wild produce of the forest.

Once a shepherd noticed Hanifu'd-Din outside the cave and informed the people of his presence. They rushed to his abode. Although the Rishi was unwilling to have any contact with the people, he ultimately had no other alternative but to live among the people and thus enrolled many disciples.

Baba Dawud Mishkati describes Hanifu'd-Din's piety and devotion to the cause of the Rishi path in glowing terms. He quotes Hanifu'd-Din as saying that an *'arif* is doomed to perennial catastrophe if he wastes just one breath of his life. Another saying attributed by Mishkati to Hanifu'd-Din is that *zuhd* is synonymous with the repudiation of desires including even that of a yearning for the Paradise.

Hanifu'd-Din's tomb is on the mountain Dara in Kashmir.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 45ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 163a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 91b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (SU), p. 118.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 45a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 15b-17a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 306-7.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 800-1.

Baba Hardi Rishi: He was born to a family of blacksmiths and was the most distinguished Rishi of his time. The noted Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, once paid a visit to his house. Although a strict vegetarian and known for his aversion to causing harm to living creatures, Hardi Rishi slaughtered an animal in order to celebrate the occasion. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order, Hardi Rishi was asked to eat as other Muslims did. True, the Rishi tasted meat in deference to the wishes of Hamza Makhdum; but than the latter allowed him to remain vegetarian for the remainder of his life.

The hagiographic accounts of the Suhrawardiyyas, written mostly by the disciples of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, extol the spiritual excellence of Hardi Rishi. He is reputed to have received esoteric guidance from both Uwais-i Qarni and the Prophet Khizr. A number of people are said to have attained the status of *Qutb* (q.v.) and *Ghaus* (q.v.) at the mere look of Hardi Rishi. Although the credibility of some miracles attributed to him is open to serious questions both from the viewpoint of the *Shari'ah* and Sufism, it would be nothing short of a blunder to treat these accounts with disdain, considering the relative neutrality of their compilers as adherents of the Suhrawardiyya order. At the least these accounts speak of the towering personality of Hardi Rishi who was able to captivate even the closest disciples of Hamza Makhdum including Baba Dawud Khaki, Baba 'Ali Raina, Baba Haidar Tulmuli, Miram Bazaz, Khwaja Ishaq Qari and Khwaja Hasan Qari. Significantly, Dawud Khaki, in spite of being an illustrious *khalifa* of Hamza Makhdum, took pride in offering allegiance (*ba'it*) to Hardi Rishi. He describes Hardi Rishi as *Pir-i Suhabat* and speaks of his initiation in the Rishi order as a blessing (*tabarruk*).

Notwithstanding his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, Hardi Rishi did not part with the traditions of the Rishi order. Besides being vegetarian, he remained celibate, observed fasts regularly during the day, and kept awake in meditation during the nights, stressed religious tolerance, was extremely hospitable to his visitors, and, according to Khaki, often cultivated his land himself (*kardan kisht wa zira't buda kar-i u*). He encouraged his disciples to earn their livelihood by manual labour.

Hardi Rishi offered the prescribed prayers at appointed times in congregation. It was his usual habit to recite the *Awrad-i Fathiyya* every morning, though he also recited it in the special assemblies at his residence. Baba Dawud Khaki especially refers to Hardi Rishi's practice of remembering Allah by way of controlling his breath (*Pas-i anfas*).

Hardi Rishi urged the *saliks* to seek humility of the mind with the main aim of seeking the pleasure of God rather than by way of impressing the people. It was only through humility that one could attain the gnonsis (*ma'rifah*) of God.

Haidar Tulmuli refers to the visit of the ulama and *fuzala* of his time to the residence of Hardi Rishi. After the Rishi had convincingly answered the volley of questions put to him, he is said to have rubbed the ulamas' chests with his hand, and the latter forgot all they knew about the externalities of the religion. However, to their surprise, they regained their knowledge once the Rishi repeated his pressing of their chests with his hands. On another occasion, Hardi Rishi is reputed to have remarked in dialogue with Baba Dawud Khaki that a seeker on the Path cannot reach communion with Allah unless he forgot all that he had learnt by way of his exoteric understanding of the *Shari'ah* on the basis of *Fiqh* and *Tafsir*.

Khaki writes that Hardi Rishi constructed a number of mosques and guest-houses. He praises his philanthropic measures and their influence on the mind of the people in devoting themselves to social welfare.

The popularlity of Hardi Rishi among commoners and sultans brought many to his residence. Sultan 'Ali Shah and Sultan Yusuf Shah paid personal visits to him and sought his blessings.

Hardi Rishi died in Ziq'ad 986/1579.

As a mark of respect to the disciplined life of Hardi Rishi, a great majority of his devotees in Anantnag (Islamabad), Kashmir, continue to abstain from meat for seven days during the days of his *'urs* celebrations; this despite the exhortations of the *Ahl-i Hadis* and the Jam'at-i Islami to the contrary.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Rishi-nama* (PGMK). The manuscript containing 125 folios is replete with information on the life and thought of Baba Hardi Rishi.

Baba Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 43a-46a.

Baba 'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'arifin* RPD No. 592, ff. 262b-269a.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 126, ff. 97b-101a.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503, ff. 30b-31ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 170-1.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 162ab.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 134.

Baba Hasan Khaki: He was the grandson of Baba Dawud Khaki. His *murshid* is not known, though he was fully endowed with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Described as an embodiment of nobleness and kindness, Hasan Khan was buried near Aran in Kashmir on 14 Shawwal 1217/9 February 1803.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 374.

Baba Hasan Zahid: He was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki who often resorted to *chillas* under the guidance of his Suhrawardiyya spiritual preceptor.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Baba Hatim Gujwari: Little is known about him save that he was a noted Kashmiri Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 315.

Baba Hayat: This son of Baba 'Usman Qadiri obtained spiritual guidance from his father and succeeded him after his death in 1117/1705. On 11 Zilhaj 1142 he died and was buried near his father's tomb at Chhatabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 301.

Baba Husain Khanyari: He was a *khalifa* of Mir 'Ali Qadiri who lies entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 278.

Baba Husain: The son and *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyyah Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim Fatehkadli, he distinguished himself not only as a paragon of esoteric and exoteric learning but also as a stickler for conforming to the *Shari'ah*. He is buried in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 213.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 234.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Baba Ishaq: A *khalifa* of the sixteenth-century Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Mas'ud Narwari, he was highly respected Sufi not merely for his spiritual attainments but for his strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* and the *Sunnah*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 212.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 233.

Baba Isma'il Qadiri: Although a Sufi of impeccable integrity, this disciple of Khwaja Habibu'llah Latoo did not feel shy of seeking the guidance of Mulla Abu'l-Fath Kulu (d. 1101/1689-90) on issues concering the *Shari'ah*. He urged his followers to sustain themselves on honest living.

His death occurred in the reign of Aurangzeb and he was buried at the *mohalla* of Anchar in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 344-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 294.

Baba Jandi Rishi: A *khalifa* of Baba Nuri Rishi who is entombed near the mausoleum of his preceptor at the village of Lulipora in the *pargana* of Biru in Kashmir, he led a life of self-denial.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, f. 329a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 41a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 327.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 828.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 127-8.

Baba Jawharu'd-Din: Described as an *'arif* and *'abid*, he was a *khalifa* of Baba Nasru'd-Din Rishi. He is buried in Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 133.

Baba Kapur Majzub: His ancestral home was Kalpi. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, Baba Kapur Majzub had traversed several stages of *suluk* from early in his life. As a water-bearer (*bihisti*), he would take care of the weak and the poor, particularly old women whose vessels he filled with water by night. After becoming an ecstatic, he retired to Gwalior. He did not touch food for several days and would roam the streets under the spell of mystical intoxication either naked or with only a loin-cloth to cover the private parts of his body. Whatever the Baba received from his devotees was distributed by him among the people. He died in 979/1571-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 483.

Baba Lachak Din: He was an Uwaisi Rishi who lived in Chakdar, Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 370.

Baba Lachham Rishi Sani: The grave of this disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi is situated in the village of Tahjawara, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 135.

Baba Ladi Kachu: A rich peasant who distributed the produce of his land among the poor, he is also credited with having planted trees. The fruit of the gardens, laid out by him, was distributed in charity. He is reputed to have constructed mosques and *khanqahs* long before becoming the disciple of Ladi Katur. After joining the brotherhood of the Rishis, however, he, devoted himself to meditation while giving away his possessions in charity.

He lies buried near the mausoleum of his *pir* in Zaingir.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 807, ff. 159a-160b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 39ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 315-18.

Baba Lankar Mal: The circumstances leading to his initiation in the Rishi order are worthy of some analysis. He was a *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Rishi, Luda Mal.

Lankar Mal is said to have amassed a huge fortune by oppressing people. He had also gained notoriety for his licentiousness. Once the thought of paying a visit to his saintly brother occurred to him and in order to create a favourable impression on the saint he dressed himself like a *dervish*. On seeing his brother masquerading as a saint, Luda Mal refused to talk to him. Insulted at the indifference of the Rishi, Lankar Mal burst into anger, but the disciples of Luda Mal calmed him down and advised him to discard the dress of the *dervish*. And, indeed, Lankar Mal received an affectionate welcome only after changing his clothes. While replying to the saint's question about the purpose of his visit, Lankar Mal expressed his desire to offer *tauba*. Significantly, however, mere confession of sins did not make him a disciple. Instead, the saint impressed upon his brother that the best way to atone for his sins was to restore to the lawful owners what he had taken from them, or restore its money equivalent. It was only after atoning for his sins in a practical manner that Lankar Mal was enrolled in the Rishi order. The real test, however, began when he was instructed by his master to perform extreme penance for his past sins by subsisting on ginger alone for forty days in seclusion.

So impressed was the wife of Lankar Mal, Bibi Ganga, by the autsterities of her husband that she too joined the brotherhood of the Rishis and earned a name among the common folk for her indomitable will in overcoming desires of the flesh.

The extreme self-denial of Lankar Mal is even said to have led a Brahman ascetic to embrace Islam at his instance.

The story of the conversion of Lankar Mal bears testimony to the deep influence of the idea of making amends expounded by Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and later by his followers even on men whose behaviour did not conform to the accepted patterns of conduct, consistent with principles of personal and social ethics. At the same time, it also shows that the Rishis attached a great deal of importance to the cultivation of inward piety in contrast to maintaining a semblance of reverence for

God by wearing the garments of the Sufis. But what is of immense significance is that at every opportunity, the Rishis advocated the cause of the exploited and oppressed sections of the society. The very fact that the disciples of the saint accompanied Lankar Mal to ensure restitution testifies to the efforts of the Rishis to set right an unjust situation, if not to create a just social order in the modern sense. In fact, the asceticism of the Rishis needs to be understood not merely in terms of their aversion for the material comforts of life, but more as a protest against the tyrannies of an iniquitous social order.

Baba Lankar Mal is buried near the tomb of Baba Luda Mal at Handwanpura in the *pargana* of Hamal, Kashmir.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 166b-167ab.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 178ab.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 293-4.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 783-5.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 192-3.

Baba Lashkari: This disciple of Baba Luda Mal renounced his family and gave away everthing in his possession in order to atone for the wrongs committed by him before turning a Rishi. The remainder of his life was spent in meditation in a forest of Kashmir.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 47b.

Baba Lasta Rishi: He was a wealthy person who enjoyed the company of the Sufis. Once he dressed himself like a Rishi and called on Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Rishi who enrolled him as his disciple. Thereafter, he, along with Baba Payamu'd-Din, spent the remainder of his life for many years on the hillock of Ranbuah. After Payamu'd-Din's death, Lasta Rishi secluded himself at the village of Kacchwu in the *pargana* of Kruhin in Kashmir.

He died on 9 Zilhaj 892/26 November 1487 and was buried in the same village.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 122-3.

Baba Latifu'd-Din: He was the chief of Maru-Adavin who enjoyed the company of Muslims before his initiation in the Rishi order. According to Sa'd'ullah Shahabadi, Ladi Raina, as Latifu'd-Din was known before his conversion, used to serve *faqirs* even before his conversion. It was during one of his visits to Srinagar that the idea of seeing Shaikh Nur'ud-Din Rishi struck him. The dialogue between the Shaikh and Ladi Raina, reported by Baba Nasib, Mishkati and others is worthy of note:

Nuru'd-Din: What brings you here?

Ladi Raina: Your love and the longing to see you.

Nuru'd-Din: Nothing is more false than a friendship without union of minds.

Ladi Raina: What is the true chararacteristic of a friend?

Nuru'd-Din: Obedience to God's commands.

Ladi Raina: What does He command?

Nuru'd-Din: Surrender unto Him and be His servant alone.

Ladi Raina: Since I serve my own Lord there is no need for me to serve your Lord.

Nuru'd-Din: How do you reconcile your polytheistic practices with the belief that the Lord of the universe alone is your sustainer?

Impressed by the arguments of the Shaikh, Ladi Raina joined the brotherhood of the Rishis. Not only did he relinquish his post, he even distributed his wealth and property among the poor in deference to the wishes of Nuru'd-Din.

It is interesting to note that during the course of spiritual training Ladi Raina was again drawn into a discussion by his preceptor:

Nuru'd-Din: What was your main achievement before joining the Rishi order?

Ladi Raina: It was wealth.

Nuru'd-Din: Was your father wealthy too?

Ladi Raina: Yes.

Nuru'd-Din: To whom did he bequeath his wealth?

Ladi Raina: To me.

Nuru'd-Din: Why didn't he take it with him?

Ladi Raina: It was not of value (after death).

Nuru'd-Din: He (your father) was not sagacious enough to capitalize on his worldly fortune after his death. A sage is in constant search of something of abiding value.

The main purpose of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi as a Sufi master *par excellence* was to bring home to the new convert that worldly wealth was the devil's bait to a traveller in the Path. For an erstwhile chief now turned Rishi it was no longer a distinction to be rich, since according to his master's teaching wealth engendered selfishness, nurtured arrogance and above all damaged the nober feelings and aspirations of the heart.

Baba Latifu'd-Din's fame as a true Rishi, subsisting on wild vegetables spread among the commoners. They are reported to have sought his blessing at Uttar, a *pargana* in the Kamraz division of the Valley, where he was sent by Nuru'd-Din to popularize the Rishi order. But the heavy rush of commoners to the saint's dwelling-place ultimately forced him to move to a forest named Pushkar where he lies buried.

Pushkar is now a village situated in the modern district of Badgam where the residents and the villagers of the neighbouring areas celebrate anniversary of Latifu'd-Din with traditional gaiety.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 39b-40b.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 141a-142a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5, f. 96a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 105-6.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 38ab.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 178b-179a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, ff. 108ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 133-4.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 440-2, 805.

Baba Loli Rishi: Later sources describe him as Loli, but the earliest Persian chronciler, Saiyid 'Ali, calls him Lolu. He was a disciple of Baba Nasru'd-Din Rishi. His original home was the village of Chaku in the *pargana* of Adavin. He performed *hajj.*

Baba Loli Rishi is buried in Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir.

Baba Khalil quotes several sayings of the Baba.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 47b-48a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 157b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 96a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 37a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 116.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 183b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 335-6.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 715-16.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 131-2.

Baba Luda Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Hanifu'd-Din (d. 890/1485) who in turn was the *khalifa* of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi. Known among the Rishis for his piety and abstemiousness, he never tasted anything except the wild vegetables of the forest, known as *wopulhak* in Kashmiri.

His tomb lies at the foot of a hill in the village of Andarun in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Baba Ludi Gana'i: A disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi, he was once travelling with his preceptor in the village of Zandupal in Pushkar. The natural beauty of the area so fascinated him that he sought the permission of Latifu'd-Din to settle there, which was granted. Ludi Gana'i spent the rest of his life meditating and worshipping at Zandupal in a mosque constructed by him. He lies in Zandupal.

The sayings of Ludi Gana'i, quoted by Baba Nasib and Baba Khalil, are full of saintly wisdom.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, f. 325b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 93a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 117.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 40b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 179b-180a.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 110b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 311-13.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 807-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 125-6.

Baba Ludi Mal: A disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi of 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir. After being guided in the Path for a certain period of time, he moved to the *pargana* of Uttar and dwelt in the hollow of a chinar tree. As his popularity grew, he enrolled as many as 3060 disciples. In the best traditions of the Rishi order, such disciples combined aceticism with agricultural pursuits.

Baba Luda Mal is credited with having performed several miracles. Among these is his ability to cure the sick and make springs gush just by striking his staff into the ground. He is also credited with having converted a Brahman *rahib* to Islam. This was followed by the gradual assimilation of his followers in Islam. Baba Khalil's brief account of Luda Mal's sayings points to the value attached by him to *khilwat*, *mujahada* and *mushada* for gaining a deeper understanding of the Reality.

Towards the end of his life, Luda Mal settled at Handwanpura in the *pargana* of Hamal, Kashmir. His sepulchre raised in 1149/1736-7 continues to be a place of pilgrimage.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 48a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 166b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 89a.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 105b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 177b-178a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 46a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No.1059, f. 111a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 290-2.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 779-83.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 120-1.

Baba Lusti Rishi (Baba 'Abdu'r-Rashid): Such was the popularity among the folk of this *khalifa* of Baba Hanifu'd-Din that the Shias made an abortive attempt to win him to their side. His tomb at the foot of the mountain of Dara in Kashmir is a place of pilgrimage.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 45b-46a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 164a-165a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 114-15.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 218.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 176ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 308-10.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 802-4.

Baba Mahmud: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Daulat Ba'i, he lived all alone, in seclusion, throughout his life and was buried somewhere in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 390.

Baba Mahmud Qadiri: The son of Baba Muhammad Hayat and the disciple of Baba 'Usman Qadiri, he obtained *khat-i irshad* in the Qadiriyya order from his father and benefitted from the guidance of the great Sufis of the Qadiriyya order of his time. He is reputed to have cured the chronic disease of one of his visitors.

On 17 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1180/23 August 1766 Baba Mahmud died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 337-8.

Baba Mahmud Zahgir: He was the son of Zia'u'd-Din Zahgir and the grandson of Shaikh Akbar Hadi. A Suhrawardiyya Sufi of intrinsic merits, he died in Rabi'ul-Awwal 1284/July 1867 and was buried near the Patwal Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Baba Majnun Narwari: The son of Baba Hajji and the grandson of Baba Mas'ud Narwari, he was a disciple of Mulla Jamal Sialkoti and, after his death, that of his son, Qazi Abu'l-Qasim. From Mulla 'Abdu'llah Ghazi he learnt the knowledge of *tib* and excelled himself in this field by training eminent physicians like Hakim Muhammad Sharif Gaani and Hakim 'Abdu'r-Rahim 'Asha'i.

It was from his uncle, Baba 'Abdu'llah, that Baba Majnun obtained spiritual guidance. He was authorized to enrol disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order and succeeded his spiritual preceptor. As a Sufi, Baba Majnun was known for his abstemiousness and help to people in need.

He died on 11 Ziq'ad 1066/21 August 1656 and lies buried at the cemetery of his ancestors at Narwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 261-2.

Baba Mas'ud Narwari: He was a wealthy dignitary of Srinagar called the Mulku't-Tujjar. Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani, then stationed at Bulbul Lanker in Srinagar, initiated him in the Suhrawardiyya order. After having a vision of the Prophet Muhammad, Baba Mas'ud gave up living luxuriously and adopted *faqr* as his ideal for the rest of his life. He obtained permission to enrol disciples only after the death of his *murshid*, from the latter's son and *khalifa*, Mir Saiyid Musafir.

Baba Mas'ud enjoyed the company of several contemporary Suhrawardiyya Sufis including Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and Hajji Ahmad Qari. From Mir Saiyid Musafir he received some relics which are to this day preserved in a box at his shrine in Narwara, Srinagar.

Baba Mas'ud's role in undermining the influence of the Nurbakshiyya preacher, Mir Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi, on the people of Kashmir has been highly praised in the sources. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum spoke highly of him. His sons and many disciples contributed to the popularity of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 179-80.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 205.

Baba Muhammad 'Ali: *alias* Aala Baba the grandson of Baba 'Ali Raina, he guided the people in the Suhrawardiyya order and lies buried at the cemetery of Mir Baba Haidar in Tulmulla, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 349.

Baba Muhammad Akbar: He was the son of Akhwund Mulla Muhammad Suhrawardi's son, Baba Muhammad A'zam and lost his parents during childhood. However, Baba Muhibu'llah brought him up and guided him in exoteric sciences. Later, he obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh Muhammad Chisti and Shaikhu's-Salam Shahid.

He is also said to have enjoyed the company of many other venerable Sufis of Srinagar.

He died in Safar 1195/January-February 1781.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 362.

Baba Muhammad Balkhi: A disciple of the less known Kashmiri Sufi, Mulla Amanu'llah Dhar, his whole life was the epitome of chosen poverty (*faqr*) and contentment (*qana'ah*); he gave wide berth to the wealthy and, both as a Sufi and an *'alim*, addressed himself to the mission of imparting exoteric and esoteric knowledge to ordinary people.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 355.

Baba Muhammad Fazil: The son of Baba Muhammad Kazim, he received guidance in Sufism from his father as well as Mir 'Abdu'llah Mantaqi. He died in 1199/1784-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 368.

Baba Muhammad Kazim: After obtaining *irshad* from his brother, Shaikh Hayat, this son and *khalifa* of Baba 'Usman Qadiri dedicated himself to the guidance of seekers in the Path.

Described as a Sufi of high rank, Muhammad Kazim died in 1185/1771-2 and is entombed near the mausoleum of his father at Chhatabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 337.

Baba Muhammad: Little is known about him except that he was the grandson of the prominent Suhrawardiyya Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Baba Dawud Khaki and that he was a source of spiritual bliss and nobleness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Baba Muhammad Mahdi Suhrawardi: He was a *khalifa* of Baba 'Abdu'llah Garzayali. For a greater part of his life he served his *murshid* and followed the *Sunnah* in all respects in the true manner of the Suhrawardiyya Sufis of Kashmir. He founded mosques wherever he went. After visiting Tibet he spent some time in Baramulla. Towards the end of his life, at the instance of Khwaja Muhmmad A'zam Diddamari, he came to Srinagar and secluded himself at the *mohalla* of Andarwari.

Muhammad Mahdi died at the age of 100 in Ziq'ad 1151/January-February 1739 and was buried in the cemetery of Saiyid 'Abdu'llah.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 440.

Baba Muhammad Maqsud: A disciple of Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid Baihaqi (d. 1108/1696-7). After being initiated into Sufism, he led a secluded life in the shrine of Miyan Ni'amatu'llah at the village of Rapur in the *pargana* of Lar, Kashmir. He earned his living by making copies of the Qur'an and avoided contact with the people. After his death, Muhammad Maqsud was buried at Rapur.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 375-6.

Baba Muhammad Maqsud: He was a disciple of Shaikh Murad Tang. On account of Muhammad Maqsud's spiritual development, the Shaikh gave his daughter in marriage to him and nominated him as his successor.

A Sufi of intrinsic merits, Baba Muhammad Maqsud loved solitude and did not evince any interest in the mundane affairs.

He died in 1193/1779 and was buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid* at Sukalipura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 340.

Baba Muhammad Maqsud Makhdumi: He obtained his early education from Maulavi Amanu'llah Shahid and achieved fame, both as an *'alim* and Sufi. He dedicated his life to the dessimination of the teachings of the Suhrawardiyya order.

After his death in 1164/1750-1, Baba Maqsud was buried in the cemetery close to the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Baba Muhammad Mirza: He was the son-in-law and disciple of Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar. After straining his relations with his *murshid*, he sought spiritual guidance from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri for seven months, but then, on the latter's advice, begged forgiveness of the former. He was granted *irshad* in the Kubrawiyya order.

Muhammad Mirza was laid to rest at the cemetery of Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 354.

Baba Muhammad Muqim Sultani: Whatever little is known about him, a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Tunani, relates to his miracles, his concern for the needy, and his association with the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri (d. 11 Rabi'us-Sani 1186/12 July 1772). Although he lived the life of an ascetic in a formative stage of his spiritual career, he later led marital life. He is entombed at the *mohalla* of Sazgarpora in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 367-8.

Baba Muhammad Muqim: He was the son of Shaikh Hasan Kamrazi's daughter. He was only twelve when he became the disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari (10 Muharram 1150/29 April 1737). Under the guidance of his *murshid* he led the life of a recluse at the village of Nasu in the *pargana* of Khuyahom for fifteen years. It was only after the completion of his training that he married and settled in the village of Gamru in Kashmir. He earned his bread by cultivating the land. His tomb is in Gamru.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 350.

Baba Muhammad Nizam: A nephew of Baba Maqsud Makhdumi and a pupil of Mulla Sulaiman, he followed the *Shari'ah* while practising Sufism. He lies buried near the mausoleum of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 366.

Baba Muhammad Qa'im: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad (d. 18 Jamiu'd-Awwal 1202/ 25 February 1788). After serving his *murshid* for considerable time, he obtained *irshad* and, thereafter, secluded himself in the village of Tailun in Kothahar. Impressed with the role of Muhammad Qa'im as a spiritual teacher, his *murshid* entrusted his disciples to him.

Baba Qa'im had a number of disciples and several of them rose to be his worthy *khalifas*.

His tomb is situated in the village of Tailun.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 348-9.

Baba Muhammad Qamar: He secluded himself in a cave. He is said to have been an Uwaisi for having received esoteric guidance from the Prophet. He lies buried at Bazipura in the *pargana* of Kamraj, Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 361.

Baba Muhammad Rafiq: He renounced his family after becoming an Uwaisi Rishi. Originally belonged to Verinag, he later secluded himself in the *pargana* of Shahabad, Kashmir. He lies buried at the latter place.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 365-6.

Baba Muhammad Safi: The son and *khalifa* of Baba 'Abdu'n-Nabi Kubrawi. He was known for his knowledge, piety, inner struggle, and good works. His tomb lies near that of Baba Wali at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 318.

Baba Muhammad Salih: He was a disciple of Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid Baihaqi. Little is known about him except that he was fond of reciting the prayers of the Qur'an and *Hadis* day and night continuously and never came out of his mosque in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 375.

Baba Muhammad Salih: The brother of Baba Muhammad Muqim, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Muhammad Ma'ruf (d. 1180/1766-7). He made his mark as the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*, and was buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 350-1.

Baba Muhammad Shaafi: Son and *khalifa* of Baba Muhammad Wani (d. 1186/1772-3), little is known about him except that he was extremely a devout Kashmiri Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 376-7.

Baba Muhammad Siddiq: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. Although he secluded himself at the village of Brain in Kashmir for many years and avoided meeting people, ultimately, at the command of his *murshid*, he began to enrol disciples in the Kubrawiyya order. His piety and generosity earned him a good name as one of the best spiritual leaders of his time.

Baba Siddiq lies buried at the Mughal Masjid in Srinagar near the tomb of Baba Qaim Yassawi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 384.

Baba Muhammad Wali Sani: He was the son of Baba Muhammad 'Urf and a grandson of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hasan Laloo (d. 1099/ 1687-8). Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi with an illuminated soul.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 395-6.

Baba Muhammad Wani: He was the son and *khalifa* of Hajji Muhammad Baqi. He belonged to the Kubrawiyya order and preferred to live in seclusion.

He died in 1186/1772-3 and lies buried at the cemetery of Shaikh Baba Wali in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 337.

Baba Muhammad Yusuf Fanbu: He was a disciple of Khwaja Husain Khabaz. He was gifted with *ma'irfah* and lies entombed at the cemetery of the Chistiyyas around the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 314.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 227.

Baba Muhiu'd-Din Pandani: He became a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, at a young age. After the latter's death, he enrolled as a disciple of Khwaja Qaim Patloo and, after being granted *irshad*, addressed himself to the spiritual uplift of the people. He achieved considerable fame for his miracles.

Baba Muhiu'd-Din died on 14 Shawwal 1245/ 10 April 1830.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 371-2.

Baba Muzaffar: A favourite disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he is reputed to have secluded himself in a cave and was known for his austerities. Further information about him is obscure except that he spent time in seclusion at a village in the *pargana* of Ular and that when some wicked and mischievous persons put him to trouble, he fled to the nearby forest. However, Baba Muzaffar finally settled in the village at the insistence of its inhabitants.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 243.

Baba Nami Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Hardi Rishi. He is buried near Idgah in the town of Ananatnag in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi: Born in 977/1569-70, he was one of the prominent Sufis of Kashmir. Baba Dawud Khaki initiated him into the Suhrawardiyyah order and appointed him as his *khalifa*.

Baba Nasib was always on the move along with a group of about 400 disciples. He would not spend more than two days at one station. He did not marry and abstained from eating meat. His disciple Baba Dawud Mishtaki, himself a distinguished *faqih* of his time, writes that although seven to ten cows and about three sheep were slaughtered daily for the upkeep of his *langar*, he never tasted meat. Instead, Baba Nasib subsisted on vegetables. He did not either take fruit or taste sweet things. His only dress was a black blanket, often torn.

During his extensive travels in the Valley, Nasib met several Sufis belonging to different orders, particularly the Rishis. He wrote *Nurnama*, which is full of information about his meetings with the Rishis. He also visited Ladakh.

The mission of Baba Nasib was the welfare of the people. Wherever he went he constructed mosques, bathroom, and toilets. Whatever gifts and *nazr* were offered to him were immediately spent for the public good. The entire period of his life was spent in the rural and remote areas of Kashmir; it was only towards the end of his life that he met with all the *masha'ikh* and *dervishes* of Srinagar. Later, he went to the town of Bijbehara and died there on 13 Muharram 1047/28 May 1637. The people of Srinagar and his several *khulafa* desired that he be buried near the tomb of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, but they had to give in against the wishes of the inhabitants of Bijbehara where his tomb continues to be a centre of pilgrimage.

Mishkati, who served Baba Nasib for twelve years, gives a graphic account of his *murshid's* lofty spiritual, intellectual, and social accomplishments. According to him, Baba Nasib was the *murshid* of the age in that his *dindari*, *zuhud*, piety, and God-realization were the only one of their kind. He extols the excellence of his *tariqat*, *wilayat*, self-mortification (*mujahada*), *'ilm*, meditations, and moral code.

Characteristic of Baba Nasib was his extremely tolerant attitude towards the non-Muslims. In spite of his *Shari'ah*-mindedness, he visited the cremation places of the Hindus and offered prayers there for the departed. Such a practice did cause serious concern to his contemporaries. Thus while answering a question about his unique behaviour, he addressed his disciples with tearful eyes in words which are worth quoting: "Whatever I see is beyond your vision. Many souls of such persons as outwardly died Hindu appear to me as those of believers. And some of these souls even say (to me): 'Your blessings lessen our torture.' So I feel pleasure in doing this beneficence."

Baba Nasib's sayings, according to Mishkati, are many. His *Nurnama* bears the stamp of scholarship and piety. According to Nasib, a moment's realization of the purpose of creation was better than a thousand years of worship. One who really knew the truth was superior to lakhs of such *zahids* as merely resorted to extreme asceticism (subsisting on wild herbs, grass and leaves). Nasib likened such ascetics to donkeys and cows. Similarly, in his estimation, men who only lived to eat rich food belonged to the category of wild animals like wolves and leopards. Here he actually reflects his attitude towards the wealthy whom he thought unmindful of the interests of the poor. God recognition, according to Nasib, was beyond the reach of the exploiters of the weak. Nor was the cognition of God a saleable commodity for the rich to purchase in the market. To live for the welfare of the poor was a virtue and a key to the realization of ultimate truth.

Nasib did not even touch the money offered to him by people; instead, it was expended for charitable pruposes including repairs of mosques, public baths, and toilets. Once a person came to present some cash as *nazr* to him, but so averse was he to the idea of money for his personal comfort that he got annoyed with the visitor when in the course of shaking hands a coin touched his sleeve. He asked Dawud Mishkati to bring some water and washed his hands, arms, and sleeves. He justified his reaction saying: "For this *dervish* money is totally contaminated."

Although Baba Nasib did not claim to be a Rishi, his thought and behaviour certainly imbibed the influence of the Rishi movement. Such was the impact of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din mystical poetry on the mind of Baba Nasib that he would often faint. He quotes a *Hadis* to support his contention that poetry is permissible in Islam. In fact, he regarded the poetry of a perfect Sufi like Nuru'd-Din as not merely the utterance of deep and heart-felt truths but even an act of worship. However, for a beginner (*mubtadi*), on the Path (*suluk*), indulgence in poetry is harmful since it is likely to detract the attention from true religion. Credit goes to Baba Nasib for being the first to render some of Nuru'd-Din's verses into Persian. His purpose was to provide guidance to *saliks* and reveal to them the kind of beauty and truth that God had revealed to an illuminated soul like Nuru'd-Din. Baba Nasib was also the first Kashmiri to compose a *manqabat* in the local dialect, which testifies to the veneration in which Shaikh Nuru'd-Din was held by the distinguished *khalifa* of the noted Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir:

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din of Kaimuh,
The Prophet filled his breast with his light (Nur-i
Muhammadi).
The Prophet will himself condescend to offer prayers
at his grave;
Such news has reached as far as Medina.

Baba Nasib's made a spirited defence of the celibacy and vegetarianism of the Rishis. However, he expressed his disapproval of the extreme asceticism of some Rishis as had retired to the wilderness. He wanted them to earn an honest living by the sweat of their brow. It was on his various tours that he emphasized the signifcance of combining asceticism with social action. Hard labour in agriculture, combined with a concern for the poor and needy was, in his opinion, the prime virtue of a true lover of God.

Of several hundred disciples of Baba Nasib, Baba 'Abdullah, Hajji Baba, Shaikh Nasir Bengali and Muhammad Amin Sofi worked for social welfare.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 3ab-5b, 26b, 30ab, 44ab, 61ab-62b, 88ab-89ab, 95b, etc.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 81b, etc.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 233-4.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 185a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 209 sqq.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 187-8.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 155-60.

Baba Nasru'd-Din: He was one of the much-loved and faithful disciples of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He constantly remained in the company of his *murshid*. The circumstances leading to his initiation in the Rishi order are interesting:

Belonging to a rich family living at Sazipur in the *pargana* of Yech, once Nasru'd-Din fell ill. He received the best treatment but the efforts of the physicians could not cure his dyspepsia. On his sick-bed, in a dream he was told by a body of *abdals* (q.v.) that Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, who is the pivot of this holy assemblage, could cure him. As the young boy awoke, he related his experience to his parents. Thereupon they rushed to the abode of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. What transpired between the Shaikh and the prospective seeker of the Truth is worthy of note:

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din: "What is your name?"
Nasru'd-Din: "I am Nasr and my surname is Raothar."
Shaikh Nuru'd-Din: "Do you live up to the reputation
of your high-sounding title?"
Nasr: Should I have your favour, I would."

Thereupon, the Shaikh directed one of his diciples to serve a plate of rice to the ailing boy which he ate to the full. No sooner had the young visitor finished his meal than he found a spiritual mutation in himself and bidding good-bye to his parents, remarked: "I have found my doctor." Bewildered at the sudden change in their son's behaviour, the perturbed parents told him that their life would be dreary without him. But he replied, "To make it (life) happy, be with God." Nasru'd-Din thus renounced the worldly pleasures and till the death of his spiritual preceptor remained his close companion.

The circumstances leading to this renunciation need to be read together with a popular dialogue Nasru'd-Din is reputed to have had with his spiritual preceptor. This reveals the mores of fifteenth-century Kashmiri society and the conflict inherent in social disparities. When the disciple wished to return to the worldly life during his spiritual training, the master responded:

O Nasr destroy thy sleep;
For whom will the Lord turn sand into coins of gold?
Most people are hungry for food,
Only the good realize the state of suffering.
God ordained it so that some should take to penance,
Who can scratch out the writ of Fate?

Nasru'd-Din could not understand the profundities of his preceptor's remark that suffering was the surest means of making one true to oneself. Failing to realize that affliction was the diet of the Rishis, the young disciple began to talk about the humiliations to which the poor were subjected to by the rich as well as their kith and kin. But while worldly possessions continued to haunt the mind of Nasru'd-Din, the teacher left no stone unturned to dispel the doubts of his student. He even reproved the inattentive student.

O Nasr, what shall I tell thee what wouldst
thou hear:
Awake, thou sleepy one, and listen:
When thou goest from here, thou wouldst
hear it before thou comest;
If thou dost not hear it here, thou
wouldst (surely) hear it there

Again:

A ram cannot bear the burden of a plough,
Nor can a falcon hunt like a hawk;
Water can't curdle by putting it in the sun,
Nor will a fool listen to words of wisdom.

Reproached, Nasru'd-Din ultimately realized the depths of the words of his preceptor. Beseeching the teacher's help, he said:

O my Guru like a shady willow-grove art
thou,
Do show me the waý to ferry across (the ocean of life).

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din responded thus:

He can ward off his own sins
Who listens to what Nunda-Sanz says;
Thou has to ferry across abandoning
The duality of the doer and the deed.

Under the inspiring leadership of his spiritual preceptor, Nasru'd-Din cultivated virtues such as piety, humility and moderation. In order to curb the demands of his *nafs,* he made the practice of fasting a regular habit, so much so that he distinguished himself as a Rishi of enviable qualities. The hagiographic literature is replete with incredible stories of his breaking fast with ashes mixed with water. Later, on the advice of his preceptor, he seems to have subsisted on a moderate diet, though the earliest recorded mention in a chronicle refers to a hundred grains of rice as his normal fare.

Nasru'd-Din succeeded his *murshid* as the head of the Rishis at Chrar-i Sharif after the death of Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Such was the spiritual bond between the two that the *murshid* appeared to the *murid* in a dream before the latter's death. The Shaikh, pleased with the good deeds and life-long suffering of his disciple, advised him to entrust the charge of the Rishis at Chrar to Malik Jogi Raina before joining him in the Hereafter.

Nasru'd-Din died in 855/1451. He lies buried near his preceptor's tomb at Chrar-i Sharif.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 40b-41a.
Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 142b-143a.
Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5, ff. 98a-b.
Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 37a.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 106-7.
Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, ff. 108b-109ab.
Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 181b-182a.
Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 91-101, 331-2.
Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 326-34.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 132-4.
Parimoo, B.N., *Nund Rishi: Unity in Diversity*, Srinagar, 1984, pp. 170, 186-7, 201-3.

Baba Nata Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was celibate, observed continual fasts, spent the nights meditating, lived in solitude and belonged to the Kubrawiyya order. He lies entombed at the village of Trahagam in Utar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 284.

Baba Nauroz Rishi: He is said to have been a cruel and wicked person before his initiation into the

Rishi order. Once he happened to pass by the habitat of Baba Neki Rishi at the forest of Aham in the *pargana* of Khuyahom in Kashmir. He then found the Rishi feeding a bear and a fox with his own hands. Terrified at the sight, Nauroz took shelter behind a wall. In the meanwhile he saw the bear grabbing the fox's share. Neki Rishi reprimanded the bear saying that he was oppressing the poor and weak in the true manner of Naurouz. Ashamed of his notoriety, Naurouz immediately offered *tauba*, renounced the world, and joined the brotherhood of the Rishis.

This anecdote testifies to the social roles of the Rishis even as they lived as recluses. It is remarkable that the expression of repentance by Nauroz was not enough to change his life. Significantly, Neki Rishi humbled the pride of Nauroz by directing him to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Not only that, he was further instructed to return money to those whose rights he had forefeited in the past.

After taking to the path of the Rishis, Nauroz earned a good reputation as *'abid*, *zahid*, Godfearing and above all, a servant of Allah. Remarkably, after the death of his *murshid*, Nauroz performed the job of a sweeper at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum for some time. Consequently, he enjoyed the company of the most venerable Suhrawardiyya Sufi and derived various spiritual benefits from him.

Nauroz Rishi is buried in the neighbourhood of the mausoleum of Bibi Sanga at the forest of Aham in the *pargana* of Khuyahom, Kashmir.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 807, ff. 157ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 178a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 170b-171a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 171-2.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 120b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 304-6.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 798-800.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 119-20.

Baba Nauroz Kashmiri: A disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, he was punctilious about the prescribed prayers.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 34b.

Baba Nauroz Rishi II: A disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din, he is described as a perfect Rishi. Nauroz lies buried at the height of Chakdar in Bijbihara, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 111.

Baba Nazuk Kashmiri: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mir Muhammad Khalifa, he adhered strictly to the *Sunnah* while practising Sufism. Mir Hamza Kreiri authorized him to enrol disciples.

He died in 1048/1638-9 and is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar near the grave of Mulla Zainu'd-Din Maantji.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 231.

Baba Neki Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Sanga Bibi who, in turn, was the disciple of Baba Shukuru'd-Din. Described as godfearing, pious, and gifted with an illuminated soul and mind, Neki Rishi served his spiritual preceptor with devotion and managed the affairs of his household with great ability and care. However, after Sanga Bibi's death, he distributed all his possessions to the poor. Once a beggar approached him; having nothing to give him, Neki Rishi took off his own garment and presented it to him.

In the best traditions of the Rishi order of Kashmir, Neki Rishi's friendship with wild animals is well-known. It was his daily habit to feed four wild animals with his own hands.

An anecdote regarding Neki Rishi's encounter with the thieves speaks not so much of his miraculous powers as his faith in Allah to protect His servants in adversity.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 807, ff. 156b-157ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 177b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 135.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 177a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 302-3.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 795-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 119.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir-i Kashmir*, p. 119.

Baba Nizamu'd-Din: A disciple of an Uwaisi Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Sakhi Islamabadi, he took to the life of renunciation after divorcing his wife. It was customary for him to traverse the distance from Srinagar to Islamabad (Anantnag) bare-foot in order to meet his *murshid*. Notwithstanding his asceticism, he excelled in *'ilmu'l-Fiqh*.

He lies buried near the mausoleum of Rupi Rishi in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 397.

Baba Nur Muhammad: The brother and disciple of the Uwaisi Rishi, Baba Muhammad Qamar, he is said to have passed sleepless nights during the period of his seclusion at Trahgam in Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 362.

Baba Nuri Kashmiri: Nothing is known about him except that he was a diciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230 f. 34b.

Baba Nuri Rishi: He was the most noted disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi, and had numerous followers. A Rishi of wisdom and goodness, Nuri belonged to the category of Rishis who earned their livelihood by cultivating the land. He also planted fruit-bearing trees for the comfort of the poor. It was his usual practice to cook food on Fridays and distribute it to the poor after congregational prayers, at the village of Sikandapura (Singhpura). Mishkati pays glowing tribute to him.

Nuri Rishi is entombed at the village of Lolipura in the *pargana* of Biru in Kashmir.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 329ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 95a.

Khwariqu's-Salikin, f. 41a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 117-18.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 180b-181a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 324-6.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 825-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 127.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 122.

Baba Nuru'llah *alias* Kangroo: He became a disciple of Mulla Tahir's son, Shah 'Abdu's-Sabur, at a very young age. On account of his spiritual progress, he was granted *irshad* and *khilafa*. Nothing else is known about him except that he was associated with the Kashmiri Sufi Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar (d. 11 Ramazan 1099/1 August 1688).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 348.

Baba Payamu'd-Din: Originally belonging to a village situated in the *pargana* Lar of Kashmir, he was a noble of Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84). He became a disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi after his experience with ants. During a hunting expedition, Payamu'd-Din observed some ants carrying grain to their stores. Thinking that he had wasted his life by not storing anything for the 'life to come', he renounced the world. After being initiated into the Rishi order by Baba Zainu'd-Din, he served his *murshid* for many years until he was commanded to settle down in the forest of Ranbuah in the *pargana* of Bangil (ancient Bhangila).

Popularly known in Kashmir as Baba Rishi, Baba Payamu'd-Din's shrine is a place of great pilgrimage. Thousands of Kashmiri pilgrims and several other tourists flock to the shrine for the fulfilment of their wishes.

He died on 24 Zilhaj 889/13 January 1485.

The '*urs* of Baba Rishi is celebrated in the month of Poh (December) and was until the onset of militancy also attended by a considerable number of Kashmiri Pandits. Significantly, a good number of Muslims from various sections of Kashmiri society continue to visit the shrine through the year and stay for a night or more in the buildings constructed in the premises of the shrines for the pilgrims. A free *langar* is maintained all through the year, thanks to the offerings and gifts of the pilgrims.

The shrine was until recently under the control of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Trust founded by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdu'llah.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 47ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 155a-157a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 175a.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 104.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 88b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230 f. 43b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 112.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 280-3.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 769-71.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 112.

Baba Qa'im: A disciple of Shah Muhammad Raza, he spent his life in seclusion near the bank of Brar Nambal in Srinagar and is entombed at the cemetery of Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 290.

Baba Qa'im: Little is known about this second son of Baba Tahir except that he was a noted Kashmiri ascetic and is said to have obtained initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 309.

Baba Qadir: He was a descendant of Baba 'Abdu'llah Narwari. After being initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Baba Raza, he led a pious life within the bounds of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. However, he became a *qalandar* after the death of his spiritual teacher and began to wander in the streets of Sopur and other areas around the area of Kamraz in Kashmir. A considerable number of people became his devotees because of his spirituality. Such was Baba Qadir's passion for music that he would rush to the places wherever musical concerts were organized. He would, then, himself dance in a state of ecstasy and fall into trance for two or three days.

After his death, Baba Qadir was buried at the village of Tragpura in Hamal.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 466-7.

Baba Qamaru'd-Din: He was a learned and pious Kashmiri Sufi belonging to the Kubrawiyya order. Little is known about him beyond his sojourn at the village of Pazipura in Kamraz where he lies entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 283.

Baba Qasim: A disciple of 'Abdu'r-Rashid Zargar. He was drunk in the ocean of *tasawwuf* and is buried at the village of Sarashahr in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Baba Qiyamu'd-Din: A disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Mulla Ahmad Sabur, Sa'du'llah Shahabadi and several other hagiographers call him Qawamu'd-Din.

Nothing is known about his early background except that his spiritual preceptor commanded him to carry on the mission of the Rishi order at the village of Manzgam (district Anantnag) near a spring known as Dudh-Pokar. The Persian sources write that no sooner had Qiyamu'd-Din taken up residence there than all the dry trees and plants turned green, thanks to his miraculous powers. What is, however, plausible is that Qiyamu'd-Din combined asceticism with agricultural service to God in accordance with the teachings of his illustrious *pir*.

It may be true that Qiyamu'd-Din on account of his austerities and penances did not himself cultivate land. But it is certain that he communicated Nuru'd-Din's emphasis on the dignity of labour to the peasant community in no unambiguous terms. But for the transmission of such a message in the local medium of his *murshid*, Qiyamu'd-Din would not have been able to contribute to the cause of the protection of the Valley's natural environment.

Qiyamu'd-Din was a Rishi of great merit notwithstanding his illiteracy. To a question as to why he had reduced his body to a skeleton, he replied, I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the Qur'an; if I could, I might draw near to God. What other form of worship remains, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food, and to practise austerities? Thus I might move God to forgive me my sins."

Although none of the sources mention the date of death of Baba Qiyamu'd-Din, it is certain that he lived a little longer than his *pir*, who died in 842/1439.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 58a-59a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 82a.

Diddmari, *Waqi'at* (SU), p. 107.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 166b-167a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 35ab.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 109b.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 429-30.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 134.

Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, pp. 174-5.

Baba Qutbu'd-Din: Originally known as Kati Pandit, he was a Brahman well versed in the Hindu scriptures. So struck was the inquisitive Brahman by the austerities of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi that once he proclaimed in exultation the pre-eminence of the Rishi among all the saints he had seen. Reacting to his words Nuru'd-Din remarked that he was conscious of his sins from his very birth. Kati Pandit was so impressed by Nuru'd-Din's sense of guilt and sin that he became a disciple. He was named Qutbu'd-Din and, after his death, in view of his closeness to Nuru'd-Din, was buried near his tomb at Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir.

There is no doubt that the austerities and humility of Nuru'd-Din prompted Kati Pandit to join the brotherhood of the Rishis. But in the course of a dialogue between Nuru'd-Din and Kati Pandit a cardinal virtue of the saint seems also to have captivated the Brahman. This was the Brahman's ability to perceive in Nuru'd-Din's humility a sorrow converted into action, towards a new and better life. How this action gained momentum in due course is amply borne out not only by Kati Pandit's practice of committing to writing Nuru'd-Din's verses for posterity, but by the continuance of this tradition even among certain families of

Brahmans in the Valley. The persistence of this tradition as late as the seventeenth century also accounts for the gradual adaptation of such families to Islam.

The role played by Kati Pandit in popularizing Nuru'd-Din's mystical poetry among the Brahmans of Kashmir can hardly be ignored since he considered the act of copying his verses in the *Sharda* script to be a source of great comfort. Kati Pandit is said to have written the verses of his spiritual preceptor on *awraq-i tuz.*

Baba Qutbu'd-Din lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Baba Nasib, *Nur-nama*, pp. 53b-54a.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 324-5.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 90-1.

Miskin, p. 108.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 136-7.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, p. 188.

Baba Rajabu'd-Din: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi of Kashmir. Before his initiation into the Rishi order, Rajabu'd-Din was a close companion of the reigning sultan. Devoted to the pleasures of life, as the story goes, once Rajabu'd-Din Mir and his two brothers came across Bamu'd-Din on the road. Out of sheer fun they commanded the Rishi to carry their jug of wine home for them. When Bamu'd-Din poured wine into the cups they began to be filled up with milk instead. There and then, the ease-loving brothers parted with their old ways and entered the discipleship of Bamu'd-Din.

The legend about Rajabu'd-Din's initiation into the Rishi order along with his brothers may or may not be true. Yet it is testimony to the commitment of the Rishis to the programme of social reform in medieval Kashmiri society.

After Bamu'd-Din was able to reform Rajabu'd-Din, the latter did penance for his old ways. He is said to have earned his living by copying the Qur'an after settling down at the mountain of Nagnaran in Martand. His tomb at that village is a place of popular pilgrimage.

Rajabu'd-Din is said to have distinguished himself as a Rishi of mettle. His disciples were many, among whom the most prominent was Nauroz Rishi.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 41ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 144a-145b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 82b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*,, f. 52b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 114.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 170b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No.1059, f. 110a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 24-48.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 683-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 103-4.

Baba Ratan, Shaikh: Also known as Hajji Baba Ratan, he belonged to Tabarhinda or Bhatinda in the Panjab. The Baba is said to have been born before the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Known by his patronymic (*kunniya*) Abu'l-Riza, he is believed to have regularly prayed for the emergence of a great spiritual leader. He visited Mecca and Medina and after his conversion to Islam became a companion of the Prophet. Baba Ratan compiled a treatise called the *Risala-i Rataniyya* based on the *ahadis* personally related to him by the Prophet.

Baba Ratan returned to the Panjab and died in 700/1300.

Although Saghani describes *ahadis* contained in the *Risala-i Rataniyya* as apocryphal (M. Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadis Literature*, p. 227), it is strange that the Kubrawiyya Sufis, including Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din 'Ala'u'd-Din Simnani and Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, lent credence to such sayings. Not only many later Sufi biographies but also Hajar al-Asqalani (773/1372-852/1449), the well-known Egyptian scholar of *Hadis*, refers to Baba Ratan in his large biographical dictionary *al-Isaba fi Ta'rif al-Sahaba*.

The belief in Baba Ratan's association with Islam is attributable to yogic syncretism. The yogis claimed all the prophets and apostles as disciples of Gorakhnath. Baba Ratan Hajji was identified with Goraknath and it was even claimed that the Prophet had learnt Yoga through the Baba.

Dabistan-i Mazahib, pp. 179-80.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 20-1.

A'in-i Akbari, III, p. 168.

M. Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadis Literature*, Dacca, 1955, p. 227.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 320.

Baba Rati Rishi: A disciple of Regi Rishi, known for his asceticism and piety. He lies buried at the village of Manganaypura in the *pargana* of Khuyahom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 118.

Baba Raza: He was a son of Baba 'Ubaidu'llah and the grandson of the sixteenth-century Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Mas'ud Narwari. After obtaining spiritual guidance from his father, he made his mark as an *'abid* and *zahid* of impeccable integrity. It was only after experiencing the *Wahdat al-Wujud* that he became a *qalandar* and took to wanderings.

Baba Raza's tomb is situated in the town of Sopur, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 645.

Baba Rishi: His tomb, situated in the neighbour hood of picturesque Tangmarg, attracts a large number of pilgrims including tourists to the Valley from different parts of India. [See Baba Payamu'd-Din.]

Baba Rishi: A disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he lies buried near the mausoleum of his *pir* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Baba Saburu'd-Din: Baba Kamal describes him as a disciple of the well-known Rishi of Kashmir, Baba Bamu'd-Din. He gave up worldly pleasures and secluded himself at a cave in the *pargana* of Martand. It is said that once a lady who had quarrelled with her husband took refuge in the cave of the Rishi. For three days she devoted herself to meditation in the sombre environment of the cave. When the people came to know about her whereabouts, both she and the Rishi were accused of having a promiscuous relationship. Scandalized, both Baba Saburu'd-Din and the lady prayed and then died. Their tombs are at Martand.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 250.

Baba Sadiq: A *khalifa* of the distinguished Kashmiri Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, his tomb is Hirapura.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 247-8.

Baba Sadru'd-Din: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He is entombed at the village of Saabi in the *pargana* of Bangil.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 135.

Baba Sakhar Din: Little is known about him except that he was an Uwaisi Rishi who lived in the village of Rishipura in Zainpura, Kashmir. He subsisted on *vopalhak*.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 369.

Baba Salih: His father was Khwaja Baba Lari who, in turn, was a trusted disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Known for his righteousness, Baba Salih is entombed at the village of Wandhama in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 246.

Baba Salih: He was the venerated *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He belonged to the village of Gawahgoh in the *pargana* of Yech. Baba Salih was a skilled calligrapher. However, he chose to live in a cave, sustained on gifts offered him in exchange for making copies of the Qur'an. He did not eat meat. Once while Dara Shukoh was hunting in the village of Gawahgo, he heard about the popularity of Baba Salih. He called on the Baba, who did not pay him any attention. The prince told his companions in Chagtai that this man was intoxicated. Baba Salih who understood by way of his God-given wisdom what the prince meant remarked: "Woe unto him who is inebriated and let he be sad hundred times who is not intoxicated (with the divine love)." Dara Shukoh was highly impressed and presented the ascetic a bag of coins as *nazr*. It was only at the insistence of the prince that the Baba accepted thirty rupees out of what was presented to him but simultaneously presented a small copy (*hama'il sharif*) of the Qur'an to the royal visitor.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 241-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 238-9.

Baba Sangi Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Daryau'd-Din, who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. Described as an *'abid* and *zahid* of great merit, the Baba subsisted on the wild vegetables of the forest. He lies buried on a hillock in the *pargana* of Phag, Kashmir in the vicinity of the tomb of his master.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 114.

Baba Sani Rishi: A disciple of a Kashmiri Sufi, Ladi Gana'i, he served his master and is said to have gained *'irfan*. He is entombed near his *pir*.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 40a.

Baba Shah: He was the only son and *sajjada-nishin* of the renowned Sufi of Bijapur, Aminu'd-Din A'la.

Sufis of Bijapur, 251.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din: A disciple of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he succeeded his *pir* after the latter's death some time in the mid-fifteenth century.

Shamsu'd-Din performed *hajj* at a very young age.

He is entombed near his preceptor's tomb at 'Aishmuqam.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 292b-293a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 45a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 174b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 277-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 111-12.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Haja Baba (d. Muharram 1121/March 1709), he lies buried in Tarigam, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din: He belonged to Maru Wadwan in the *pargana* Brang. After becoming the disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi, he settled in the village of Karun in Devsar *pargana*, in penance and meditation. Depite his austerities and physical weakness, he was punctilious about the prescribed prayers.

Later in life, the Baba went to Tarigam. He died in the reign of Kashmiri ruler, Sultan Hasan Shah, son of Haidar Shah, and his tomb in the village of Tarigam is a place of pilgrimage.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 43a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 152ab-153a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 112-13.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 169b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 252-4.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 759-63.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 108-9.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din Nayak: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. The latter's disciple, Baba Dawud Mishkati, describes the circusmstances leading to the initiation of Shamsu'd-Din Nayak in the Suhrawardiyya order.

Once Baba Nasib visited the village where Shamsu'd-Din resided and festivities were in progress. Instead of taking part in revelries, the young Shamsu'-Din preferred to remain in the company of Baba Nasib. Asked by Baba Nasib why he did not participate in the celebrations, Shamsu'd-Din replied that he considered the meeting with him to be better than the two worlds. Baba Nasib was pleased.

Hardly a few days had passed when Shamsu'd-Din felt a keen desire to visit the abode of Baba. Initiated into the Suhrawardiyyah order, he resolved to give up meat and subsist on the vegetables. Mishkati praises Shamsu'd-Din for his steadfastness in *suluk* by way of observing fasts and keeping awake during nights in remembrance of Allah.

Once Shamsu'd-Din visited the *khanqah* of Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri in Srinagar. The Khwaja, a leading Kubrawiyya Sufi of his time, after asking him several questions about his *pir* and whereabouts, then asked whether there were grapes in his village. Shamsu'd-Din replied in the negative, but the Khwaja immediately enquired: "If there was wine." When the reply was again in the negative, the Khwaja enquired whether there were intoxicated souls in his village. Shamsu'd-Din answered no, but immediately remarked that the inhabitants of his village were all wide-awake. As the Khwaja advised Shamsu'd-Din to remain in touch with him in future, the young visitor to his *khanqah* remarked: "I am aware. What business do I have with the enraptured souls?" Responding to Shamsu'd-Din's remark, the Khawaja stood up and danced in ecstasy.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 237-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 240.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din: The brother of Baba Nasib and a disciple of Baba Ishaq Narwari, he gained fame for his devoutness. Later he obtained initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from Baba Nasib. Having also received *irshad*, he succeeded his illustrious brother after the latter's death.

Baba Shamsu'd-Din is entombed near the shrine of Baba Nasib at Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 234.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 248-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 202.

Baba Sharif Nagami: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Qasim Haqqani (d. 29 Rabi'u'l-Sani 1033/) and that he led the life of a *malamati*.

He lies buried in Nagam, Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 285 and n 1378.

Baba Shoga Rishi: He was a disciple Baba Bamu'd-Din. His devotion to God and self-mortification in the true manner of his *pir* has been praised.

He lies buried near the tomb of Baba Bamu'd-Din at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Baba Shukuru'd-Din: He was one of the richest men of his time who lived at the village of Arat in the *pargana* of Manchahom in Kashmir. One day, overwhelmed with divine love, he renounced the world, gave away his riches, and became a disciple of Baba Zainu’d-Din. After having received training in the Path from his spiritual preceptor, he chose the hillock of Shangpal as his abode. Having lived there as a recluse for several years, he moved to the hillock of Sherkoot, situated on the bank of the Wular Lake between Khuyahom and Zaingir, and lived there until his death. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage.

In spite of the fact that Shukuru’d-Din lived a secluded life, he enrolled several disciples. Among them must be mentioned Dariya Rishi, Regi Rishi, and Bibi Sanga Rishis of immense fortitude.

Saiyid ‘Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 43b-44a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 159a-161a.

Mishkati, *Asraru’l-Abrar*, f. 86a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu’s-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 47a.

Sa‘du’llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 176b.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US), pp. 115-16.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 295.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu’r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 786-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 115-17.

Baba Siman Rishi: He was a *murid* of Baba Luda Rishi who in turn was a *khalifa* of Baba Hanifu’d-Din (d. 890/1485). His friendliness towards the wild animals and birds of the forest is proverbial.

He lies buried at the foot of a hill at the village of Andarun in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Baba Tahir: The grandson of Khwaja Mas‘ud Pampuri, he was known for his generosity and piety.

He is entombed in the cemetery of his illustrious grandfather at Pampur, the famous saffron town of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US), p. 242.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 257.

Tuhfatu’l-Fuqara (R), p. 112.

Baba Tahir Buchhwari Kubrawi: He was a disciple of Shah Qasim Haqqani. At the time of his initiation into the Kubrawiyya order, he received the *Nafhatu’l-Uns* and *khat-i irshad* from his *murshid*. According to Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang (d. 17 Rajab 1131/25 May 1719), a contemporary Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order, Baba Tahir occasionally behaved like a *majzub*.

Tuhfatu’l-Fuqara (R), pp. 211-12.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US), p. 319.

Baba Tahir Gaani: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar (Ziq‘ad 1093/October-November 1682). Like his spiritual preceptor, Baba Tahir renounced worldly pleasures.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Baba Taju’d-Din: A disciple of Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi.

Sabur, *Khwariqu’s-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 35a.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu’r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 256-7.

Baba Taz-Din Rishi: A police officer in the time of Sultan Zainu’l-‘Abidin, he became a Rishi under the influence of Shaikh Nuru’d-Din.

His tomb lies in Wutrahel.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 136.

Baba Totak Din: He was an Uwaisi Rishi and lived in Chakdar, Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 370.

Baba ‘Ubaidu’llah: The grandson of Shaikh Ma‘ruf Zunamari, he succeeded his grandfather after his death and towards the end of his life moved to Shahabad and settled at Mandha where he is entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 378.

Baba ‘Usman: Little is known about this disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, ‘Abdu’s-Salam Tak except that he led a life of inner struggle and piety and lies buried at Shahabad.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 390.

Baba ‘Usman: Little is known about him except that he was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Baba Nasibu’d-Din Ghazi and is entombed at Nawhatta in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Baba ‘Usman Qadiri: The son and *khalifa* of Baba Hajji Muhammad Qadiri (also known as Haja Baba), he belonged to the prominent business family of Kashmir called the Katjus. After obtaining exoteric and esoteric knowledge from Khwaja Muhammad Taiyib Charkhi and Khwaja Abu’l-Fath Kulu, he later received initiation into the Qadiriyya order from Shah Abu’l-Hasan Qadiri.

Baba ‘Usman was one of the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufis of Kashmir. Khwaja A‘zam Diddamari recalls the visit of Baba ‘Usman Qadiri to his ancestral house during the days of his youth and notes that he narrated a *Hadis* of the Prophet in such a manner that all present were profoundly impressed by his eloquence. Although those present offered some money to the distinguished guest, he did not accept it saying that the nobility of his intentions in expounding the *Hadis* would be damaged.

In Jamiu'du's-Sani 1117/September-October 1705, Baba 'Usman died and was buried at Chhatabal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 343-4.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 213-14.

Baba 'Usman Uchap Gana'i: He came from the respectable family of Gana'is, which was well known for learning. When he completed his education, Baba 'Usman left for Mecca. He performed the *hajj* and in the holy city met Shaikh Ishaq Shattari who initiated him in the Shattariyya order. It was his Shattariyya master who advised Uchap Gana'i to return to the Valley and seek out Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganjbaksh. On reaching home, he received initiation in the Kubrawiyya order.

Baba 'Usman became the *khalifa* of Ganjbaksh and is said to have initiated many people in the Kubrawiyya order. The most notable visitor to the *khanqah* of Baba 'Usman during his lifetime was Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. The "Great King" of Kashmir had immense veneration for him.

Baba 'Usman enjoyed the company of the illustrious Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and Baba Ibrahim Adham.

He died in 861/1456-7 and his tomb lies in the cemetery of the Sultans of Kashmir in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 31ab.
Nasib, *Nurnama*, f. 334b.
Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 68a.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 107-8.
Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 104ab.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 152.

Baba Yusuf Aadwani: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, under whose guidance he achieved the distinction of becoming *'arif-i fana fi'llah*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 193.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Baba Yusuf Daru Kashmiri: He was a disciple of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri. He was an ascetic and lies entombed at Jamalatta in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 206.

Baba Yusuf Darzi: He was a worthy disciple of Kashmiri Sufi, Khushhal Mir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Baba Yusuf: Nothing is known about him except that Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order and that he is entombed at the village of Teluni in Kutahar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 246.

Baba Yusuf Shouqi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shah Qasim Haqqani. He lies buried at the *mohalla* of Tashwan in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 238.

Baba Zafar: Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 192.

Baba Zahid Nagami: Son of Baba Sharif Nagami, he was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Shah Qasim Haqqani and was authorized to enrol disciples.

His tomb is situated somewhere at Sha'irwari around the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 285.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 266-7.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 205.

Baba Zainu'd-Din: A disciple of Baba Khurram Pandit. He was a Sufi of considerable merit and lies buried near his *murshid's* tomb at Gurgarhi *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 282.

Baba Zainu'd-Din: He came from Kishtwar where his father, a descendant of the rulers of that country, was put to death by his enemies. At a very young age Zia Singh, as Zainu'd-Din was known before his conversion to Islam, fell ill. The critical condition of the young boy caused a great deal of anxiety to his mother. It was at this juncture that Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi made his appearance in mysterious circumstances. At the Shaikh's command, the worried mother pledged to visit Kashmir on her son's recovery and also agreed to embrace Islam. Although Zia Singh recovered, thanks to the benedictions of the saint, his mother did not keep her word. After some time the young boy wasd again taken ill, but when his mother was reminded by the Shaikh in a vision of her failure to fulfil the solemn pledge, she set off for Kashmir along with her son.

Although most sources ascribe the conversion of Zia Singh to Islam to the solemn promise taken from his mother by Nur'ud-Din, the Naqshbandiyya Sufi scholar, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, attributes his acceptance of Islam at the hands of the saint to divine command. Mulla Ahmad Sabur, however, states that since Zia Singh was looking for a *pir* he became a Muslim on seeing Nuru'd-Din.

The chronicler Saiyid 'Ali's earliest account of the circumstances leading to the conversion, however, needs to be noted together with that of Baba Nasib, Dawud Mishkati and others. True, Nuru'd-Din's mystical appearance in Kishtwar may appear fantastic to the modern mind; but in the history of Sufism, such experiences have been the rule rather than the exception.

Zia Singh, who after his conversion to Islam came to be known as Zainu'd-Din, undoubtedly held an eminent position among the disciples of Nuru'd-Din. Significantly, he chose a cave on the top of the mountain, at 'Aishmuqam, for purposes of worship. His piety and austerities impressed even his master, who extolled the saintliness of the disciple in this verse: "My Zaina is the fountain-head of nectar; Such is his devotion to God that he surpasses his preceptor."

Although many a miracle attributed to Zainu'd-Din testify to his distinguished position, the veneration of boatmen known as *hanjis*, for the Rishi to this day suggests that the Rishi's influence amongst the people must have been considerable. Even a rationalist like Abu'l-Fazl lent a credulous ear to the stories current about the saint and wrote: "For twelve years he (Zainu'd-Din) occupied this cell (at 'Aishmuqam) and towards the end (of his life) he closed its mouth with a huge stone and never went out again and no one has even found trace of him."

Several stories about Zainu'd-Din Rishi and his miracles, point to the acculturation of the Kashmiri folk under the influence of the Rishis. Walter Lawrence, the Settlement Commissioner of Kashmir in the 1890s, was struck by the importance of the tomb of Zainu'd-Din. "This shrine" writes Lawrence, "is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmir, who take their children (there) and cut-off their first lock of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind."

The *'urs* of Zainu'd-Din is celebrated in the Valley with great emotion and pageantry. A distinctive feature is a procession of persons in traditional costumes, known as *Rishijama*, who carry traditional torches (*lashi*) in their hands which was introduced by Zainu'd-Din.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 35a-37b.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 129a-140b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 104-5.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No.1059, ff. 107b-108a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 41b-42ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 125-6, 264-78.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 423-8, 727-59.

Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, rpt., Srinagar, 1967, p. 288.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 183-4.

Baba Zakir: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, he learnt the Qur'an by heart and commanded the respect of his contemporaries for the quality of his thankfulness to Allah.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Baba Zeni Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi's *khalifa*, Sadha Rishi. Both he and his master are entombed in Khalnarawav, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Baba Ziyau'd-Din: He belonged to a noble family of Srinagar. He was the son-in-law and *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rashid Maantju (d. 1136/1723-4).

His tomb is situated near the mausoleum of his father-in-law at the mohalla of Rahbab Saheb (named after Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju) in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 337.

Baba Zuni: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 36a

Bagh-i Sulaiman: This was authored by Sa'du'llah Shahabadi. It contains an account of the Sufis and the Rishis of Kashmir. Among several sources, the author also consulted *Tarikh-i Sha'iq*. The manuscript available at the Research Library Srinagar (accession no. 1059) has 202 folios.

Badal: substitute. The terms *abdal* (pl. of badal; in Persian and Turkish the plural *abdal* is often used as a singular) and *budala'* (pl. of *badil*) are connected with a Sufi doctrine, which goes back to the third century of the *hijra*, that the cosmic order is preserved by a fixed number of saints, so that when a holy man dies his place is immediately filled by a "substitute". Some writers explain *badal* as "one who, when he departs from a place, has the power to leave his 'double' (*shakhs ruhani*) behind him", or "one who has experienced a spiritual transformation". There is great discrepancy in the accounts given the number of *abdal* and their position in the saintly hierarchy, headed by the *qutb* or "pole". The *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal mentions 40 of whom God created in Syria (i.112) and also states that there are 30 in Muhammad's community (v.322). Al-Makki refers to 300 *abdal*, comprising *siddiqun, shuhada'* and *salihun* (*Qut al-Qulub*, ii. 78; cf. Sura iv.69). According to Hujwiri, they are 40 in number and occupy the fourth grade, being subordinate to 7 *abrar*, 4 *awtad*, and 3 *nuqaba'* (*Kashf al-mahjub*, transl. Nicholoson, p. 214). Ibn al-'Arabi (*Futuhat*, ii.9) limits their number to 7, ranks them under the *awtad* (so Ibn al-Farid, *Ta'iyat al-Kubra*, v.501) and above the *nuqaba'*, associates each of them with a particular prophet (Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Idris, Joseph, Jesus and Adam), and represents each as exercising sway over one of the seven climes into which the world is divided.

Badi'u'd-Din, Shaikh: Born into an influential family in Saharanpur, he was a noted disciple of the Mujaddid. After being trained in the technique of the *zikr* by the Mujaddid himself, he overcame his earlier distaste for learning by continuing education under his *pir* in Sirhind. He was deputed to Agra where he attracted fellow Sufis and the influential to the Naqshbandiyya fold. But his success proved to be short-lived. Muhammad Hashim Badakshani attributes the Mujaddid's subsequent imprisonment by Emperor Jahangir to Badi'u'd-Din's indiscretion. The accounts of Jahangir and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi lead one to believe that the revelations of mystical experiences by the Mujaddid's disciples created an uncongenial atmosphere for the popularization of the Naqshbandiyya order in Agra. Afterwards Badi'u'd-Din settled down in Saharanpur "to an ascetic life of contemplation and *zikr*." He committed the Qur'an to memory and tutored a few lessons on theology and Sufism. He remained in constant touch with his *pir* and claimed to have received several visions of special nature so much so that, according to him, in a vision he was called the Lamp of India (*Siraj al-Hind*) by the Prophet himself.

Zubadatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 346-51.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 334-40.

Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in India*, p. 286.

Badi'u'd-Din Madar, Shah: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a contemporary of Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi (d. 848/1444-5). He often covered his face with a veil and whosoever had a glimpse of him would spontaneously prostrate himself before Allah.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 292.

Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi, Shaikh: He came to Delhi from Ghazna during the Mongol invasion and entered the discipleship of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. His poetic and oratory skills captivated all the distinguished ulama and Sufis of his time. Even Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar often attended his sermons on divine love. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya learnt from Shaikh Badru'd-Din that Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki often recited this verse:

> *Soda'i tu dil-i diwana ma ast, har ja ki Hadis-i tust afsana ma ast;*
>
> *Baigana ki az guft aan kheesh-i man ast, kheeshi ki na az tu guft baigana ma ast.*

After the death of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he became his successor in Delhi. Once the Shaikh went to see Iltutmish in his palace, where the sultan gave him a warm welcome. What is remarkable about him is his enthusiastic participation in *sama'* rituals. Even at a ripe old age he is said to have danced like a ten-year old boy. Asked how he was able to do so Shaikh Badru'd-Din replied: *Shaikh nami raqsad, 'ishq may raqsad. Harja ki 'ishq ast ura raqs ast.*

Nizamu'd-Din Kharitahdar, himself a noted disciple of Bakhtiyar Kaki, built a *khanqah* for Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi and defrayed all its expenses. When the noble was jailed on a charge of corruption, the *khanqah* faced financial crisis. Badru'd-Din wrote to Ganj-i Shakar seeking help. But the Shaikh did not approve of his disciple's attitude, contrary to the Chistiyya norm of severing all contacts with rulers and the elite. Hagiographical sources refer to only one of his disciples, Shaikh Imamu'd-Din Abdal.

He died in about 657/1258-9 and lies buried near the tomb of his spiritual preceptor in Mahrauli.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 85, 91.

Khyar al-Majalis, 188.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 50-1.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar, pp. 746-8.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 164-6.

Jamali, pp. 50-1.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), pp. 82b-84a.

Kalimatu's-Sadiqin, pp. 45-8.

Badru'd-Din Ishaq, Maulana: One of Baba Farid's distinguished *khalifa*s, he was educated in Delhi. His quest for knowledge drove him to Ajodhan. There he entered the discipleship of Baba Farid and discharged the duties of the steward of his *jama'at-khana*. He was deeply immersed in Sufism and would often cry while reciting a mystical verse. After the death of his mentor, the Maulana taught the Qur'an in the Jam'i mosque at Ajodhan. Among his students were some prominent Sufis including Amir Khwurd's father. He was a close friend of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who took care of his family after his death. Unfortunately, an Arabic grammar entitled *Tasrif-i Badri*, authored by the Maulana, is not extant. He also authored *Risala-i Asrau'l-Auliya* containing the *malfuzat* of Shaikh Ganj-i Shakr. He died in 670/1271-2.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 59-74.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 162-87.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 116-30.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, pp. 42, 85.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 132-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 800-3.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 98b-99b.

Badru'd-Din Muy-tab, Shaikh: According to his brother, Shaikh Shahi Muy-tab of Bada'un, who was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Badru'd-Din was directed to seek the discipleship of Qutbu'd-Din Khaki. The Khwaja warmly received and initiated him as a Chistiyya.

Badru'd-Din is entombed in Bada'un behind Namazgah-i Shamsi. The well-known hagiographer, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, refers to his visit to the tomb of Shaikh Badru'd-Din in 1050/1640-1and writes about his consequent spiritual experiences.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 832-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 101.

Badru'd-Din Samarqandi, Khwaja: The founder of the Firdawsiyya *silsilah* in India, he settled in Delhi in the aftermath of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki's migration to the cosmopolitan capital. However, the order could not prosper until the Firdawsiyyas established themselves in Bihar in the late fourtheenth century.

Badru'd-Din Samarqandi was a disciple of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi (d. 658/1260), an eminent disciple of Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra, who is reputed to have converted the Mongol Khan of the Golden Horde and a grandson of Chingiz Khan, Berke (1257-6), to Islam. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya had a cordial friendship with him. He was fond of *sama'*. Significantly, both celebrated the death anniversary (*'urs*) of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi with ebullience. According to Rizvi, he died probably in 'Alau'd-Din's reign.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 268-9.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 180-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 210.

Manaqibu'l-Asfiya, pp. 335-58 (the book was published as a continuation of the *Maktubat-i Sadi*, Lucknow, 1287/1870).

Kalimatu's-Sadiqin, p. 159.

Jamali, p. 83.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 837.

Badru'd-Din Sani (the Second), Shaikh: He was a son of Shaikh Pir Buddhan (d. 903/1497-8). Not unlike many Chistiyya Sufis, he had a passion for *sama'*. Like his father, Shaikh Badru'd-Din proved to be a patron of classical Indian music. Sultan Sikandar Lodi gave a liberal grant to the Shaikh to meet his expenses from the revenues of twenty-seven villages. The Shaikh was married to the daughter of a local Rawat (Hindu chief). He died on 16 Zu'lhijja 949/23 March 1543. Rizvi has not mentioned the source.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 276.

Badru'd-Din Sulaiman, Shaikh: He was the third son of Baba Farid. According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, he was accepted as a Chistiyya *khalifa* by the sufis of Chist (Khurasan).

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 137.

Badru'd-Din, Shaikh: He belonged to Sirhind and was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi at the age of fifteen. Having perfected the technique of *zikr* without the use of breath control (*habs-i nafs*), he never gave up this practice for the rest of his life. He lived with his *pir* for seventeen years and wrote several works, such as, the *Siyar-i Ahmadi*, the *Karamatu'l-Auliya*, the *Rawa'ih*, the *Sanwat-i Atqiya* and the *Majma'u'l-Auliya*. He also translated the *Futuh al-Ghayb* and the *Bahjat al-Asrar*—the Arabic works of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani—into Persian. Besides, he translated the Qur'anic exegesis of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir entitled *Rauzat al-Nawazir* from Arabic into Persian. Under the orders of Dara-Shukoh, he also produced a Persian rendering of the Qur'anic exegesis of Ruzbihan Baqli entitled *'Ara'is al-bayan*. Afterwards he completed the *Hazaratu'l-Quds*.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 386-412, 157-60.

Badru'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of Sharafu'd-Din Ansari (d. 788/1386). After settling in Delhi he founded a school near the Qutb-Minar. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli initiated him into the Chistiyya order. Later, he migrated to Barnawa, a village near Delhi surrounded by wilderness. The Ranghar Rajputs who were cultivators and lived in the neighbourhood of the Shaikh's abode called him a wandering Turk yogi (Atit Turk Jogi). Shaikh Badru'd-Din's asceticism attracted many of the local Hindus to him for the redressal of their everyday problems.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 275-6.

Badru'd-Din Sirhindi, Shaikh: *Khalifa* of Shaikh Yahya, he lived in Sandela. His spirituality and taste for poetry, music and service to the *fuqara*, elicit the praise of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 454-5.

Bajan, Shah: See Baha'u'd-Din Shah.

Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh, Shaikh: No information is available about his early life except that he lived in Kashmir before travelling to Central Asia and Iran during his youth. At Khatlan, Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani, the distinguished disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order. He then returned home and lived the life of a hermit in Srinagar. After some time, Baha'u'd-Din gained immense popularity both among the 'high' and the 'low'. Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin began to visit his abode along with his wife Baihaqi Begum.

Shaikh Nur'u'd-Din Rishi, Saiyid Muhammad Madani, and Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri had a close association with Baha'u'd-Din. Baba 'Usman Ucchap Gana'i, a disciple of Baha'u'd-Din, is quoted as saying in the earliest extant *tarikh* on Kashmir that Nuru'd-Din Rishi enjoyed an intimate friendship with Baha'u'd-Din. Some chroniclers and hagiographers mention Baha'u'd-Din as the *qutb* (q.v.) of his time. So great was his spiritual status that Baba 'Usman Gana'i, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after being enrolled as his disciple by Shaikh Ishaq Shattari, was advised to return and seek out Baha'u'd-Din.

No source testifies that Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din actually met Shaikh Ishaq Shattari in physical terms. However, in the history of Sufism, communication between two Sufis at the spiritual level is not an uncommon phenomenon.

Many of the miracles attributed to Baha'u'd-Din speak of the veneration in which he was held during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. Although the Sultan and his wife often sought his blessings, Baha'u'd-Din preferred to live in a shed under the Zaina Kadal Bridge in Srinagar. There is little doubt that even while living as a recluse he played an important role in the dissemination of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir. Such was his position in the Kashmiri society that he is said to have led the funeral prayers for Saiyid Muhammad Madani (d. 849/1445).

It is difficult to explain why, towards the end of his life, Baha'u'd-Din turned a *majzub* and resorted to wandering unlike Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi who became a conscious Sufi missionary after his contact with the Kubrawiyya Sufis. His death in an ecstatic state in 849/1445 at the hands of thieves leaves thought for reflection. Interestingly, the Shaikh had desired before his death that his corpse be tied with a rope and dragged to its burial place. When Zainu'l-'Abidin came to know about this, he ordered that the dead body be carried on a board to the burial ground. The corpse was then pulled in an ingenious manner to the place now called Mazar-i Ganj Baksh.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, ff. 17b-18a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 108ab-109a.

Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, ff. 66b-68a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 86-7.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, ff. 103ab.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 148-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 139-40.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu: He was born in the mohalla of Patiwan in Nowhatta, Srinagar. No source gives his date of birth. But Asadu'llah Wani and Ma'sud Samun assume on a careful examination of his work that he was born in 1173/1759-60.

Although a *khalifa* of Shah 'Inayatu'llah Kubrawi, Baha'u'd-Din Mattu also received initiation in the Naqshbandiyya and Chistiyya orders. Mir Husain Qadiri, among others, names 'Abdu'l-Gani Lankar, Shaikh Akbar Hadi, Baba Saifu'llah Zunimari, and Maulana Mahmud Balkhi as his teachers.

Mattu followed the *Shari'ah* strictly and lived in relative seclusion in the house of Shaikh Saifu'llah. A Sufi of remarkable qualities, Baha'u'd-Din wrote the *Rishinama, Sultanti, Qadiri, Naqshbandiyya,* and the *Chistiyya.*

He died in 1248/1832 and lies buried at the place of his birth.

Mulla Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, ed. with introduction by Muhammad Asadu'llah Wani and Mas'ud Samun, Cultural Academy, 1982.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 388.

Muhammad Amin Rafiqi, "Mulla Baha'u'd-Din", *Shiraza*, Cultural Academy, vol. 16, no. I.

Baha'u'd-Din Jaunpuri, Shaikh: He lived at the end of the fifteenth century as an eminent Chistiyya Sufi of Jaunpur. A disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din was an ascetic, rejecting *futuh* or financial assistance of any kind from everyone.

Ma'aruju'l-wilayat (R), ff. 298b-299a.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, 197-8.

Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband, Khwaja: Born in Muharram 718/March 1318 in the village of Qasr-i Hinduwan, not far from Bukhara, he is said to have received guidance from the spirit of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Khaliq Ghujduwani (d. 617/1220), the well-known *khalifa* of Khwaja Yusuf al-Hamadani (d. 535/1140). He is famous for reorganizing the *Silsilah-i Khwajgan*. He died in 791/March 1389. The village of Qasr-i Hinduwan came to be known as Qasr-i 'Arifan at the time of his death. The rulers of Central Asia were great devotees of the Khwaja and invoked the blessings of his spirit. The Khwaja's disciples spread the order in India where it came to be known after the name of Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband. [See Sisilah-i Khwajgan.]

Baha'u'd-Din, Shah: A descendant of Maulana Ahmad of Madyanniya order, Shah Baha'ud-Din was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh 'Azizu'llah Mutwakkil (d. 912/28 March 1507). According to Rizvi, he had travelled throughout the Muslim world. Also known by his Hindi *nom de plume*, Bajan, the Shaikh composed verses in both Persian and Hindi. He died on 14 Zu'lqa'da 912/28 March 1507.

Ahwal Hazrat Khwaja Burhanu'd-Din (Saints of Burhapur), Leningrad Oriental Institute MS, ff. 39a-45b (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 283n).

Baha'u'd-Din Shattari, Shaikh: Originally a Qadiriyya, he was initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Buddhan Shattari (d. 921/1515-16). He settled in Mandu at an old age and earned considerable fame for his treatise called the *Risala-i Shattariyya*. Not unlike Najmu'd-Din Kubra (Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 94) and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani (*Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, Appendix E, pp. 256-7), he believed that the ways of God were as numerous as the breaths of His creatures. However, he stressed the importance of the three ways of *akhyar, abrar*, and *shattar*. While the *akhyar* were preoccupied with such time-consuming practices as prayer, fasting, recitation of the Qur'an, pilgrimage, and *jihad*, the *abrar* were engaged in the purification of the heart and the polishing of the spirit by way of ascetic exercises, self-mortification, and the avoidance of evil. But a short-cut to blessing was possible only through the way of the *shattar*. The desired Shattariyya goal demanded observance of ten rules, 1. repentance (*tauba*), 2. renunciation of the world (*zuhd*), 3. trust in God (*tawwakul*), 4. contentment (*qan'at*), 5. retreat (*'uzlat*), 6. contemplation of God (*twwajuh ba Khuda*), 7. patience (*sabr*), 8. satisfaction (*riza*), 9. *zikr*, and 10. concentrated attention on God (*muraqaba*).

The best form of *zikr* was the repetition of the ninety-nine names of Allah for purifying the heart. A clear distinction was made between the repetition of the ninety-nine names or attributes of God and that of the hundredth name, Allah, the Essence. While the former was described as colouring the heart (*talwin*), the latter stage was categorized as majesty (*tamkin*). "When the neophyte reached the stage of evanescence in physical existence, his individuality reached the stage of evanescence in the Essence (*fana*) and he acquired the stage of reintegration with the Essence (*baqa*). Such an enlightened heart was able to perceive the Reality of everything in both worlds and visit the realm of the spirits."

Breath control, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din observed, was necessary for making *zikr* effective. He advised the neophyte to select a clean place and urged him to purify both his outer and inner selves before the recital of *zikr*. He was in favour of using a Hindi *zikr* in addition to the recommended *zikr* in Arabic or Persian. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din also recommended the recitation of several Qur'anic verses for purposes of *muraqaba*. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis quotes them with the main purpose of guiding the seekers after the Truth.

Baha'u'd-Din Shattari died in 921/1515-16.

Risala-i Shattariyya, India Office, MS, ff. 1a-4a, 14b, 18a.

Akhbaru'l-Akyar (U), pp. 349-52.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 156.

Bahau'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of 'Ala'u'd-Din (d. 1038/1628) of Barnawa in Jhanjhana, near Delhi. His grandfather, Shaikh Faridu'd-Din (d. 987/1579), appointed him as his *khalifa* in the Chistiyya order before retiring to Mecca.

Like his grandfather, Shaikh Baha'ud-Din was a recognized archer and hunter. After the death of his *pir*, he gave up hunting and limited himself to travel and study of music. He visited the cities of Delhi, Hansi, Hisar, Sirhind, Lahore, Ajodhan, and the provinces of Gujarat, Cambay, the Deccan, Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal. During his travels, the Shaikh was warmly received at several Chistiyya and Shattariyya *khanqah*s along with a troupe of musicians accompanying him. When he reached Gujarat, he called on Shaikh 'Ali. The latter gave him a lecture on his treatise on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, the *Jawahir Asrar-i Allah*, written in the local Gujarati dialect. Shaikh Bahau'd-Din was also impressed by Shaikh 'Ali's Hindi verse.

Shaikh Bahau'd-Din's contribution to the classical musical traditions established by Amir Khusraw was considerable. He composed his melodies called *jikris* to replace *zikr*s. In his composition praising the Caliph 'Ali and the spiritual ancestors of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, he combined the style of Amir Khusraw with old classical tunes. He considered music a divine secret to be concealed from the ignorant. A number of well-known Hindu and Muslim musicians were constant visitors to the Shaikh. Among his inventions the most interesting was a musical instrument called a *saz-khayal*, which became popular.

Shaikh Bahau'd-Din also composed verses in Hindi. Both Hindus and Muslims used them to cure diseases while invoking the help of deceased Sufis. The Shaikh's disciple and biographer, Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad Chisti Barnawi, has quoted a number of such verses in his *Chistiyya-i-Bihistiyya* concerning his *pir's* miracles.

Shaikh Bahau'd-Din died on 17 Rabi' II 1038/ 14 December 1628. He had a number of disciples and friends from among both Hindus and Muslims. Among his friends must be specially mentioned Khan-i Khanan Abdu'r-Rahim, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, and a prominent Bairagi, Das Ghanun, who was the guru of a great number of Rajput rajas and other prominent Hindus.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 277-9.

Oriental College Magazine, May 1927, pp. 8-24; November 1927, pp. 16-17.

Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, Shaikh: He was one of the founders of the Suhrawardiyya order in India. His ancestors seem to have reached Sindh with the army of Muhammad bin Qasim. Born at Kot Karor, near Multan, about 578/1182-3, Baha'u'd-Din lost his father when he was twelve. After completing his study of the Qur'an and its seven methods of recitation at Kot Aror, he first moved to Khurasan and continued his studies there for seven years. In Bukhara he earned the title of 'Angel' for his piety. He performed *hajj*, went to Medina and studied *Hadis* with the acknowledged authority of that discipline, Maulana Kamalu'd-Din Muhammad, for five years. From Medina, where he also spent several years in religious devotion at the mausoleum of the Prophet, he reached Jerusalem and visited the graves of the prophets of the Israelites. Later he reached Baghdad, where Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order and made him his *khalifa*. At the time of his initiation he was, as his spiritual preceptor remarked, 'dry wood ready to catch fire'.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din reached Multan via Nishapur and under the orders of his master set up a Suhrawardiyya *khanqah* there. He lived and worked in Multan for over half a century and his *khanqah* developed into a great centre of Sufism in medieval India. He died in Multan on Safar 7, 661/21 December 1262.

Although Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya was one of the most prominent Sufi masters of his age, surprisingly, none of his disciples compiled an account of his life and teachings. According to Nizami, the *Fawa'id'ul-Fuwad* is the earliest work that contains "several very significant pieces of information about him". From this work, we learn that the Shaikh's *khanqah* was not a rendezvous for commoners; but attracted the religious elite and probably state dignitaries and wealthy merchants. The Shaikh's discourse centred round issues of theological and spiritual nature.

Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya was a Sufi master *par excellence*. He urged the supreme importance of following the *Shari'ah* and *Sunnah* in all spheres of one's existence. Attributing all his attainments to *namaz*, he believed that the omission of obligatory prayer was tantamount to death. He emphasized the importance of meditation and contemplation, but assigned, as Jamali observes, a secondary place to supererogatory prayers and *zikr* and Sufi discipline. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din, indeed, held moderate views on varied problems of religion and society. He neither himself fasted continuously nor advised his disciples to do so in self-mortification in order to achieve enlightenment. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he was guided by the Qur'anic injunction: "eat of what is pure and act righteously".

Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya did not approve of the practice of bowing before a Shaikh which was in vogue in the Chistiyya order (though Nizamu'd-Din Auliya later forbade it). Nor was he, unlike the Chistiyyas, averse to the idea of accumulating wealth. Likewise, as against the Chistiyya's indifference to the affairs of the state, Shaikh Bahau'd-Din took part in political affairs and associated with the political elite. He himself lent support to Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish against Qubacha when the former wished to annex Multan and Sindh to the Delhi Sultanate. Iltutmish made Bahau'd-Din the Shaikhu'l-Islam, the title conferred on religious dignitaries as an honour and recipients obtained both stipends and land. Although the daily attendance of Shaikhu'l-Islam at the court was not necessary, occasional advice offered by him to the ruler was valued. However, it would not be correct to say that by holding this position Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya remained obsessed with the political affairs of the Sultanate. As a matter of fact, his political role did not extend beyond augmenting the resources of his *khanqah* or recommending his favourites to the Sultan, and negotiating a peace through Malik Shamsu'd-Din, a Muslim dignitary in the Mongol army, between the Mongol invader, Suli Nuyin, and Iltutmish. The Mongols lifted the siege of the Multan fort, thanks to the Shaikh's influence.

Fawa'id'ul-Fuwad, pp. 8, 151, 184, 237.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 58-61.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 695-700.

Jamali, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin*, pp. 103-4, 123-4.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century, etc.*, p. 222.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 198-200, 203-6, 214-17, 220-2.

Bahadu'r Lang: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Bahadu'r Shaikh: He led an ascetic life as a wanderer across the hills of Kashmir for many years. Unable to find an inner light despite his wanderings, he ultimately obtained initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan writes that his tomb lies at Harwan, though his contemporary, Haidar Tulmuli, remarks that after becoming the *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Bahadur Shaikh left for India. Most probably he returned home after his travels across the plains.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 188-9.

Bahjat al-asrar wa ma'din al-anwar: A well-known biography of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, it was written by the Egyptian scholar, Shaikh 'Abdu'l Nuru'd-Din 'Ali bin Yusuf al-Shattanufi al-Lakhmi al-Shafi' (b. Shawwal 647/January-February 1250. d.19 Zu'lhijja 713/6 April 1314). Shaikh 'Abu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi abridged and translated it in Persian. Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ibrahim Sirhindi's translation of the work is not extant, but Muhammad Habibu'llah Akabarabadi Dihlawi's translation, completed in 133/1720-1, is found in the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office Library.

Bahlul Barki, Shah: He was an Afghan who lived in Jalandhar and was initiated as a Chistiyya by Miran Bhikh Chisti Sabiri (d. 1131/1718-19). The Qadiriya Sufi of Lahore, Shah Bulaq Qadiri, also trained him in Sufism. Bahlul Barki was a poet and also wrote works on Sufism. His main contribution was his commentary on the *Diwan* of Hafiz. As a poet he won many disciples, including Sabha Chand, a Hindu wrote under the name of Nadir. He died in 1170/1756-7.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 273.

Bahlul Darya'i, Shaikh: He was one of the prominent Qadiriyya Sufis of the Panjab. He died in 983/1575-6.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 131-2.

Bahr al-Haqa'iq: It is a Sufic commentary on the Qur'an by Najm Daya (d. 656/1258). While imparting lessons on *Tawhid*, Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, the renowned Indian Sufi of the Chistiyya order who had settled in Mecca, used it. Notwithstanding the fact that the work was based on Ibn 'Arabi's views concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud,* 'Ali Mutaqqi never referred to the aphorisms of Ibn 'Arabi in his lectures. [See 'Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh.]

Bahram Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Nuri Rishi who, in turn, was the most distinguished disciple of the Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi of Kashmir.

Whatever little is known about Bahram Rishi is based on an anecdote. Once his *pir*, on his way to a mosque for Friday prayers, asked him to stay put in the garden owned by him in order to keep the birds away from destroying the fruit. Bahram, perhaps bewildered by the timing of the command of his *pir*, sought to discover symbolic meaning in the words of his mentor. He thought the garden to be his fleshy body and the birds to be "women". Therefore, to overcome lust, he mutilated his penis. Bahram spent the rest of his life in the service of his spiritual teacher and was buried near the latter's tomb at the village of Lolipura in the *pargana* of Biru.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 330b-331a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 95ab.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 181a.

Sabur, Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 41a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 328-9.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 827.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 128.

Bahram Saqqa: His real name was Shah Birdi Bayat. His younger brother, Bayazid Bayat, compiled precious notes on the later period of the history of Humayun and the early years of the reign of Akbar, now published under the title *Tadhkira-i Humayun wa Akbar* (Bayazid Biyat, *Tadhkira-i Humayun wa Akbar*, pp. 47-8). Under Humayun's brother, Kamran, Bahram Saqqa held a high post, and from his headquarters at Gardiz, some fifty miles east of Ghazni, controlled the route between Ghazni and Qandahar. Following the seizure of Kabul by Humayun in 1545 and festivities connected with the occasion as well as later with Akbar's circumcision, Shah Birdi Barat experienced a spiritual transmutation. He turned an ecstatic, resigned his military career, and started suppling water to the people, assuming the name of Bahram Saqqa (water-carrier). He moved to Delhi and chose the precincts of the tomb of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya as his abode. His activities in Delhi included participation in *sama'* assemblies, writing of poetry while in a state of ecstasy and serving people as water-carrier.

During his stay in Agra, Bahram Saqqa built a house for the distribution of water. It seems to have been somewhere in the vicinity of Akbar's palace and the Emperor is said to have been in the habit of drinking water and listening to Bahram's poetry.

From Agra Bahram Saqqa is said to have left for Ceylon and, according to Bada'uni, died at some unknown place. However, Rizvi without quoting any evidence, writes that from Ceylone Bahram reached Bengal and died at Burdawan in 970/1562-3. His tomb became an important centre of pilgrimage.

Bahram composed several *diwans*. However, in moments of ecstasy, he would wash away the ink from the paper. A copy of a large part of his mystical poetry is availabe in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Bayazid Biyat, *Tadhkira-i Humayun wa Akbar*, Calcutta, 1941.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni's, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, III, Eng. tr. W. Haig, pp. 338-40.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 474.

Bahr-i Mawwaj (The Billowing Ocean): This is a Persian commentary on the Qur'an. The author, Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi, seeks to provide answers to various philosophical and mystic issues raised in his commentary. His contribution in terms of offering mystical interpretations of the verses is outstanding. [See Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi.]

Bahr-i Zakhhar: Written by Wajihu'd-Din Ashraf at Lucknow in 1203/1788-9, it is a voluminous biographical work on the Sufis of all-important orders up to the author's own time. Manuscript copies available in several libraries.

Bahru'd-Din, Qazi: He migrated from Madras to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). He belonged to the Chistiyya order and died in 1600.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 74.

Bahru'l-asrar fi Manqibu'l-Akhyar: Written by Mahmud bin Amir Wali, it is essentially a history of the Uzbeg Khans of Transoxiana from 1597 to 1641. It also gives some account of the Sufis, the ulama and poets of Transoxiana and their Indian contacts. Manuscript preserved in the India Office Library.

Bahru'l-Hayat (Ocean of Life or Immortality): This is a Persian translation of the Sanskrit *Amrita-Kunda* dealing with the mystic practices of yogis, "particularly those relating to sexual relations". [See Amrit-Kunda.]

Bahru'l-'Irfan: A voluminous poetical work of the distinguished Sufi of Kashmir, Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Badakshi, popularly known as Mirza Kamil Sahib in the Valley. This was written under the spiritual inspiration of Khwaja Faridu'd-Din 'Attar, and contains 80,000 verses. In one of the verses the author describes his heart as his teacher in *tasawwuf*, notwithstanding his initiation into the Kubrawiyya order by Khwaja Habibu'llah Naqshbandi.

Bahru'l-Ma'ani: Authored by Ja'far-i Makki Husaini, this deals with the esoteric explanations of the Qur'an.

Although Abu'l Qasim Mahmud al-Zamaskhshari's (1075-1144) commentary on the Qur'an titled *al-Kashshaf an Haqa'iq al-Tanzil* was popular among the Indian ulama, in sufi circles the *Bahru'l-Ma'ani* was also used. The renowned Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Abu'r-Riza, seems to have depended on Husaini's *tafsir* for bringing home to his devotees the subtleties of spiritual truth. Not surprisingly, therefore, few bothered to study it. An interesting anecdote recorded by Shah Waliu'llah is revealing in this respect:

> Once an *'alim*, fond of discussion, joined the assembly of Abu'r-Riza with the main purpose of contradicting him with counter arguments. But before he could make an ostentatious display of his learning, he forgot all that he had stored in his memory on the exoteric interpretation of the Qur'an. Realizing his ignorance in relation to the Truth that emanated from the inner meaning of the Qur'an, the arrogant visitor felt humbled before the Shaikh. He offered *tauba* and enrolled as a disciple of Abu'r-Riza. MS. Ethe, 1867. Two copies of the manuscript of the *Bahru'l-Ma'ani* are preserved in library of Daru'l-'Ulum of Nadwa, Lucknow. [See Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far al-Makki, Saiyid.]

bait: allegiance; pledge of a Sufi novice to his initiating spiritual preceptor by grasping his hand. The vow binds the disciple to his master in spiritual matters.

Bala'ul, Saiyid Shah: He was the son of Saiyid 'Usman bin Saiyid 'Isa Qadiri and a disciple of Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Qadiri of Lahore. His ancestors came to India from Herat (now in Afghanistan) in the time of Humayun, and settled in a village called Shaikhupura about 20 miles from Lahore. The *khanqah* established by him became a centre of attraction for the needy who received their food daily from the Shah. A large number of people also flocked to him carrying cups of water to be blessed for the sick. They would leave after the Shah would recite prayers and exhale. The Shah died in 1046/1636-7 after leading a life dedicated to prayer, meditation and humanity. Although buried outside the Delhi gate on the banks of the Ravi, later his remains were removed to an unknown grave following inundations.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 176-7.

Bangar Rishi: A disciple of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri, he lived in a cave all his life, but found time to earn his livelihood by working as a labourer in the saffron fields of Kashmir. He was a Rishi of great mettle and had intimate friendship with Shoga Baba. His prominent disiciple was Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju.

Bangar Rishi is entombed is at the town of Pampur in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 238-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 143.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 130.

Banwali Das Wali: Formerly Dara-Shukoh's secretary (*munshi*), he embraced Islam on being initiated as Qadiriyya by Mulla-Shah. A scholar, and poet, his *Diwan* of *ghazals* and *masnawis* is characterized by sensitivity. He eulogizes his *pir* and his *silsilah*. His description of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* is passionate and touching. He died in 1085/1674-5 after retiring to the wilderness following the accession of Aurangzeb.

Tawakkul Beg Kaulabi, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 64b.

Baqa, Shaikh Muhammad: Born in 1037/1627-8 and died on 22 Sha'ban 1094/18 August 1683, he was the son of Ghulam Muhammad Saharanpuri and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, the son of Mujaddid. He authored three important historical works, *Ayina-i Bakht*, *Mir'at'ul-'Alam*, and the *Mir'at-i Jahan-Numa* besides the *Riyazu'l-Auliya*. (q.v.)

Baqa': According to Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, it signifies "the beginning of travelling in God". And travelling "in God (*baqa*') becometh verified when, after absolute *fana*', they give to the slave an existence purified from the pollution of impurities, so that, in the world of description (the material world), he advanceth in Divine qualities."

Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, *The Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*, tr. Lieut. Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke, Delhi, 1997, pp. 195-8.

Baqi Billah, Khwaja: Son of an *'alim* and Sufi, Qazi 'Abdu's-Salam Khalji Samarqandi Qureshi, Khwaja Muhammad Baqi, also known as Baqi Bi'llah Berang, was born in Kabul around 972/1565. Maulana Sadiq Halwa'i, an eminent *'alim* and poet of Samarqand, who visited Kabul in 978/1570-1 was impressed by Baqi Bi'llah's inquisitiveness. He took him to Transoxiana but there he preferred Sufism to formal learning. After entering the discipleship of many Naqshbandiyya Sufis in Transoxiana, he reached India and wandered through the streets of Lahore, its graveyards and forests. He then travelled to Delhi and Sambhal in UP in search of a guide. His wanderings ultimately brought him to Kashmir where Baba Wali (d. 1592) initiated disciples into the Kubrawiyya order. After Baba Wali's death, Baqi Bill'ah experienced inward illumination. Subsequently, he travelled through Balkh and Badakshan and interacted with many Sufis. He was advised by his new *pir* Maulana Khwajagi, a spiritual descendant of Khawaja Nasiru'd-Din Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, at Amkina in Samarqand to rush back to India for propagating the teachings of Naqshbandiyya. On reaching the famine-stricken Lahore from Samarqand, Baqi Billah dedicated himself to the needy and poor. He distributed whatever he received as alms to the starving. Such was his concern for the weak and the old that on his way to Delhi he carried them on his own horse. At Delhi he lived in the Firuzabad fort near the Jamuna for four years until his death on 25 Jumada II 1012/ 30 November 1603. He kept two wives, and was survived by two young sons who followed their father in the Path.

Baqi Billah regarded the Ahrariyya-Naqshbandiyya Path to be superior to other Paths. In a *ruba'i* he eulogizes the spiritual achievements of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. Baqi Billah preached the nurture of love for the Prophet while strictly following the *Shari'ah* in the hope of attaining reintegration with the Essence (*baqa*). The prelude to *baqa* was extinction (*fana*); not simply the death of the self, but transmutation of consciousness due to the illumination of the heart from a particle of the theophany of His essence. This stage, known as eternity in Allah (*baqa' bi'llah*) was, in fact, the self-manifestation of the Absolute or the experience of *Tajallai* or vision of the Essence, could be achieved by only perfect Sufis through their progressive spiritual development. True, the perfect Sufis outwardly retained their human qualities or physical existence, but in essence, their transmutation into *fana'* elevated them to a state transcending both time and space and which was beyond the comprehension of an average intelligence.

Muhammad Hashim, *Zubatu'l-Maqamat*, Kanpur, 1890, pp. 5-14, 51-2.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 213-21.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 436-8.

baraka: blessing, power of blessing inherent in saintly persons or sacred objects.

Barani, Ziya'u'd-Din: He is the celebrated author of the *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. He was an historian and *'alim*. He seems to have been influenced by Sufism, notwithstanding his aversion to the low-born holding high office in the Sultanate or his irrational prejudice against the Hindus. His poem *Hasrat Nama* in praise of the Prophet was "probably the most interesting study" of Sufism. Unfortunately it is not extant. However, one available extract, containing a conversation between the author and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, is worthy of quote. To Barani's question as to why the Shaikh enrolled disciples indiscriminately Nizamu'd-Din Auliya responded in these words: "God, in His great wisdom, has endowed every age with a peculiarity of its own. It creates in people of a certain era characteristics and habits which differ from other ages. The essence of discipleship is severance from everything that is not God or the contemplation of God. Previous teachers refused to accept a disciple unless he showed total detachment from all that was not godly. From the time of Shaikh Abu Sa'id (bin) Abu'l-Khair to that of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi and Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi and Shaikh Faridu'd-Din (Baba Farid), large numbers of people began to throng the doors of Sufi teachers. They belonged to all classes—rulers, noblemen, dignitaries and commoners, and they placed themselves under the protection of the Sufi lovers of God who enrolled men of all classes to their discipleship. Regarding God's friends, no one can make generalizations and rules for the initiation of disciples, and the basis of precedents cannot be framed. To your question of my alleged indiscrimination in the choice of disciples, my reply is that it has repeatedly been reported to me that my disciples refrain from indulging in sin, and offer congregational and non-obligatory prayers. If I impose on them difficult conditions, they would be deprived of even that level of piety. I accept what people say to me, and use no intermediaries, as a perfect saint (Baba Farid) has authorized me to initiate disciples. When Muslims beg to become my followers I accept they have repented their sins, on the assumption that they are speaking the truth. The second reason for my accepting so many disciples is the fact that Shaikh Faridu'd-Din once gave me a pot of ink and ordered me to write amulets for the people. Finding me hesitant, he unbraided me saying that many would come to me for assistance and that I should refuse none."

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 188-90.

Barbar Shah: A disciple of Shaikh Nur Muhammad Parwana, he lived like a *majzub* and lies buried at the locality named after him, Barbar Shah, in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 470.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 319.

Bariku'llah Chisti, Shaikh: A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, his tomb was outside the Idar Gate, near Hajjipura, Ahmadabad.

'Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Spplement, Barauda, 1930, pp. 73-4.

Bariqah: Lit. "Refulgence, lightning". A term used by the Sufis for that "enlightenment of the soul, which at first comes to the true Muslim as an earnest of greater enlightenment".

Abdu'r-Razzaq, *Dictionary of Sufi Terms* (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Barzakh: The word is used in two senses, for the place of the dead, the grave, and for the state of departed souls between death and judgement. According to 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, the Sufis use this term in the sense of space between the material world and that of the pure spirits.

Abdu'r-Razzaq, *Dictionary of Sufi Terms* (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

al-Barzanji, Muhammad bin 'Abdu'r-Rasul: A disciple of Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1689), he wrote the *Qadh al-zand wa-Qadah al-rand fi radd Jahalat ahl al-Sirhind* and *al-Nashira al-Najira lil-Firqa al-Fajira* to repudiate the Mujaddid's claims. A legal opinion (*istifta'*) sought from the ulama of Mecca and Medina was sent along with Barzanji's books by the Sherif of Mecca to the Qazi al-Hind (understandably the chief Qazi). Aurangzeb banned the study of the *Maktubat* in 1090/1679 in Aurangabad. Friedmann summarizes the issues raised by Barzanji in these words:

"Muhammad is the best of creatures and did not leave this world without first realizing in himself all possible perfections. Sirhindi is therefore patently wrong when he says that the Ka'bah is superior to the Prophet. Similarly, it is indefensible and preposterous to maintain that the Prophet reached perfection only a thousand years after his death. Al-Barzanji is the first critic to say explicitly that Sirhindi's theory of the *haqiqat-i Muhammadi* changing to *haqiqat-i Ahmadi* is a thinly veiled hint at his own person. Like the author of *Kasir al-lukh' Alifin*, he flatly accuses Sirhindi of claiming to be a prophet. The desire to uphold this claim is the reason why Sirhindi called himself the Renewer of the Second Millennium and said that the Prophet Muhammad disappeared when he himself was sent to guard and preserve the community. With caustic sarcasm al-Barzanji says: 'I wish I knew who is guarding the community after his death! He has been dead for sixty years; not even his name left India, let alone his guardianship and preservation'. . . . The bodies of the prophets never decay or disintegrate; it is therefore manifest infidelity (*kufr sarah*) to maintain that the body of Muhammad disappeared a thousand years after his death. Al-Barzanji then assails the very concept of the Second Millennium by stating that it will not be allowed to run its course: 'What is the meaning of the Renewer of the Second Millennium? Does a second millennium remain from the time allotted to this community so that he can be its renewer? Did the ulama 'not agree unanimously and did *al-hafiz* al-Suyuti not say in his epistle (called) *al-Kashf* that not even five hundred years will elapse after the Millennium and that the Day of Resurrection will take place four hundred odd years after it? . . . Millennial renewal, unlike its centennial counterpart, has not been mentioned in the classical sources. Furthermore, it implies the abolition of Muhammad's prophecy and of his law. The next point attacked by al-Barzanji is Sirhindi's claim to have been created from the remnants of the clay used in the creation of Muhammad is also criticised. The millennial revival of prophetic perfections and Sirhindi's claim of superiority to Abu Bakr are sharply attacked. Sirhindi cannot claim, says al-Barzanji, that he spoke on the spur of the moment while in the sate of intoxication; he deliberately committed his ideas to writing and did not withdraw them even when cautioned and reprimanded by such eminent persons as 'Abu al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi. No consideration can be shown to a person whose infidelity manifests itself in his disrespect for the Prophet."

Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of his Thought and a Study of his Image in the eyes of Posterity*, Montreal, 1971, pp. 98-9.

Basharat-i Mazhariyya dar faza'il-i hazrat-i tariqa-i Mujaddidiyya: Compiled by Muhammad Ni'matullah (b.1153/1740 d.1218/1803-4), a *khalifa* of Mirza Jan-i Janan Mazhar, it is a biography of the latter and provides a brief description of the early Naqshbandiyyas of India from the Mujaddid to Mir 'Abid Sunami, the Mirza's *murshid.*

Basharatu'l-Ikhwan: See Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani.

Basharatu'z-Zakirin: It was written by Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani in order to impress upon Indian Sufis the importance of understanding the esoteric meaning of the technical terms of Sufism. [See Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani.]

Basharatu'l-Zikr: It was authored by Burhanu'd-Din Janam.

Dakhni MS. Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MSS, Tasawwuf & Akhlaq no. 9. n.d., fols. 7b-10a.

Bashi Shar *alias* Basi Sar: Little is known about him except that he was the son of a noted Kashmiri Pandit and that, after his contact with Zinda Pir (q.v.), he started roaming the streets and bazars of Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), p. 466.

Basir: Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi explains some Most Beautiful names of Allah thus: "God has called Himself Basir (Seeing), in order that His seeing thee may at every moment be a deterrent (against sin). God has called Himself Sami' (Hearing), in order that thou mayst close thy lips (and refrain) from foul speech. God has called Himself *'Alim* (Knowing), in order that thou mayst fear to meditate a wicked deed. These are not proper names applicable to God (proper names are merely designations), for even a negro may have the name Kafur (Camphor)."

R.A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawi of Jalalu'd-Din Rumi*, IV, Cambridge, 1939, p. 284.

Basirah: "Penetration". The sight of the heart, as distinguished from the sight of the eye (*Basarah* or *Basar*). A term used by theologians to express that enlightenment of the heart whereby spiritual can "understand spiritual things with as much certainty as the natural man can see objects with the sight of the eye". The word occurs twice in the Qur'an, Surah xii.108, "This is my way; I cry unto God, resting on clear evidence;" Surah Ixxv.14, "A man shall be evidence against himself."

Bast: A spiritual state (*hal*) in contrast to *qabz* (q. v.). As the Qur'an says, "And God contracts (*yaqbid*) and expands (*yabsut*)."(2/245). As *bast* is a *hal*, it bears no relation to personal mental or spiritual processes, but is a sense of joy and exaltation vouchsafed to the Sufi by God. For this reason many Sufis understood it in conjunction with *qabz.* Junaid of Baghdad lucidly explains, "The fear of God contracts me, and the hope for Him expands me. . . . When He contracts me through fear, He causes me to pass away from self, but when He expands me through hope, He restores me to myself."

These lines of Ibn al-Farid (*al-Ta'iya al-kubra*, ii. 646-7) summarize the Sufi theory excellently: "in the mercy of expansion the whole of me is a wish whereby the hopes of all the world are expanded, and in the terror of contraction the whole of me is an awe and over whatsoever I let mine eye range, it reveres me" (tr. Nicholson, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 256).

Hujwiri writes: *Qabz* implies "the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled, and *bast* denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation." Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi while quoting Wasiti and Nuri observes that while *qabz* means "the extracting of delight (*hazz*) from the heart, for the sake of holding and capturing its state of joy (*surur*)", *bast* signifies "the flashing of the heart with the splendour of the light of the state of joy". The cause of *qabz*, continues he, is the revelation of the qualities of *nafs* and veiling of the splendour of joy's state. The result is the contraction of the heart." And what causes *"bast"* is "uplifiting of the veil of *nafs* from before the heart. The result is the expansion of the heart." According to Suhrawardi, "The end of *qabz* is *bast*; the end of *bast* is *fana*; in *fana*, *qabz* and *bast* are impossible."

'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif, Eng. tr. Wilberforce Clarke, Delhi, 1997, pp. 192-4.

Qushairi, *Risala*, p. 43.

Ibn al-Farid, *al-Ta'iya al-Kubra*, II, 646-7.

Hujviri, *Kashaf al-Mahjub* (tr. Nicholson) p. 374.

Batin: The Isma'ilis, a sect of Shi'is, interpreted the Qur'an symbolically and allegorically. They laid emphasis on the inner meaning (*batin*) of the Qur'an in preference to its literal meaning. They called their interpration *ta'wil* (esoteric exegesis) and believed that it had been revealed only to the *khass* (elite). This led to the emergence of a hierarchical order of teachers ranging from the Imam to the simple believer. The *batin* was not be revealed to the uninitiated. In order to avert the danger of persecution from Sunnis they used what the Shi'is called *taqiya* (religious concealment) in order to escape persecution. They were enthusiastic missionaries who unhestatingly modified their estoric system to suit their converts. According to fourtheenth and fifteenth-century legends, Isma'ili propagandists evolved a belief for Hindu converts that "Ali was the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, that Adam was another aspect of Siva, and that Muhammad was in fact Brahma."

T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, Lahore, 1961, p. 215.

batin: Inner; hidden; the antonym of *zahir*. The 'inner learning (*al-'ilm al-batin*), meaning esoteric or Sufic learning. It is "depth" learning, hence distinguished from the exoteric learning (*al-'ilm az-zahir*) of such an *'alim* as does not care to delve deep into the depth meaning (*batin*) of the Qur'an under the guidance of a *murshid*.

Al-Batin: One of the ninety-nine special names of God. It means "that which is hidden or concealed", "the hidden one," or "He that knows hidden things." The term is used in theology for that which is hidden in its meaning, in contradistinction to that which is evident.

Bayan ahwalo-malfuzat Khwja Khwurd: A small collection of the discussions of Khwaja Khwurd expounding his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Bayan Majzub: He belonged to Malwa, but his habitat as an ecstatic was the tomb of Khwaja Mu'in'u'd-Din Chisti. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes two events related to Bayan's miraculous powers concerning Miyan Shaikh Hamza Dharsu and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (932/1526–943/1537). The latter is said to have been blessed by Bayan Majzub when he visited the shrine of the Khwaja in Ajmer.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 483-4.

Bayazid Batakzai Chisti, Shaikh: A disciple of Shaikh Batak, like most Sufis of the Chistiyya order, he was a lover of *sama'*. Interestingly, he initiated a number of Khweshgi Afghans as Chistiyyas during the *sama'* audiences.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 377a-b.

Baz-gasht: restraint. One of the eight prinicples of Sufi life and the rituals, enunciated by Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Khaliq bin 'Abdu'l-Jamil, a native of Ghujduwan, modern Gizduvan, a large village in the north-eastern part of the oasis of Bukhara. "Each time one who performs *zikr* utters 'al-Kalimat al-tayyiba, he should add: 'Oh God! Thou art my Goal and I seek Thy satisfaction'. This phrase would expel all thoughts, both good and evil, from the heart, thus purifying *zikr*." [See *Silsilah*-i Khwajgan.]

Behat Bibi: She was the daughter of a Kashmiri Pandit *patwari* who seems to have embraced Islam under the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Along with her sister, Dehat Bibi, she attended the meeting that took place between Shaikh Nuru'd-Din and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani at the village of Zalsu in the Valley. Both the sisters are entombed at Zalsu and still known as Chhat Kori, i.e., daughters trained under the spiritual care of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

The sayings attributed to Behat Bibi reveal her intuitive grasp of mystical truths. Some of these are:

The biggest veil between the Master and the servant is the existence of the human being.

To imagine that every human action reaches its ultimate end due to the efforts of the self is the greatest *shirk*.

One who destroys one's ego is relieved of the sorrows of existence.

Salvation from hope and fear lies in annihilating the self.

Were not the Shaikh (Nuru'd-Din) my *pir*, Allah Himself would have been my Guide.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis, p. 246.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 481-3.

Bha'i Ishaq Hasur: This son of Isma'il Sindhi, overcome with divine love, resigned military service to join the brotherhood of dervishes. Affiliated to the Chistiyya order, he died in 1014/1605-6 at the town of Mahisar in Hissar.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 443-4.

bhakti: popular mystical current in medieval Hinduism in which the relationship between man and his deity is described in terms of love.

bhand: the strolling players; 'the minstrels of Kashmir'. For the role of *bhands* in the spread of Sufi teachings in Kashmir.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 156-7, 195-6.

Bhikh Chisti, Shah Miran: His original name was Saiyid Muhammad Sa'id. A *khalifa* of Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali, he made his mark as one of the leading Chistiyya Sufis in the Delhi–Saharanpur region in the eighteenth century. He composed verses in Hindi on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* that were often on the lips of contemporary Sufis, and sung by *qawwals* because of their fervent appeal to impassioned souls. There was a *langar* attached to his *khanqah* to which Hindus and Muslims had easy access. Such was his social role that his public charity kitchen could on one occasion satiate the hunger of about fourteen hundred Hindu mendicants. A Hindu Zamindar named Birbar accepted Islam under Miran Shah Bhikh's influence and later came to known as Shah Pir.

Miran Shah Bhikh died at the age of eighty-four in 1131/1718-19. Muhammad Shah Nawwab Raushanu'd-Daula, raised a tomb over his grave at Kuhram. Ghulam Sarwar lists about fifty of the Miran's *khalifas* who founded Chistiyya *khanqahs* from Saharanpur to the Panjab. Some of them were *mansabdars* who renounced their worldly positions after turning to Sufism. Not a few of the Miran's *khalifas* were wedded to several professions.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 489-92.

Bhugi: It is derivative of *Bhagwan*, God. Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri invariably uses the term in his poetry. See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Bibi Auliya: A pious lady who often resorted to *chilla*, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was her devotee. 'Abdu'l-Haqq refers to her innumerous progeny and mentions one among them as Shaikh Ahmad. Bibi Auliya' was buried outside the fort of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 492-3.

Bibi Fatima Sam: Baba Farid often talked about her piety and sanctity. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, she attached greater importance to feeding the hungry and thirsty than meditation and fasting. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya held her in high esteem as is evident from his practice of visiting her tomb. She is mentioned in the conversations of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli as an example of the belief that a real Sufi was one who understood the reality of ḥuman life through a deep consciousness of its transience (*ibnu'l-waqt*). She fasted continuously and subsisted on two cakes of barley between fasts. She is entombed in Delhi.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 100, 433-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 295-6.

Khyar al-Majalis, p. 138.

Bibi Jamal Khatun: She was the younger sister of the noted Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir. Dara-Shukoh calls her the Rabi'a of her times. Initiated into the Qadiriyya order by her brother, Bibi Jamal renounced conjugal life after living with her husband for ten years in order to devote herself to God. Her piety, miraculous attainments and, above all, adherence to the rules of the *Shari'ah* impressed Dara-Shukoh most. She died on 27 Rab'i I 1057/May 1646 and lies entombed in Siwistan where she lived all through.

Dara-Shukoh, *Sakinatu'l-Auliya* (U), pp. 153-5.

'Abdu'l-Hamid Lahori, *Badshah-nama,* I, p. 1178.

Muhammad Salih Kamboh, *Amal-i Salih,* I, p. 80.

Bibi Rasti: She was a pious daughter of Muhammad bin Tughluq married to Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Mahmud's grandson, Shaikh Fathu'llah bin Shaikh Auhadu'd-Din. Although the latter enjoyed a respectable position in the court, both he and his wife found court life unsuitable and were, therefore, allowed by the sultan to settle at Deh near Nagaur.

Sururu's-Sudur, pp. 125, 127-8, 136-9, 146-7, 149, 150-2, 155, 160-9, 171, 173, 272.

Bibi Sara: She was the mother of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Abu'l Mu'id, a contemporary of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. The Shaikh owed his prominence in no small measure to his mother's spirituality.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 487-8.

Bibi Sharifa: She was one of three daughters of Baba Farid. She became a widow at an early age and did not marry. Her piety impressed her father to such an extent that he was often heard saying that if women could have become *khalifas* he would not have hesitated in making her one.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 192-3.

Bibi Zulaikha: The mother of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya', she was known for her piety, *tawwkul* and the will to give best education to her son in spite of abject poverty. She was a great source of inspiration to her. According to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, whenever his mother was in need of help she would invoke the help of Allah after reciting *durud* five hundred times. After her death, Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' often visited the tomb of his mother.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 491-3.

Bid'a: This is a reprehensible innovation or deviant from the Prophetic tradition, the exact opposite of *Sunnah* (q.v.). But a good novelty (*bid'at-i hasna*), which does not contradict either the injunctions of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* is not considered to be so. Hence, various rituals particularly connected with the shrines of Sufis that have evolved over centuries past have almost assumed the place of *bid'at-i hasna* in the social and religious life of the Muslims of the subcontinent. A good deal of discussion has taken place on this issue between the followers of Sufism and those who do not want to go beyond the literal interpretation of the *Shari'ah*. Remarkably, however, even among the Sufis there were men who aimed to eradicate the *bid'a* and restore the pristine purity of the Qur'an, *Sunnah*, and *Khulafa-i Rashidun*. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and the followers of his order played an important role in the history of Islam in India within the framework of *bid'at-i hasna*.

Bihamad Khani, Muhammad: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya/Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Yusuf Budh (d. 834/1430-1). His work is entitled the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*.

Bi-Shar: "Without the law." This is a term applied to those Sufis who do not conform outwardly to the spiritual and social ethics of the *Shari'ah*.

Bodi Shaikh: He was a Suhrawardiyya Sufi of resolute disposition who lived in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 366.

Bola Baba Qadiri: He was a resident of Batmaloo who, though an illiterate, was a Qadiriyya Sufi of lofty spiritual calibre. Mir Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri was greatly impressed by his spirituality.

He died in 1202/1787-8 and lies buried in the cemetery of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo at Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 368-9.

Buddhan Shattari, Shaikh: He was the most prominent disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Hafiz Shattari of Jaunpur. A descendant of Shah 'Abdu'llah, founder of the Shattariyya order in India, Buddhan was a well-known Sufi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). Shaikh Rizqu'llah, an uncle of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, had a meeting with him, and obtained spiritual benefits from his company. He died in Panipat in 921/1515-16.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 353.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 187.

Tabaqat-i Shahjahani, ff. 147b-148a.

Budhan, Makhdum Shaikh: A disciple of the prominent Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa Taj of Jaunpur, he was initiated into both the Chistiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. He won fame for his expertise in the interpretation of dreams.

S.H. Askari, "Qutban's Mrigarat", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 1955, pp. 452-87.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 367.

Budi Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a contemporary of the well-known Suhrawardiyya/ Rishi Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Hardi Rishi, and obtained spiritual guidance from him for some time. Such was the spiritual status of Budi Rishi that Hardi Rishi regarded his pupil a true image of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 308.

Budshah: Great King, the title of Sultan Zain al-'Abidin of Kashmir. Sufism flourished in Kashmir during his reign, thanks to his devotion to the Sufis of the Kubrawiyya and Rishi order.

Al-Bukhari: A short title given to the well-known collection of Sunni traditions by Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Mughirah al-Ju'fi al-Bukhari, who was born in Bukhara, in 194/810, and died at the village of Khartang near Samarqand, 256/870. His compilation comprises more than 7,000 traditions about the deeds and sayings of the Prophet, selected from a mass of 60,000. His book is called the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, and is said to have been the result of sixteen years' labour.

Bulaq Qadiri, Shah: He lived in Lahore. The Chistiyya Sufi of Jalandhar, Shah Bahlul Barki (d. 1131/1718-19), received initial training in Sufism from him.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 273.

Bulbul Shah: See Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi.

Bullhe Shah Qadiri Shattari, Mir: His ancestors were from Bhawalpur. His father, Sakhi Shah

Muhammad Darvesh, migrated to Sahiwal and he himself lived in Qasur. Bullhe Shah's *pir*, Shah 'Inayat (d. 1041/1631-2) and the latter's spiritual preceptor, Shah Riza, were also famous Qadiriyya and Shattariyya Sufis of the Panjab. The *khanqah* of Bullhe Shah was the most popular meeting place of the Sufis in the region. He initiated his disciples not only into the Qadiriyya but also the Madariyya, Chistiyya, and Suhrawardiyya orders. He died some time after 1181/1767-8.

Bullhe Shah was undoubtedly the greatest Sufi poet of the Panjab. What made his poetry a household word was the touching ecstasy of his verses. He invented new imagery to communicate his thoughts on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* effectively and piercingly. Several different editions of Bullhe Shah's poems are available. The Panjabi Academy, Lahore has brought out a good edition of his poems under the title *Kulliyat-i Bullhe Shah*.

Khaziatu'l-Asfiya', pp. 161-2.

Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, New Delhi, 1973.

Burhan Laharpuri, Shaikh: He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Burhani: A peculiar style of dancing which was performed during the ritual of *sama'*, it was invented by Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Gharib, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 183.

Burhanpur: It was the town founded by Sultan Nasir Khan Faruqi (1399-1437), the ruler of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh (1382-1601) and called so at the suggestion of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, a *khalifa* of Burhanu'd-Din.

Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 461-2.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, p. 279.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 278.

Burhanu'd-Din Gharib: He was a *khalifa* of Nizamuddin Auliya. He is mentioned in the *Fawa'id al-Fuad* several times. His invention of an unusual style of dancing, performed during the ritual of *sama'*, was known as Burhani. Like other Sufis of Delhi, he too was forced to move to Daulatabad under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq. There he became so popular that later Sultan Nasir Khan Faruqi (1399-1437), the ruler of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh (1382-1601), founded a town, and on the advice of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din called it Burhanpur. The king made the new town his capital. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti gives his date of death as 12 Safar 732/14 November 1331.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 90, 117, 136, 195.

Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 461-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 173-5.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, p. 279.

Mira'tu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 882-5.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 135a.

Burhanu'd-Din Janam: Son and *khalifa* of Miranji Shamsu'l-'Ushahaq, he wrote profusely and profoundly. His fame as a Chistiyya Sufi attracted many devotees from various parts of the country to his *khanqah* on Shahpur Hillock in Bijapur for purposes of both study and spiritual guidance. Burhanu'd-Din uses Sanskrit vocabulary profusely, thanks to his probable association with Hindu *sannyasis* and philosophers during the days of his youth. He died in AD 1597.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 78-9.

Burhanu'd-Din Mahmud, Shaikh: Son of Abu'l Khair As'ad Balkhi, he was born in 1209. Although Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis and Muhammad Ghausi Shattari describe him as a great scholar and Sufi of Balban's reign, neither Khaliq Ahmad Nizami nor S.S.A. Rizvi mention him. His confidence in his own piety often led him to remark that God would not question him except for the sin of having listened to the *sitar* constantly. But then he would say to himself: "(Even) if I am able to overcome (this weakness), I will certainly (continue to) listen."

Burhanu'd-Din Mahmud died in AD 1288. His tomb in the eastern side of Hauz-i Shamsi, popularly called Takht-i Nur, was as a place of pilgrimage as late as the seventeenth century. 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis refers to the prevalent custom of the inhabitants of Hauz-i Shamsi of making their children lick the dust of Burhanu'd-Din's tomb as a way of gaining more and more knowledge.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 95-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 18-19.

Burhanu'd-Din Nasafi, Shaikh: He is described by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya as a learned teacher of deep spirituality. He enrolled pupils on three conditions. They were to eat food only once a day, not miss a single lesson (if any student was absent on some day, he would not teach him), and if a student happened to meet him somewhere on the way, he should proceed without either bending down or touching his feet. The Shaikh died in 786/1384.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 307-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 146.

Burhanu'd-Din Sagharji: He lived in China. Ibn Battuta was told by Burhanu'd-Din that Shah Jalal (see Shaikh Jalal) controlled everything that happened in the world.

Ibn Battuta *Voyages*, IV, pp.126-27 (Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 315).

Burhanu'd-Din Sufi, Shaikh: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Hansavi, a prominent *khalifa* of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj Shakar. Having lost his father at a tender age, Burhanu'd-Din was treated with affection by Ganj Shakar. He conferred on him *khilafatnama* and also gave him a prayer carpet and a staff which Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din had left, and remarked : "You have the same authority from me as your father had." He was then entrusted to the spiritual care of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He died in 713/1313-14.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 182-3.

Burhanu'd-Din, Shaikh: Born at a village in Khandesh, he was the son of Kabir Muhammad, a Siddiqi Shaikh. After completing his theological and literary education at Burhanpur, he entered the discipleship of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Isa (d. 1031/1621-2). The Shaikh disciplined his soul and mind for nearly eleven years in such a manner that, in the self-effacing style of a true Sufi, Burhanu'd-Din even provided dried clay clods for his *pir's* lavatory. Such was his saintly stature that he was averse to the idea of allowing princes to visit him. This is the reason that Aurangzeb as viceroy of the Deccan (1045/1636–1053/1644) went to Burhanu'd-Din in disguise to seek his blessings for the forthcoming campaign against Dara-Shukoh. Asked who he was, the visitor replied, 'Aurangzeb'. Failing to evoke any response from the Shaikh, Aurangzeb visited him again. However, the Shaikh threatened to vacate his own abode in search of a new one if the royal visitor had found it so attractive. But later the Shaikh's ire eased when he told the prince that he could see him outside the doors of his *khanqah* on his way to offer congregational prayers, and that he (the Shaikh) would recite prayers (*fatiha*) in order to bid him farewell (*Muntakhabu'l-Lubab*, pp. 553-4). The Shaikh received Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi Qasuri, the author of *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat*, with warmth, kindness, and affection and in 1665 he accompanied Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Aurangzeb's viceroy, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, to Burhanpur. The Shaikh even requested Shaikh 'Abdu'llah to visit him once or twice a day in order to teach him certain distinctive forms of Shattariyya *zikr*. He also authorized him to teach both *zikr* and the formulae of invocation described in the *Jawahir-i Khamsa* and the works of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din.

According to Rizvi, "In their quest for the annihilation of their individuality in their *pir* while in a state of mystic intoxication, the Shaikh's disciples addressed him as God. When the Shaikh found himself unable to stop this dangerous development he imprisoned them in the *khanqah*. Some recanted, but those who refused were sent to the local Qazi in order to be dealt with according to th *Shari'ah*. After imprisoning them the Qazi attempted to persuade them to give up their alleged blasphemous outbursts, but was finally forced to have them executed."

The *Samaratu'l-Hayat*, authored by Burhanu'd-Din, stressed the supreme importance of good manners for being vouchsafed Divine grace. He substantiated his point by quoting the example of the Devil (Iblis) who lost Divine favour mainly as a result of his failure to exhibit good manners.

The Shaikh wanted to strike a balance between esoteric and exoteric practices. As he argued, "whenever someone is living like an ecstatic I would like to follow suit while continuing to pray. I also pray to God to guide the ecstatics to offer prayers." He died in 1678-9.

Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, pp. 553-4.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 565b-566ab.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 171.

Burhanud'Din Kaziruni: Ibn Battuta mentions a Kaziruni *khanqah* outside the town of Zaytun (Ts'wan-chow-fu), a port in China under his guidance. Not unlike Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Kaziruni, Burhanu'd-Din is reported to have received sums from merchants and travellers for their protection by Shaikh Abu Ishaq (died after 1035). It seems that Islamic knowledge disseminated among travellers through the *khanqahs* established by the disciples of Shaikh Abu Ishaq.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 410.

Buruj: Lit. "Towers", which some interpret as real towers wherein the angels keep watch. A term used for the twelve signs of the zodiac. Al-Buruj is the title of the LXXXVth Surah of the Qur'an.

Buruj-i Nur: This is a publication of the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art and Languages (Srinagar, 1981) which contains useful information concerning the founder of the Muslim Rishi order of Sufis in Kashmir.

But-khana: Compiled in 1010/1601-2 by Mulla Muhammad 'Muhammad' Sufi Mazandarani (d.1032/1623 or 1035/1625-6), it is a collection of Sufi poetry selected from the *diwans* of 126 poets. The author migrated to Ahmedabad from Iran in Akbar's reign. MS. Bodleian, Oxford.

C c

Chahar Shahadat: Authored by Kamalu'd-Din Biabani, this poetic treatise, published in Hashim 'Ali, ed., *Maghaz-i Marghub and Chahar Shahadat of Meeranji Sham-sulushshaq* (Hyderabad: Urdu Academy, 1966) is also attributed to Shah Miranji. Eaton, however, considers it to be the product of Kamalu'd-Din Biabani.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 136n.

Cha'in Laddah, Shaikh: He originally belonged to Suhna, about twenty-five miles from Delhi in Rewari. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (d. 975/1567), the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi, initiated him. He made his mark by teaching the *Fusus al-Hikam* to students of Sufism. His spiritual calibre and reputation as teacher prompted Akbar to invite him to Fatehpur-Sikri and grant him accommodation near the 'Ibadat-Khana. The Emperor occasionally held private discussions with him during the night and witnessed his *namaz-i ma'kus*. He would also beseech his blessings for the success of the imperial policy. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni thought it prudent to mention Shaikh Cha'in in his history, but did not like his association with Akbar. He was critical of the Shaikh for selling his *namaz-i ma'kus* cheaply.

He died in 998/1590. His *khalifa*, Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam was assigned the position of caretaker of the shrine containing the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad.

Mutakhabu'-Tawarikh, II, p. 164, III, pp. 110-11.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 70-71, 141, 343.

Chakki-namas: The most common kind of folk poetry composed by the Sufis of Bijapur. It was so called because it was sung while grinding grain at the grindstone or *chakki*, and *charkha-nama*, sung while spinning thread at the spinning wheel, or *charkha*. Eaton observes: "If one analyses the content of the *chakki-nama* or the *charkha-nama*, three interwoven themes can be found: (1) an ontological link established between God, and Prophet Muhammad, one's own *pir*, and the reciter herself; (2) the use of the grindstone or the spinning wheel, or the mechanical parts thereof, to illustrate the above; and (3) the use of the mystic's *zikr* to accompany and even to regulate the various phases of the women's work."

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 157, 161.

Chalak Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi. Like his *murshid* he led a life of self-denial and self-mortification. He is entombed at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir near the mausoleum of Bamu'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Chanda'in: Written most likely between 772/1370-1 and 781/1379-80 by Maulana Dawud, popularly known as Mulla Dawud, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, it is the earliest known *masnawi* written in Hindi. No less a person than Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni is worthy of quote concerning the importance of the work in the circles of the Sufis: "In 772/1370 Khan-i Jahan, the wazir, died; and his son Juna obtained that title. Maulana Dawud wrote in his honour the *Chanda'in*, this *masnawi* in Hindawi, relating the story of love of Lorak and Chanda. It is a very touching piece, and too well-known to need praise. Even Maulana Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din, a godly preacher (*wa'iz-i rabbani*) used to recite its verses from the pulpit. It had an indescribable ecstatic effect upon the audience. When certain learned men asked the Shaikh why he chose that *masnawi* for his discourses, he replied, 'the whole of it is divine truth and is not only agreeable to the taste of people who are interested in divine Love, but it is compatible with the interpretation of some verses of the Qur'an.' Even now sweet-singers of India captivate the heart by reciting it."

Significantly, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus also quotes *dohas* from *Chanda'in* in his several letters *vis-à-vis* his explanations on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Mutakhabu't-Tawarikh, I, p. 250.

Maktubat-i Quddusiyya, pp. 173-4, 309.

Chhouna Rishi: The brother and disciple of Zuna Rishi. He led a seclued life at Uttar in Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 368

Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin: Authored by Khwaja Ishaq Qari, the work was written under the command of his *murshid*, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It has seven chapters dealing with the author's initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order, *'ibadat* and *ta'ats* in *suluk*, the *chihil chilla* and its *adab*, the struggle against the self in the hope of seeking the countenance of Allah, the *manajat*, *'ibadat*, *ta'at* of *'arifs*, the divine attractions (*mahwiyat* and *istighraq-i Rahmani*) with the *maqamat*, *karamat*, *maratib*, and *darajat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The last chapter also contains short notices of some of the followers of the Shaikh.

MS. preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar. Completed in 982/1574, it was first shown to Shaikh Hamza Makhdum who read it.

Chilla: Forty days of seclusion, in which the novice or any Sufi completely secludes himself from the world for prayer and meditation.

Chilla-i ma'kus: "Inverted *chilla*", hanging upside down. This was a difficult practice in which the body "was suspended upside down by a rope, often in a well, the mendicant remaining in this positon all night". Khaliq Ahmad Nizami observes that Baba Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar was probably the first and last Indo-Muslim saint who performed the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*. However, 'Abdu'r-Rahman Pak Naushahi (d. 1153/1740-1), *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Naushah Ganj Baksh of the Panjab, is reported to have often performed this arduous exercise. [See also Cha'in Laddah, Shaikh.]

Chiragh-i Delhi: He was the most distinguished *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'. [See Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud.]

Chishtiyya-i Bahishtiya [also called *Firdausiya-i Qudsiya*]: It contains detailed information regarding the Sufis of Shikohabad in Mainpuri (UP) and Jaunpur. The author, Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad Chisti, belonged to Barnawa, near Delhi. His knowledge of the music used in Sufi *sama'* rituals "enabled him to give useful details about different aspects of the development of music in northern Indian". The work seems to have been completed sometime around 1076/1665-6.

Choti Dargah: Pir Badr-i 'Alam's tomb situated in Bihar is known as the Smaller Mausoleum (Choti Dargah).

Chouna Rishi: Baba Kamal describes him as a disciple of Lusti Rishi of Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 310.

Chrar-i Sharif: The town owes its importance chiefly to the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi that has attracted the Kashmiri pilgrims from every part of the Valley over six centuries. Baba Kamal and Baba Khalil give a vivid picture of the events connected with the death of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. They also refer to the visits of several Sufis, including Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Baba Dawud Khaki, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, Maulana Jamalu'd-Din, and Baba Muhammad Yusuf to Chrar-i Sharif for spiritual bliss. No less a person than Baba Haidar Tulmuli writes that his *murshid*, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, used to take off his shoes at the bridge of Wathora and advised his disciples to follow suit as and when they were on their way to the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Nasib wrote a poem on the importance of pilgrimage to the shrine of what he calls "Shah Nuru'd-Din" for gaining eternal delight. Baba Kamal refers to the visits of such rulers as Mirza Haidar and Akbar to the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 201-20.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 613-48.

D d

Dabur: "The West wind." A term used by the Sufis to express the lust of the flesh, and its overwhelming power in the heart of man.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Al-Dahr: Time as a whole or "a long period". As Allama Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal points out, some of the greatest Muslim Sufis "believed in the mystic properties of the word 'Dahr'. According to Muhyuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi, 'Dahr' is one of the beautiful names of God, and Razi tells us in his commentary on the Qur'an that some of Muslim saints had taught him to respect the word 'Dahr', 'Daihur', or 'Daihar'. The Prophet (Peace be upon him) identified God with 'Dahr', Time in a well-known tradition."

A Sufi, through self-realization, in the process of 'becoming', becomes conscious of the limits of his duration on this planet. The very fact that this world is a contingency within the changelessness of the Samad in the totality of His Dahar necessitates the distinction between the finite and the Infinite. One is a matter of space in 'fleeting time' and the Other an empty space in Infinity; one of change and other of changelessness.

Abullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 5831n.

Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Delhi, 1981, p. 73.

Mohammad Ishaq Khan, "Reflections on Time and History vis-a-vis the Qur'an", *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. XXI, July-September 1998, no. 3, pp. 7-14.

——"Samad and Dahar: The Changeless and the Changing", *The Indian Express*, Delhi, 12 September 2002.

Da'im Shah Dervish: He lived at Naushahr in Srinagar and received initiation into Sufism from Akhwund Nuru'd-Din and became his *khalifa*. He earned his living as a tailor and preferred to conceal his identity as a Sufi. His manner of reciting *zikr-i la ilaha illalah* 4,400 times in just one breath was incredible.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 372.

Dalilu'l-'Arifin: Discourses attributed to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-Din Chisti; Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki is supposed to be the author of this spurious work.

Dam Madar: A branch of the Madaris known as 'Be Qaid wa Be Nawa' (Without Ties or Material Concerns) who told incredible stories about their order. In one of such tales when Muhammad is said to have asked the Archangel Gabriel on the eve of the Mi'raj how he could enter the gates of paradise, the reply was that he should cry Dam Madar (Madar is Life) and he entered paradise only after doing so. According to Rizvi, Dam Madar, the slogan of the Madaris, also signified "Madar is Spirit" and "Do not Breathe".

Rizvi, *Sufism*,I, p. 319.

Dara-Shukoh: The eldest son of Emperor Shahjahan and his beloved wife Arjmand-Banu Begam, known as Mumtaz Mahal, was born in 1024/1615. His early teachers in religion were Mulla 'Abdu'l-Latif (d. 1036/1626-7) of Sultanpur (Panjab) and Shaikh-Mirak bin Shaikh Fasihu'd-Din. The latter stimulated his interest in the Qadiriyya order. Although he served as the governor of Allahabad, Panjab, Gujarat, Multan and Kabul, he proved himself to be a poor administrator and commander because of his obsession with Sufism, and his gullibility. Both he and his son were murdered by the order of Aurangzeb on 22 Zu'lhijja 1069/10 September 1659. Dara was charged with "heresy and infidelity"and the "crime" of calling Hinduism and Islam "twin brothers". Dara had first visited Miyan-Mir in 1634 on the advice of Emperor Shahjahan to seek his blessings in connection with a malignant disease. An earthenware cup filled with water given by Miyan Mir to the young prince after the Sufi had recited the first verse of the Qur'an, cured his disease. In December 1634 the Emperor and the prince called at Miyan Mir's residence in Lahore. The Sufi chewed cloves while engaged in conversation with Shahjahan. Those that he spat on the floor were picked up and eaten by the prince. With the passage of time Dara's reverence for Miyan Mir grew to such an extent that he attributed his spiritual development to his blessings. However, he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order only after the death of Miyan Mir by the spirit of the deceased in December 1641.

Munshi Muhammad Kazim, *'Alamgir-nama*, Calcutta, 1868, p. 432.

Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, p. 8.

Muhammad Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, Calcutta, 1870-3, p. 27.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 48-55.

Dargah: A royal court (Persian). In the subcontinent the term is generally used for Muslim shrine or tomb of some reputed holy person, and which is the object of pilgrimage and adoration. However, there are some *dargahs*, including the famous *dargah* of Hazratbal in Srinagar, Kashmir, which house only the sacred relic of either the Prophet Muhammad or a Sufi.

Darah Rishi: One of the many *khulafa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he lies buried near the tomb of his preceptor at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Darjat-i Sa'dat: authored by Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 449.

Daru'l Qarar: "The abode that abideth." An expression which occurs in the Qur'an, XI.42: "O my people! This present life is only a passing joy, but the life to come is the mansion that abideth." Sufism bears the indelible influence of this verse on the life and thought of its adherents.

Dasturu's-Salikin authored by the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki. MS, RPD. Nos. 741 and 1108.

Data Ganjbaksh, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali bin 'Usman bin 'Ali al-Ghaznawi al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri: A disciple of Abu'l-Fazl Muhammad bin al-Hasan Khattali who, in turn, was a disciple of Husri (d. 371/981-2) of the school of Junaid Baghdadi. When his *murshid* directed him to move to the Panjab, Hujwiri showed reluctance to leave Ghazna because of the presence of a distinguished Sufi, Husain Zinjani, a disciple of Khattali, in Lahore. However, he had to comply with the orders of his Shaikh. He reached Lahore during late night, but learnt about the death of Zinjani that very night. Zinjani was buried in Chah Miran, now a suburb of Lahore. In all probability, Hujwiri seems to have reached Lahore in AD 1035 during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud (1031-41) in Ghazna.

Born around 1009 in a suburb of Ghazna, Hujwiri learnt at the feet of more than a few Sufi masters including Abu'l-Qasim Gurgani, Khwaja Muzaffar, and Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Ashqani whom he mentions in his *Kashf al-Mahjub*. But his foremost guide in *tariqat* was the Syrian Sufi, Khattali. An indefatigable traveller, Hujwiri had travelled in Syria, Iraq, Fars, Turkistan, Kuhistan, Azerbaijan, Tabaristan, Kish, Kirman, Khurasan, and Transoxiana. Even after stationing himself at Lahore, he undertook long trips to maintain contacts with Sufis abroad. At the time of Khattali's death in 1065 he was at his bedside.

Hujwiri wrote in prose and poetry. His *Minhaj al-Din* dealt with Sufi practices, describing at some length the Ahl-i Suffa and a detailed biography of Husain bin Mansur al-Hallaj. Another work mentioned by Nicholson, untitled, expounded the sayings of al-Hallaj. A work on the patched garments worn by Sufis was titled *Asrar al-khiraq wa'l-ma'unat*. The author relates the "vanity and rashness of youth" in his *Kitab-i fana' wa baqa*; it deals with the themes of annihilation (*fana*) and subsistence (*baqa*) in a bold manner that appeared abhorrent to the author in his later years. So in his major work, *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, he sought to deal with such an issue with "caution". He wrote the *Bahr al-Qulub* (The Sea of Hearts), dealing with the concept of union (*jam*), *Kitab al-Bayan li-Ahl al-'Iyan* (The Book of Exposition for Persons of Intuition) and the *Al-Ri'ayat li-Huquq Allah* (The Observance of what is due to God). Unfortunately, all works referred to by Hujwiri in *Kashaf al-Mahjub* are extinct, in addition to a *diwan* which was appropriated by some plagiarist.

Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, according to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, can show the path to the one who has no spiritual mentor. K.A. Nizami rightly points out that Nizamu'd-Din Auliya thus "paid a tribute not only to the extremely efficacious nature of the work in fathoming the unchartered ocean of mystic experience, but determined also its place in the history of Islamic thought".

During his travels, Hujwiri met people of various shades, sholastic philosophers, 'false sufis', and those wedded to the material world. As a keen observer, he delved deep into the sources of heresies and heretical movements, such as, Mu'tazilla, Kharajite, Qadarite, Carmathian, etc. With such experience he sought to unveil the veiled (*Kashaf al-Mahjub*) with the main aim of 'reanimating' dead hearts.

"No book on *tasawwuf* in the Persian language has been written with such excellence" as the *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, observes Dara Shukoh in *Sakinatu'l-*

Auliya. What enhances the merit of such an outstanding work is not simply the author's use of the earlier works such as *Ahl-i Suffa Tabaqat al-Sufiyah* of 'Abdur-Rahman Muhammad al-Sulami, the *Risalah* of Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri, *Kitab-i Mahabbah* of 'Amr bin 'Usman Makki, *Kitab al-Luma* of Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh*, Book of Muqaddasi, fifty books of Mansur Hallaj, etc., but also his intuitive grasp of the crucial issues concerning *tasawwuf.* Besides, his reflective and analytical mind and observant eye add a special charm to his book. As Hujwiri observes, "I have found this universe an abode of Divine mysteries, which are deposited in created things: substances, accidents, elements, bodies, forms and properties—all these are veils of Divine mysteries."

The popularity of the *Kashaf al-Mahjub* in Sufi circles in Delhi, Bihar, and the Deccan is well known. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya even quoted it with reference to certain *ahadis*. In fact, the book owed its recognition to its author's insightful assessment of the Sufis and the eminent doctors of Islamic law like Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Shaf'i, and Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal. He does not mention Imam Malik in his Sufi calendar, though the aforementioned three Imams are described in that context. He describes Abu Hanifa as a great authority on the principles of Sufism and relates the dream in which he saw the Prophet embracing the Imam during his visit to the tomb of Saiyidina Bilal in Syria. The quintessence of Abu Hanifa's teaching, which influenced Hujwiri profoundly, was "to practise what you have learned, for theory without practice is like a body without a spirit. ... The two things cannot be divorced in any way, just as the light of the sun cannot be separated from the sun itself." With reference to Imam Shaf'i he also narrates a spiritual experience in the form of a vision in which the Prophet spoke of the Imam as a *wali*. The sincerity (*ikhlas*) and trust (*tawwakul*) of Imam Amad bin Hanbal evoke his praise. He quotes Ahmad bin Hanbal to show the Imam's spiritual manhood: "They flogged me for God's sake, thinking that I was wrong and they were right. I will not claim redress from them at the Resurrection for mere blows."

Hujwiri sought to bridge the gulf between the *Shari'ah* and Sufism. By presenting Abu Bakr as Imam of the Sufis, 'Umar and 'Ali as a model for contemplative life (*mushahadat*) and an ideal of penitent life (*mujahadat*) respectively, his aim was to dispel misconceptions of some ulama in contradistinction of Sufism's "fundamental priniciples" rooted in strict adherence to the *Sunna*. Describing the relationship between the *Shari'ah* and Sufism as that of the body and spirit, Hujwiri did not approve of the idea that *Haqiqat* could subsist without the *Shari'ah*, or vice versa.

Hujwiri's account of 64 Sufis in *Kashaf al-Mahjub* brings to light varied dimensions of Sufi thought in succinct terms. He extols the knowledge of his teacher, Shaikh Khattali, of the Qur'an on the one hand and his life of *faqr'* on the other. About his contemporary, Imam Qushayri, he remarks that his spiritual life and virtues were well known. His observation, "The Sufi is like the disease called *birsam* which begins with delirium and ends in silence", is explained by way of reference to Moses who asked God: "O Lord show me that I may behold Thee" (Qur'an, 7/139)—an expression of unattained longing like delirium. When the Prophet Muhammad reached the station of desire, he remarked: "I cannot praise Thee duly." The emerging point is to bring home to the readers the Quranic roots of Sufism.

Notwithstanding Hujwiri's criticism of such ulama as were unable to grasp Sufism's practical value in everyday life, there is little doubt that during his time Sufism had become a vital force in Muslim societies. His abundant but objective praise for the Sufis of Khurasan is noteworthy: "I have met three hundred (Shaikhs) in that province alone who had such mystical endowments that a single man of them would have been enough for the whole world."

Kashaf al-Mahjub was written more or less hundred years before the emergence of the Sufi orders. Yet its author did not fail to notice the characteristics of twelve *guroh* or groups in his time. His insightful comments on each group testify to his discerning intellect to distinguish the one from the other. The Muhasibis distinguished between *hal* and *maqam*; the Qassaris propounded the principle of *malamat* (blame); the Taifuris preferred *sukr* (intoxication) to *sahw* (sobriety) and so on. Being rooted in the tradition of sobriety of Junaid, Hujwiri believed that "intoxication is the play ground of children, but sobriety is the death field of man." His dicussion of various sufi terms like lower self (*nafs*), passion (*hawa*), sainthood (*wilaya*), subsistence (*baqa*), annihilation (*fana*), absence (*ghaybat*), presence (*huzur*), union (*jam*), and separation (*tafriqai*) is lucid.

Far from regarding Sufism as pantheism and theosophy, Hujwiri believed it to be the cornerstone of moral and spiritual culture: Its basis was the spiritual ethics enunciated in the *Hadis*: "Good manners (*husn-al-adab*) are part of faith." Thus proclaims Hujwiri: "If anybody denied the essential ideas of Sufism, it amounts to a denial of the whole Sacred Law of the Rasul and his praised qualities."

According to Nicholson, Hujwiri died between 465 and 469/1076-7. Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari's death, however, mentioned in the *Kashaf al-Mahjub* certainly points to Hujwiri's date of death after AD 1089—the year in which the Khwaja passed away.

Saiyid 'Ali Hujwiri's tomb in Lahore has often been renovated. The Shah of Iran decorated its doors in the second half of the twentieth century. The poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal, according to Masoodul Hasan, is said to have dreamt of the idea of a separate Muslim homeland in the subcontinent during his meditation at the shrine of Ganjbaksh.The white marble panels of the shrine contain the inscription of some of Iqbal's verses.

Hujwiri, *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, English tr. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1936; Urdu tr. Miyan Tufail Muhammad, Lahore, rpt. Delhi, 1979.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 119; 139.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 481-3.

Dara-Shukoh, *Safinatu'l-Auliya*, Kanpur, 1900, pp. 164-5.

Masoodul Hasan, *Data Ganj Baksh*, Lahore, 1972, Introduction.

Nizami, *Historical Role of Three Auliya' of South Asia*, Dr. I.H. Qureshi Memorial Lecture Series No. 2, ed. Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, Karachi, 1987, pp. 1-34.

Daulat Shah: A chosen disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki, he had a close association with Baba Hardi Rishi. Often as *qalandar* he remained in a state of ecstasy.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 453-4.

Dawud Palhi, Maulana: A resident of Raudauli in the district Barabanki of UP, and a disciple of Baba Farid, he was held in esteem by his *pir* for his piety. The Maulana would spend most of his time in a forest in meditation after morning prayers. His friendship with animals like deer was proverbial.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 138.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 45.

Dawud Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi and lies buried near the tomb of his *murshid* at Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Dawud, Shaikh: Born at Sitapur in Multan, his ancestors were from Arabia. He studied under prominent scholars of Uch, Multan, and Lahore. He remained in a state of ecstasy for twenty years and wandered through Ajodhan (Pak-Pattan), in the nearby desert of Dipalpur and the unpopulated far-off region of Shergarh close to Jheni. He was finally inspired in a dream by Shaikh Abdu'l Qadir Jilani to seek the discipleship of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri. His fame drove Mulla 'Abdu'l Qadir Bada'uni to his *khanqah* at Shergarh in 981/1573-4. There is little doubt that many Hindus embraced Islam under his influence, notwithstanding the exaggerated overtones in Badauni's first-hand account. Shaikh Dawud politely declined the invitation of Akbar to the court, sent through Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, saying that his secret prayers were sufficient for the Emperor's welfare. The influence of the Qadiriyya order spread to Delhi and Agra, thanks to his influence. He died in 982/1574-5 and lies buried in Shergarh.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 363-4.

'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh* (Eng. tr. Wolseley Haig, III, Calcutta, 1925), pp. 57-60.

Dawud, Shaikh Muhammad: The son and *khalifa* of the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq (d. 1058/1648-9), such was his love for *sama'* that, according to several hagiological accounts, he was summoned to Delhi during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign to answer questions about the validity of *sama'* from the viewpoint of *Shari'ah*. The Shaikh argued before Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qawi, an arch antagonist of Sufism, that *sama'* was lawful only for those privileged in spiritual terms, including himself. When the Mulla ordered *qawwals* to sing, he was enraptured and beseeched the Shaikh to be his disciple. Shaikh Muhammad Dawud died in 1095/1683-4.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 347a.

Sawatiu'l-Anwar, ff. 435a-436b.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', pp. 483-5.

degrees of sainthood: About the degrees of sainthood, 'Ali bin 'Uthman al-Hujwiri writes: "But of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred called *Akhayar*, and forty called *Abdal* and seven called *Abrar*, and four called *Awtad*, and three called *Nuqaba* and one, called *Qutb* or *Ghauth*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent."

Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub,* Eng. tr. Nicholson, p. 214.

Dehat Bibi: She was the daughter of a Hindu official (*patwari*). Along with her sister Behat Bibi, she entered the discipleship of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Both sisters were present at a meeting that took place between the Kashmiri Sufi and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani at the village of Zalsu in the Valley.

The presence of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi at the meeting testifies to the assured place of Kashmiri women in the Rishi order. The dialogue between Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani and Dehat Bibi is interesting. It so happened that on seeing the ascetic Nuru'd-Din's weak condition, Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani asked him why he had weakened his horse (body). The Shaikh's anwer was that being an inexperienced rider, he could not afford to give rich food to his horse. If the body or *nafs* was not kept under control, it may become unruly (like a horse) and cause him trouble (while reaching the goal). No sooner had the Shaikh finished his answer than Dehat Bibi began to argue with the distinguished guest. Perhaps, sensing that the humility of the Shaikh might not create a favourable impression upon some arrogant companions of Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, she remarked: "Those who have (already) reached the goal do not need either conveyance or whip." But then to Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani's query: "Who have attained the goal?" Dehat Bibi responded: "Those who have liberated themselves from (the snares of) the self." Asked how she had freed herself from the self, Dehat Bibi replied thus: "But for annihilating my self, I would not have dared sit in this solemn meeting and shared secrets (with you)." To another question whether she was a daughter or a son, her reply was: "If I am non-existent (*neest*), then I am neither a girl nor a boy; but if I am existent (*hast*) then I am nothing." When the Saiyid finally wanted to know how she had gained such an exalted status, Dehat Bibi replied: "After having attained salvation from the death of the spirit."

Dehat Bibi and Behat Bibi are popularly known as Chhat Kori, daughters trained in the spiritual care of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din.

Her tomb lies buried at Zalsu in the *pargana* of Nagam.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 169-76.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 481-3.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 246-7.

Dervish: A Persian word derived from *dar*, "a door", i.e. those who go from door to door. The term is generally used for a Sufi who practices *faqr*.

Dervish Muhammad Ashraf *alias* Rachan Shah: Renounced worldly pleasures after becoming a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya and Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Farahu'd-Din (d. 1191/1777). Known for his self-denial and burning love for God, Muhammad Ashraf, nevertheless, attracted many visitors to his abode. He lies buried at the village of Kadara in the *pargana* of Lar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 373-4.

Dervish Muhammad Wa‘iz, Maulana: He came to India in 955/1548 from the land beyond the Indus during the reign of the Afghans. ‘Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as an *‘abid*, *salik*, and *‘arif* whose whole life was devoted to God. On hearing the sound of flute, he would weep so profusely that his pain became indescribable. He died in 997/1588 in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 478.

Deta Bibi: Nothing is known about Deta Bibi beyond the fact that she was a devoted disciple of Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri.

Her burial place is at Mukhtapakhri near Naushahr in Srinagar.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, p. 247.

Diti Rishi Baba: He was a disciple of Shaikh Isma‘il Qadiri. He was also devoted to Baba ‘Abdu'llah Narwari and benefited from his company. Although he never went out of Kashmir, some *Hajjis* related the incredible account of his presence in Mecca during their peformance of the ritual of *tawaf*. He is entombed in the village of Adwah in Kamraj, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 281.

Tang, *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, RPD. No 19, f. 98b.

Diti Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He is entombed at the village of Saabi in the *pargana* of Bangil, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 135.

Diwan: Composed by the Indian mystic poet, Jamali, it even attracted the attention of the great Sufi poet, Maulana Jami.

Diwan-i Shamsi: It is a collection of the verses of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Rashid 'Usmani, compiled by his son Shaikh Muhammad Hamid (d. 1086/1675).

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 99.

Diwan-i-Hafiz: A collection of odes, e.g. the poems of the classical Persian poet Hafiz.

Dreams: Trimingham observes: "The importance of dreams and visions in the whole scheme of the Sufi path can hardly be overstressed; the literature of Sufism and the hagiographa in particular are full of them, and their significance in the life of individuals and society. Ibn al-'Arabi's *'Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya* derives directly from such experience and he shows how the decisive stages of his life were marked by dreams. Visions of the Prophet and al-Khadir were the decisive point in the authorization of an illuminate to strike out along his own way. They were a convenient way of obtaining permission from long-dead Sufis to teach their doctrines and *award*, thus leading some people to assume the continuity of line from al-Junaid or another early Sufi."

Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, p. 190.

G.E. Von Grunebaum and Roger Caillois, *The Dream and Human Societies*, California, 1966.

A. J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London, 1966.

Drunkenness: Ordinarily denotes the state of a person who has taken intoxicating liquor, while in Sufism a state of drunkenness in divine love is called *sukr* as compared to sobriety (*sahw*).

Dunat Rishi: A disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi, his life was marked by self-denial in the true manner of his *pir*.

Dunat Rishi's grave lies near the tomb of Baba Bamu'd-Din at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Ad-Durratu'l-Baiza: "Pearl of light". A term used by Sufis to express the *aqlu'l-awwal*, the first intelligence which God is said to have created at the beginning of the animate world.

Razzaq, *Dictionary of Sufi Terms* (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

durud: A benediction; recitation of blessing for the Prophet Muhammad in *namaz* and every prayer of the faithful. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq pithily but superbly highlights the significance of *durud* in his epilogue to his well-known biographical dictionary.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 524.

Ff

Face of God: "Withersoever you turn, there is the Face of God." According to the Qur'an, the real servants of Allah are those who remember Him morning, noon, and night, and who do not hanker after worldly gain. They seek His "Face". The word "Face" (*Wajh*) implies striving to live in the presence of God which is the main aim of spiritual aspiration. The words "Face of God" and "His Face" occur in the Qur'an in an appropriate signification in each place.

All Sufis understood the term in the Qur'anic context.

Faiza Baba Sarafkadli: He renounced the world under the inspiration of Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar of Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 29.

Fakhru'd-Din Ahmad Ajmeri: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of Khwaja Muʿinu'd-Din Chisti.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 30.

Fakhru'd-Din Bijnauri, Shaikh: His son was a son of Shaiku'l-Islam Saʿdu'llah Bijnauri who had eight sons some of whom were *majzubs*. Thanks to the guidance of their brother, Fakhru'd-Din, they made good progress in the Path. In the late seventeenth century when Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti wrote his history of the Chistiyya *silsilah* in India, the spiritual legacy of Fakhru'd-Din was evident in the activities of the order in Lucknow. Fakhru'd-Din died in 910/1504-5.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1117-18.

Fakhru'd-Din Zahidi, Shaikh: His son and disciple Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Haqq Go was killed under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq for refusing to call him a just ruler. He is entombed in Ajmer.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 36-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 235-6.

Fakhru'd-Din Husain Zanjani, Shaikh: A Sufi of high spiritual calibre. Khwaja Muʿinu'd-Din Chisti is said to have spent some time near his tomb during his stay in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 19-20.

Fakhru'd-Din Ibrahim, Shaikh: His *nom de plume* was 'Iraqi. He originally lived in the vicinity of Hamadan where he not only committed the Qur'an to memory, but learnt its recitation in his melodious tone.

The circumstances leading to his migration to India are somewhat extraordinary. Once a party of *qalandars* stayed in the exquisite *madrasah* founded by him in Hamadan. Among them was a comely boy who so captivated 'Iraqi that he gave up the teaching profession. Disguised as *qalandar* after shaving his beard and eyebrows, he pursued the party when it set off for Khurasan. Travelling through Khurasan, the party reached Multan and stayed at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Baha'ud'-Din. When the *qalandars* started their journey from Multan, a storm dispersed them. 'Iraqi found refuge in the Shaikh's *khanqah*. Such was the impact of Shaikh Baha'ud'-Din's personality on him that he started living in a cell that the Shaikh assigned to him for purposes of spiritual training. Overwhelmed by the divine love under the spiritual care of Baha'u'd-Din, 'Iraqi began to compose an ode (*ghazal*). Although the master was opposed to poetry and music, he was tolerant of his disciple's indulgences. So profoundly was Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din moved by the "motif of the identification of self with the Object of Love" in 'Iraqi's verse "Why should they seek to hurt 'Iraqi's fame, Since they themselves their secrets thus proclaim?" that he declared his training to be complete. Not only did he present him with his own *khirqa* to wear but later gave him his daughter in marriage. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din appointed him his *khalifa* before his death. However, after his master's death, owing to the jealousy of other disciples of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din, he had to leave Multan about 1263. It would seem that 'Iraqi spent about 24 years in Multan from about 1239 to 1263.

From Multan 'Iraqi first reached Mecca and after performing *hajj* went to Asia Minor. At Quniya (Iconium) he gained useful insights from Shaikh Sadru'd-Din whose lectures he attended on the *Fusus al-Hikam* of Shaikh Muhi'u'd-Din Ibn al-'Arabi. The result of his interactions was the composition of the Flashes or Effulgences, the *Lama'at*, which expounded Ibn al-'Arabi's ideas on Sufi philosophy in an inspiring Persian prose interspersed with poetry.

At Tuqat, an influential dignitary of Asia Minor called Mu'inu'd-Din Parwana, constructed a *khanqah* for 'Iraqi. The *khanqah* turned into a rendezvous of Sufis with a passion for music. The death of Parwana, however, led 'Iraqi to migrate to Egypt where the Sultan became his disciple. In spite of his fame, 'Iraqi did continue his wandering of the streets and did not fail to appreciate beauty wherever he saw it. From Egypt, while migrating to Syria, the ulama, Sufis and numerous luminaries of Damascus extended him warm welcome. 'Iraqi died on 8 Zu'lqa'da 688/ 23 November 1289 and lies buried near the tomb of Ibn al-'Arabi.

'Iraqi's *Diwan*, a *masnawi* titled *'Ushshaq-Nama* (Book of Lovers), expresses the epitome of Sufic ecstasy. His *Lama'at* excels his earlier work. No less a person than 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami wrote a commentary on the *Lama'at,* under the title *Ashi'atu'l-Lama'at* (Rays of Flashes). According to him, the latter work could rouse men from deep slumber, enable them to grasp the hidden mysteries, ignite the fire of Love, and 'put in motion the chain of longing'.

Significantly, before his death, 'Iraqi sent a copy of the *Lama'at* to Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif, understandably with the main aim of popularizing the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi in India.

'Abdu'r Rahman Jami, *Kitab Nafahat al-Uns*, pp. 601-5.

Jamali, pp. 107-9.

Literary History of Persia, III, pp. 137-8.

Fakhru'd-Din Maruzi, Maulana: A disciple of Shaikh Nizmau'd-Din Auliya, he was a Sufi of great qualities. His only source of livelihood was copying manuscripts for which he asked his customers a minimum amount, sufficient for his sustenance. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din once wrote him a letter in his own handwriting that stresses the importance of the theme of the "love of God". Since the supreme ideal of divine love was the goal of all Sufis, the Shaikh was of the opinion that it could be cultivated only while remembering Allah in relative solitude and in total disregard of the demands of the carnal self.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 454-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 170.

Fakhru'd-Din, Maulana: Born at Aurangabad in 1126/1714-15, he was the son and successor of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of the Deccan, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din (d. 1142/1730). His mother was a descendant of the family of Saiyid Muhammad Banda Nawaz Gisu Daraz. He was known as the Maulana because of his learning, notwithstanding his recourse to rigorous ascetic exercises, self-mortification, and meditation during a period of eight years. In order to avoid the company of his devotees, he joined the military service of Nawab Nizamu'd-Daula Nasir Jang, the son of Nawwab Nizamu'-Mulk Asaf Jah. His presence in the military camp was a source of inspiration and encouragement to officers and soldiers. However, after some years he resigned the military service in favour of *khanqah* life. Again, his admirers and disciples flocked to him. This forced him to leave Aurangabad for Delhi in 1165/1751-2. While on his way to Delhi, a Hindu woman who approached him gained her eyesight, thanks to his prayers. On reaching Delhi, the Maulana rented a house in Katra-Phulel. There he imparted lessons on theology and won considerable fame as an excellent teacher. One of his early and close disciples in Delhi was a young Panjabi villager, Khwaja Nur Muhammad. Along with Nur Muhammad, the Maulana visited the shrine of Baba Farid at Pak-Pattan (Ajodhan) and the tombs of several distinguished Sufis at Sonipat, Panipat, and Lahore. At Ajodhan, he spent long hours in prayer and meditation in a narrow cell near the Baba's tomb during a period of nearly two months. During his travels he is said to have never rode himself but served the poor and aged by putting them on his pony.

After returning Delhi from the Panjab, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din resumed teaching in his seminary (*madrasah*) at Katra-Phulel. With the passage of time a *khanqah* was added which attracted the Emperor, princes, nobles and the ladies of the royal family as devotees. Among his other followers must be mentioned Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Firuz Jang III, entilted 'Imadu'l-Mulk, and the Ruhilla chief, Nawwab Zabita Khan. Emperor Shah 'Alam (1173/1760–1221/1806) earnestly offered a gift of some villages to the Maulana, but he refused. Considering his meeting with Shah 'Alam to be a transgression of Chistiyya practices, the Maulana sought to expiate his sin by arranging a big feast for the poor of Delhi.

Maulana kept alive the Chistiyya tradition of organizing *sama'* assemblies despite the growing opposition of certain sections of Muslim society. In particular, former tribesmen of Afghan origin made several abortive attempts to disrupt the gatherings. One Afghan even entered the Maulana's *khanqah* with the intention of killing him. But his equanimity and tolerance so subdued the uncivilized that they became his disciples.

As an adherent of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, the Maulana believed that people's understanding of Ibn 'Arabi was mostly based on a misinterpretation of his ideas. He stressed that Ibn 'Arabi's ideas could be comprehended only in totality, not by quoting him out of context or jumping to various conclusions on a superficial reading of a few pages. He was critical of such Sufis as were unable to perceive the truth that nothing but the Essence existed.

The Maulana wrote the *Fakhru'l-Hasan* in which he described 'Ali and Hasan Basri as contemporaries. Translated into Persian by his disciple, Kalimu'd-Din Sibghatu'llah, the *Fakhru'l-Hasan* challenges the views of Shah Waliu'llah who, like many earlier authors, "disputed the belief that the Chistiyya' *silsilah* traced back to 'Ali via Hasan Basri". Maulana Fakhru'd-Din died on 27 Jumada II 1199/7 May 1785.

Maulana Fakhru'd-Din's *khalifa*s in the Panjab, Ajmer, Jaipur, Rampur and Rai-Bareilly were responsible for spreading the teachings of the Chistiyya order in their regions. The most senior disciple of the Maulana was Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharwi who earned considerable fame in the Multan and Sindh region. No less was the contribution of his son Ghulam Qutbu'd-Din, his grandson Ghulam Nasiru'd-Din (*alias* Kale Sahib), and his several other descendants to the dissemination of the Chistiyya teachings in Delhi.

Manaqib-i Fakhriyya, Delhi, 1315/1897-8.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, f. 52.

Nuru'd-Din Husain, *Fakhru't-Talibin*, Delhi, 1315/1897-8, pp. 39-40.

Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist*, rpt. Karachi, 1975, pp. 519-21.

Fakhru'd-Din Mir: the brother of Baba Rajabu'd-Din Mir. He became a Rishi under the influence of Baba Bamu'd-Din along with his brother, Baba Rajabu'd-Din.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 249.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 170b.

Fakhru'd-Din Safahani, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Baba Farid who settled at Bilgram.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 345.

Fakhru'd-Din, Saiyid: One of the eminent disciples of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani who accompanied him to Kashmir. Well-versed in theology and Sufism, he was directed to disseminate the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in the village of Avantipura, once an important centre of Brahmanism. He is buried beside the grave of Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din in Avantipura.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 6b.

Fakhru'd-Din Sani, Shaikh: Son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Haqq Go.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 47-8.

Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi: A native of Samana. He studied the *Hidaya*, a work on Sunni jurisprudence, under the guidance of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din of Hansi in Delhi. He had little faith in Sufism. Once he was persuaded by a class-mate, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din, to visit the *jama'at-khana* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Thereafter, he not only changed his views about Sufism but also immediately shaved his head and became celibate (in spite of his marriage engagement) and enrolled as a disciple of the Shaikh. What brought about a profound change in the Maulana's attitude towards Sufism and life was the ability and ease with which Nizamuddin Auliya answered the questions concerning the *Hidaya* that his teacher, Maulana Fakru'd-Din Hansavi, had not been able to clarify.

Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi used to live in a rented house near the *Jama'at-khana*. Although he was exclusively devoted to prayer, his fame as a scholar spread to Baghdad. After his *murshid's* death, he remained mostly preoccupied with visiting the tombs of his spiritual ancestors in Ajmer and Ajodhan.

One day Muhammad bin Tughluq summoned Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. This was the period when the Sultan was forcing Sufis and ulama to leave Delhi for Daulatabad and also planning to launch an expedition against the descendants of Chingiz Khan in Turkistan and Khurasan. A separate meeting was arranged between Zarradi and the Sultan by the Maulana's disciple, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Dabir, before the arrival of other religious dignitaries. Qutbu'd-Din carried the Maulana's shoes on his head into the royal court and put them under his arms in the manner of a humble disciple. Notwithstanding the Sultan's anger over such extreme reverence, he sought the Maulana's cooperation for his contemplated campaign against the descendants of Chingiz Khan. The Maulana responded by saying, "God willing". The Sultan was not satisfied. He said, "These words express doubt." The Maulana, however, said: "Only such an expression is used for future actions." Irritated, the Sultan then asked the Maulana if he could give him a piece of advice. The Maulana answered: "Curb your anger." To the Sultan's subsequent question as to what was anger, the Maulana replied that the Sultan's temple showed signs of beastly and wild anger. The Sultan then quietly ordered food to be served. After the royal host and the guest had eaten from the same plate, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din were summoned. At the end of the meeting, the Sultan offered each Sufi a woollen garment and a purse of *tankas*. Qutbu'd-Din, however, kept the gift meant for his preceptor for himself, thinking that he would not accept it.

Maulana Zarradi moved to Daulatabad in 1327 under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq who wanted all prominent Sufis and ulama to remain there. However, determined to serve the Lord rather than the interests of his temporal ruler, he finally decided to perform *hajj*. He remained in Mecca for some years and, continuing his study of *Hadis*, distinguished himself as a recognized authority in the field. On his way home, he died in a shipwreck.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 262-75.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 171-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar, ff. 65a-b.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 120a-b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 876-80.

Fakhru'l-Hasan: Written in Arabic by the Chistiyya Sufi, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din (d.1199/1785), this work describes 'Ali and Hasan Basri as contemporaries. The author challenges the views of Shah Waliu'llah Dihlawi to the contrary and quotes the latter's own teacher of *Hadis*, Shaikh Ibrahim Kaurani Kurdi, to prove the association between the two. His aim was to establish the link of the Chistiyya order to 'Ali (d. 40/661) through Hasan Basri (b. 21/642 d. 110/728). The book was translated into Persian by the author's disciple, Kalimu'd-Din Sibghau'llah.

Fakhru't-Talibin: Written by Nuru'd-Din Husain, it deals with Shah Kalim'ullah. Published in Delhi, 1315/1897-8.

falah: Excellence in the deed.

Fana': The last stage in the journey of a Sufi, signifying the end of the journey to God. Comparing fana' with nirvana, Nicholson observes: "Both terms imply the passing away of individuality, but while nirvana is purely negative, fana' is accompanied by baqa', everlasting life in God. The rapture of the Sufi who has lost himself in ecstatic contemplation of divine beauty is entirely opposed to the passionlsess serenity of the Arahat." Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi thus describes *fana'*: "Travelling to God (*fana'*) endeth when, with the foot of sincerity, the holy traveller travelleth the desert of existence. Travelling in God (*baqa'*) becometh verified when, after absolute *fana'*, they give to the slave an existence purified from the pollution of impurities, so that, in the world of description (the material world), he advanceth in Divine qualities."

The state of *fana'* experienced by Shah 'Abdul-Rahim is described by his son Shah Waliu'llah. Once experienced by 'Abdu'l-Rahim, he found himself neither in the heavens nor on this planet. It was a state of total annihilation.

Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, *The Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*, tr. Lieut. Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke, Delhi, 1997, pp. 195-8.

Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 16.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 96.

Zaehner, *Mysticism Sacred and Profane*, Oxford, 1961, p. 52.

Fana fit-Tawhid: Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, not unlike Mansur Hallaj, once called himself the Truth in order to quench the cravings of seekers after the Truth. Shah Waliu'llah describes his father's spiritual experience in terms of his death unto himself in order to reach the stage of *fana fit-Tawhid*.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 93.

faqih: Expert in jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

Faqir Madhu: The Imam of the Jami' mosque in Ajmer, who, according to Rizvi, retained his Hindu name even after conversion. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya speaks highly of his spiritual standing and says he guided Shaikh Ahmad Naharwala. The latter, fond of singing *Hindawi* songs, was advised by Faqir Madhu to learn the Qur'an by heart instead of wasting time singing such songs.

Fawidu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 186-7.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 329.

Faqir: The Arabic word *faqir* signifies "poor"; but it is used in the sense of being in need of mercy, and poor in the sight of God, rather than in need of worldly assistance. *Dervish* is a Persian word, derived from *dar*, "a door", i.e. those who beg from door to door, also used for Sufis. While a great majority of the Sufis are called the *ba shar* (with the law), or those who conform their behaviour to the norms of the *Shari'ah*, a small minority is known as *be shar* (without the law), or those who in a state of ecstatic rapture do not seem to care for the injunctions of the *Shari'ah* concerning observance of the five daily prayers, fasts, etc. Significantly, however, there is no dearth of evidence in the hagiographic literature about some outwardly *be shar* Sufis who urged their devotees to adhere to the *Shari'ah*. [See Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar.] The former are called *saliks*, or travellers on the pathway (*tariqa*) to heaven, and the latter because of their absorption in divine love are ecstatics (*majzubs*).

Faqir Rishi: A *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he lies buried near the tomb of his *pir* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Faqr al-Muhammadi: Written by Ahmad bin Ibrahim al-Wasiti al-Harzimi, an eminent 'Arab *dervish*, this work is about the ascetic aspects of Prophet Muhammad's life and that of some of his companions. It was popularized by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis because it considers the Prophet Muhammad to be the real guide (*murshid*) on the Sufi path. According to him, the Muhammadiyya *Tariqa* was an unrivalled Sufi path. For a fine description of the work, see Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 93-5.

Faqr or poverty was an ideal: The Prophet claimed that it was his glory or pride (*al fakhru fakhri*). It was also the ideal of the Sufis both in the sense of not possessing anything in this world, and not being possessed by anything. Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri desired the *saliks* to live honourably, virtuously and above all spiritually in the depths of the poverty of the prophets:

> Poverty is a shield against Hell,
> Poverty is the virtue of prophets,
> Poverty is the wealth of this and
> the next world,
> Poverty is sweet and fragrant,
> One who is steadfast in the Path of poverty,
> So will be honoured here and in the
> Hereafter.

Most Sufis take pride in quoting the above *Hadis* to justify their aversion for riches in preference to self-imposed poverty. Judged by the Qur'an's disapproval of the human tendency to amass worldly possessions, this *Hadis* cannot be rejected on the ground of being *za'if*. Not only is tone and tenor of the Qur'an directed against material pursuits and pleasures, the river-like generosity of the Prophet, his concern for the suffering of the poor and the weak, and his abstemious habits provide sufficient proof for the originality of this *Hadis*. Another saying attributed to the Prophet is in the form of a prayer: "O God, make me live lowly and die lowly and rise from the dead among the lowly." He also said: "On the Day of Resurrection God will say, 'Bring ye My loved nigh unto Me'; then the angels will say, 'Who are Thy loved ones?' and God will answer them, saying, 'The poor and destitute'."

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 128.

——*Experiencing Islam*, pp. 80-1.

Farkhandasiyyar Khwaja Haidar: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Faraq: "Separation". *Faraq-i-Awwal* is a term used by Sufis to express that state of mind in which the soul is drawn away from a contemplation of God by a contemplation of His creation; and *faraq-i sani* (the second separation) is when the soul is constantly contemplating the stability of the creation with the eternity of the Creator.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Farid bin Salar: A disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din (d. 853/1449-50) of Manikpur, he compiled the discourses (*malfuzat*) of his *pir* into a book called the *Rafiqu'l-'Arifin*.

Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar: See Baba Farid.

Faridu'd-Din, Shaikh: A Chistiyya Sufi of versatile talents, he had a fascination for wrestling, archery and hunting. His hospitality was noticeable on the death anniversaries of prominent Sufis, for which occasions he organized extravagant feasts.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Din built a mosque, a *khanqah* and a *jama'at-khana* near Barnawa. The village attracted artisans and peasants from surrounding villages and came to be known as Shaikhupura. Under the influence of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din, a group of Hindu Jats, originally thieves, moved to Shaikhupura to take to agriculture. Homeless Afghans also moved to Shaikhupura during the Shaikh's lifetime. The Shaikh's personality attracted many distinguished ulama and Sufis from Delhi to Shaikhupura, where they were lavishly entertained. Among them must be particularly mentioned Shaikh Zakariya, and Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din (two descendants of Baba Farid), and Shaikh Gada'i Kamboh. Akbar added to the revenues of the Shaikh's *khanqah* by granting the revenue of some more villages to it.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Din appointed his grandson, Shaikh Baha'ud-Din bin Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din, his successor after deciding to leave for Mecca at an old age. He died in the holy city on 5 Jumada I 987/June 1579.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, p. 277.

Faruqi: Little is known about him except that he was a *murid* of one of the *khalifas* of the Chistiyya Sufi of Bijapur, Aminu'd-Din A'la. He is said to have authored one of the *chakki-namas*.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 159.

Fasihu'd-Din: A disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya; a distinguished teacher in the time of Balban who became a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya after resigning his job.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, p. 173.

Fasta Rishi: A disciple of Baba Daryau'd-Din Rishi. He was an ascetic and lived in a cave in Kashmir.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat,* CA No. 31, pp. 775-6.

Fatawa-i Naqshabandiyya: An Arabic work compiled by Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshabandi (d. 1085/1674) in collaboration with the ulama in Kashmir, Lahore and Delhi. It was the precursor of the *Fatawa al-'Alamgiriyya* compiled by a board of ulama under the supervision of Aurangzeb. See Khwaja Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at,* pp. 168-9.

Fatawa-i Sufia: Written by a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Abul Fath (d. 1335), according to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, it contained a full account of the life and teachings of the author's *pir*, but is not extant.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 126.

Fath Muhammad Qadiri, Hajji Shah: Son of Shaikh Mubarak, he was born in Anbala. Although discouraged by a local *qalandar*, Shaikh Muhammad, from treading the Sufi path, his earnestness and steadfastness forced the ecstatic to initiate the teenager in the Qadiriyya order (*Taha'if-i Rashidiyya,* f. 160a). Later, Fath Muhammad became a disciple of Saiyid Taha Qadiri (d. 1084/1673) of Kattana. After the latter's death he reached Mecca where Shaikh Yahya, from whom he received *khirqa*, initiated him. Before returning to India in 1108/1696-7 and settling at Kairana, 31 miles south-west of Muzaffarnagar in UP, he lived with a Sufi, Shah Badru'd-Din Qadiri, in Egypt. The usual practice of the latter was to wander through the wilderness, his face covered with a veil.

Fath Muhammad believed that the core of Sufism lay in consecrating oneself to attain inner purity while enjoying the pleasures of the world within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*. Thus, he built a house for himself, a *khanqah*, and a mosque attached to it out of gifts received from visitors. He wore expensive clothes and set a fine table. He died on 29 Rabi'I 1130/2 March 1718.

Muhammad 'Abdu'r-Rashid, *Taha'if-i Rashidiyya* (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism,* II, 149).

Fath Shah Sarmast Shattari, Shaikh: A disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif who was appointed as a *khalifa* in Lahore. He died in 1150/1737-8 and was buried in Lahore.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', II, pp. 368-9.

Fateh Shah Sani: Little is known about him except that he was pious and led a secluded life in the *pargana* of Witar in the Valley of Kashmir where he is entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, the son of Rashidu'd-Din Kashmiri, this manuscript is preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar (accession number 50). It contains 307 folios. The author refers to several sources including *Mirsadu'l-'Ibad, Risala-i Iqbaliyya, Nafhatu'l-Unus, Khulasatu'l-Manqib, Maqamat-i Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, Maqamat-i Mir Muhammad Khalifa, Nurnama, Asraru'l-Abrar, Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Majm'au'l-Ahadis, Minhaju'l-'Arifin, Mir'atu't-Taibin, Sharh-i Asmau'l-Husna, Sir-i Manaqib, Adabu'l-Muridin, Faqariyya, Khawatiriyya,* and *Dah-Qa'ida.* The author throws a flood of light on several orders of Kashmir.

Fathu'ullah b. Auhadu'd-Din, Shaikh: He was a grandson of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din who was married to Bibi Rasti, a daughter of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, p. 130.

fatiha: The first chapter of the Qur'an, repeated in *namaz* and almost at every religious occasion; in special *fatiha* ceremonies in Kashmir the *fatiha* is recited over a cup of salted Kashmiri tea served to a congregation of mourners for the benefit of a deceased person.

Fatq: Lit. "Opening". A term used by Sufis to explain the eternity of matter, together with its development in creation.

Fatrah: A term used by Sufis for a declining spiritual life.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Fawa'idu'l-Ashraf: Authored by Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad: Compiled by Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi, an erudite scholar of Persian, it contains some discourses of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya on matters of spiritual and historical significance. The book is undoubtedly a didactic classic in the form of recorded conversations. The book is replete with useful information concerning various Sufis and ulama. The compiler's main concern was to reconcile Sufism and *Shari'ah* under the supervision of his spiritual master. Bruce Lawrence observes: "In style *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* is pre-eminent among all *malfuzat* of medieval Indian Sufism: it exemplifies the virtue of Persian prose as a simple but effective tool for communicating diverse situations, moods and thoughts. It captures the spirit of Nizam ad-din's towering presence, his absolute loyalty to his *pir*, his taste for poetry and *sama'* and his empathy with the sufferings of his fellowmen. We hear him crying, laughing and praying. Above all, we delight in the stories of which he and his followers seem to have an inexhaustible stock and which are invariably told to illustrate a viewpoint or practice peculiar to mystics."

Bruce B. Lawrence, "Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period", *Khuda Baksh Library Journal*, no. 3, 1977, pp. 9-10.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad: English translation by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, New Delhi, 1996; Urdu translation by Shams Barelivi, Manzoor Book Depot, Bulbuli Khana, Delhi, 2nd edn. 1992.

Fawa'id-Razziyya: Authored by Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, this extinct work euologized the role played by Muhammad 'Ali Raza in Kashmir after his arrival in 1103/1691.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara, RPD No. 98 ff. 9b-10a.

Fawa'idu's-Salikin: These are discourses attributed to Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki; the authorship is attributed to Shaikh Faridu'd-Din.

Faza'il-A'imma Isna 'Ashar: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, the work seeks to promote a better understanding of the attitude of the Sunnis towards the family and descendants of 'Ali. The purpose was also to remove certain misunderstandings between the Shias and Sunnis.

Fazlu'llah, Shaikh: An uncle of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis and a disciple of one of the prominent Qadiriyya Sufis of Agra, Shaikh Muhammad Hasan (d. 944/1537), he lies entombed in Delhi. He was also called Shaikh Manjhu.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 235-7.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 67-8.

Filhal Qadiri: Little is known about him except that he was a Qadiriyya Sufi of Bijapur and that he authored one of the *chakki-namas*.

Saiyida Ja'far, Introduction to Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, *Sukh Anjan*, p. 62.

Fiqh: Jurisprudence.

Firasah or farasah: A Sufi term for the enlightenment of the heart. A penetration into the secrets of the unknown. 'Ilmu'l-firasah.

Firdaus: The highest stage of celestial bliss.

Firdaus-i Khayal-i Auhadi: Compiled in 1020/1611-12 by Taqi Auhadi, it is an anthology of Persian poetry. The compiler migrated to India from Shiraz in 1015/1606.

Firdausiya-i Qudsiya: See Chishtiyya-i Bahishtiya.

Firdawsiyya: The *silsilah* of the Firdawsiyya Sufis was "part of the collateral line of the Suhrawardiyya". It was founded in India by Khwaja Badru'd-Din Samarqandi who had settled in Delhi in the wake of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki's migration to the capital of the newly founded Delhi Sultanate. Unable to leave any imprint on the history of Sufism in Delhi, the Firdawsiyyas established themselves in Bihar in the late fourteenth century. The *silsilah* connected its spiritual descent with Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi, the noted disciple of Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra. According to Maulana Jami, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din became Najmu'd-Din Kubra's disciple after completing his education as an *'alim*. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' gives the following account of Bakharzi's conversion to Sufism.

In his youth Shaikh Bakharzi was an enemy of Sufism, strongly condemning its followers at his public lectures. Despite opposition from his disciples, Shaikh Najmu'd-Din attended one of Shaikh Bakharzi's lectures. When Bakharzi saw Shaikh Najmu'd-Din in his assembly, he condemned *masha'ikh* and *dervishes* in much stronger terms. The more he said unspeakable things against them, the more Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra expressed his appreciation of what he said by nodding his head and said: "*Subhan al-Allah* (Glory be to God), what erudition, how learned is the young man!" At the end of the lecture, Shaikh Najmu'd-Din left the mosque; he asked why that Sufi (Bakharzi) had not followed him. No sooner had the Shaikh uttered these words than Bakharzi started screaming and tearing his clothes and then fell at the feet of a man who was to become his *pir*. As Shaikh Najmu'd-Din's disciple, Bakharzi proved to be devoted and humble. Shaikh Najmu'd-Din sent him to Bukhara and prophesied his future fame in that city.

Berke (1257-67), the Mongol Khan of the Golden Horde, a grandson of Chingiz Khan and the ruler of Transoxiana, was converted in Bukhara by Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi. According to Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, he embraced Islam after a vision in which Shaikh Bakharzi appeared to him and suggested he become a Muslim. In *Khyar al-Majalis,* he refers to him by his pre-Islamic name, Khar Banda as well as his Islamic one, Khudabanda.

Shaikh Bakharzi lectured on theology, notwithstanding his fame as Sufi. Once while delivering such lecture, says Nasiru'd-Din, a snake appeared. When some persons among his audience rushed to kill it, the Shaikh stopped it saying that the snake also wished to listen to the words of a sage.

According to Jami, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi died in 658/1260. It seems that he deputed one of his disciples from Samarqand, Khwaja Badru'd-Din, to settle permanently in Delhi. His relations with the Chistiyya Sufis of Delhi remained cordial. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din tells us that Khwaja Badru'd-Din and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya visited each other frequently. Both celebrated the *'urs,* or death anniversary of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi with great enthusiasm. On such occasions food was distributed from Chistiyya and Firdawsiyya *langars* among a large number of *dervishes.* The Khwaja was also fond of *sama'*; he died in the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 449-50.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 180-5.

Jami, *Nafḥatu'l-Uns,* pp. 430-1.

Jamali, pp. 83-4.

Shah Shua'ib, *Manaqibu'l-Asfiya,* p. 340. (The book was published as a continuation of the *Maktubat-i Sadi,* Lucknow, 1287/1870, pp. 335-58).

Kalimat, p. 159.

Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* p. 91.

Firuz Baiu: He was a Kashmiri Pandit who converted to Islam under the influence of a *qalandar.* Little is known about him except that he was an intoxicated soul whose habit of talking slowly in a state of ecstasy was seldom comprehensible to the people.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 472.

Firuz Shah: He was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Diddamari describes him as *majzub* while Hasan observes that, in spite of being an enraptured soul, Firuz Shah was extremely God fearing.

Diddamari relates a story about Emperor Jahangir's encounter with the *majzub* during one of his visits to Kashmir. Once the Emperor, accompanied by Nur Jahan, asked him to sit with him in a boat (*shikara*) and presented him money. Firuz Shah threw it into the river. He made Nur Jahan the butt of ridicule for her opulence. Although Jahangir does not refer to this meeting in his autobiography, nevertheless, the anecdote is testimony to the attitude of the Sufis towards luxurious living. Firuz Shah lies buried at Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 215.

Firuz Rishi: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi's *khalifa*, Sadha Rishi, he and his master are entombed in Khalnarawav, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Firuz Shah Sani: A disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he was a *majzub* and roamed the streets. He wore several clothes and rings. He was always seen carrying a crow in his hands. His predictions about events and persons are said to have come true. After his death, he was buried at Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 472.

Firuz Shah: He was a brother of Muhammad Shah, and a favourite disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Like his brother, he was a *qalandar* and lies buried at the village of Shangas in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 471-2.

fuqara pl. of *faqir*. See Faqir.

Al-Furqan: (1) The title of the XXVth surah of the Qur'an. (2) One of the titles of the Qur'an (3) A term used by Sufis to distinguish truth from error.

Fusus al-Hikam: A Persian commentary on the *Fusus al-Hikam* was written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah Ilahabadi in 1041/1631-2. The commentator was a Chistiyya known for his prolific writings. See *Anfas al-khawass*.

Futhuhat al-Makkiyya: Written by Ibn 'Arabi, its six volumes, divided into some 560 chapters, were completed in 629/1231. The manuscript copy of the second recension preserved in Istanbul is divided into thirty-seven volumes. Written in the author's own hand it discusses the principles of Sufism (*ma'arif*), spiritual practices (*mu'malat*), the Sufic states (*ahwal*), the degrees or stages of mystic perfection (*manzil*), the close association of the God-head and the soul (*munazalat*) and the esoteric abodes (*maqamat*).

Henry Corbin, tr., *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, London, 1969.

Futuh al-ghayb: A famous collection of seventy-eight sermons of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, it was translated first into Persian by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi who undoubtedly popularized the teachings of the great Sufi master throughout India. The renowned Muhaddis and Sufi scholar regards the sermons of the founder of the Qadiriyya order as a true copy of the Prophet Muhammad's eloquent utterances. The Persian translation bears the title *Miftah-i Futh*, 'Key to the Futh'. See *Sharh-i Futuh al-ghayb*.

Futuh: Unsolicited charity, unasked-for charity. The term is almost synonymous with the Arabic *'ata*, *tuhfa* or *nazr*. Abu Nasr Sarraj (d. 378/988) calls it *tuhfa*. He quotes a statement attributed to Sahl bin 'Abdullah Shustari (d. 896) to elucidate the Sufi idea of *tuhfa*. "Do not covet (offerings); do not reject; and do not retain (it with yourself)." Some Sufis did not look at *futuh* with favour. But generally hagiographers are full of praise for Sufis who distributed *futuh* to the poor or for general welfare. The earliest Sufi text written in South Asia, *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, contains the story of a *dervish* who, after receiving a present of 300 *dirhams* from a king, handed over the entire sum to the keeper of a bath (*hammam*) and immediately left. Mir Hasan Sijzi quotes a *Hadis* earlier referred to in *Kitab al-Luma* and *'Awarif al-Ma'rif* to justify the practice of *futuh*. "Take (what is proffered), use it for yourself or give it to others." Interestingly, Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, authorized Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri to accept *futuh* from his disciples. The purpose was egalitarian considering the role of the Muslim Rishis as exponents of the religion of social liberation in the caste-conscious Brahmanic society.

Imam Qushairi, *Ar-Rasa'il al-Qushairiya*, Karachi, 1964; Persian tr. Tehran, 1345/1966; Urdu tr. Dr. Pir Muhammad Hasan, rpt. Delhi, n.d.

Kashaf al-Mahjub, tr. Nicholson, p. 319.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, 219.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, Appendix.

Fuzail Naushahi, Khwaja Muhammad: The most outstanding disciple of Naushah Ganj Baksh of the Panjab. Initiated into the Qadiriyya order, he was advised by his *pir* to move to Kabul, his place of birth, where his failure to perform obligatory prayers had brought him in conflict with the ulama. He died in either 1111/1699-1700 or 1112/1700-1.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 186-7.

G g

Ganga Bibi: She became a Rishi after her husband, Lankar Mal, joined the *silsilah* of Rishis under the influence of Baba Luda Mal. The Bibi observed continued fasts and in spite of her austerities, did not shirk hard manual work. She donated whatever little she earned by the sweat of her brow for the construction of bridges and mosques in Kashmir. When Baba Lankar Mal secluded himself in the forest of Dandakavan, Ganga Bibi proved her mettle as a devoted wife. She would bring her husband water for his ablutions. Most sources aver that whenever she came across wild animals they would take to their heels on seeing her.

Ganga Bibi lies buried near the tomb of Lankar Mal at Handwanpura in the *pargana* of Hamal.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 167b-168b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 98b.

Baha’u’d-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, ff. 106b-107a.

Sa‘du’llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 294.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu’r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 785.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 121-2.

Ganj-i Arshadi: Compiled in 1134-5/1721-3 by Shaikh Abu’l-Faiyaz Qamaru’l-Haqq Ghulam Rashid, it deals with the life and teachings of the Qadiriyya-Chistiyya Shaikh Badru’l-Haqq Muhammad Arshad bin Muhammad Rashid ‘Usmani Jaunpuri. The author was the successor of Rashid ‘Usmani. The only manuscript of the work is available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library. [See also Rashid ‘Usmani Jaunpuri, Shaikh Muhammad.]

Ganj-i Asrar: It is a *malfuzat* related to the famous Shattariyya Sufi of Bijapur, Hashim Pir. Compiled by one of his *murids*, Shah Na‘imu’llah, twelve years after the Sufi’s death, it contains a biographical account of Hashim Pir and several generations of his descendants. Persian MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Taswwuf no. 134).

Ganj-i Faiyazi: Compiled by Ghulam Sharafu’d-Din bin Shaikh Imamu’d-Din, a disciple of Shaikh Abu’l-Faiyaz, the work contains the latter’s discussions and letters. This work, completed in 1734-5, throws interesting light on the aspects of the social and political life from Jahangir to Aurangzeb.

Ganj-i La Yafna: It contains the discourses of Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din Maneri.

Ghaib: “Secret.” The terms Ghaibu’l-Huwiyah, “Secret essence”, and al-Ghaibu’l-Mutlaq, “the absolute unknowable”, are used by Sufis to express the nature of God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Ghaibat: Unmindful of one’s self and the mundane world in the Presence of Allah. Shah Waliu’llah frequently uses the term in *Anfasu’l-’Arifin*.

Ghaibi Shah: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Khwaja Mas‘ud Narwari, his *pir-i suhbat* was Shoga Baba. Overwhelmed with the experience of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he began to wander across the mountains and the jungles of Kashmir.

Ghaibi Shah lies buried in the town of Tral.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 471.

Ghaibi Shah Majzub: He was born during the time of the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The latter’s disciple and *khalifa*, Baba Dawud Khaki, testifies to the spiritual excellence of Ghaibi Shah as an intoxicated soul. Although he did not apparently follow the *Shari‘ah*, yet he elicited unbounded praise of Baba Dawud Khaki. In a chronogram composed by Khaki, the Suhrawardiyya Sufi describes Ghaibi Shah as a river of secrets and the embodiment of spiritual bliss.

After his death in 981/1573-4, Ghaibi Shah was buried in the cemetery of Baba Hardi Rishi.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US), p. 181.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 451-2.

Ghairat: The Sufic term subjecting *nafs* to punishment for *ghaflat* from the remembrance of Allah. The Sufis themselves prescribed the punishment.

Maulana Muhammad Shafi, *Ma‘rifu’l-Qur’an*, vol. VII, p. 514.

Ghaus: “One to whom we can cry for help.” A mediator. Some hold it be the highest order of sanctity, whilst others regard it as second in rank to that of Qutb. The title is given to the most distinguished member of the hierarchy of Sufis; for instance, the celebrated Sufi Abdul Qadir Jilani is popularly known as ‘Ghaus al-Azam’.

ghazi: A warrior, especially one who fights for the cause of Islam.

Ghiyasu'd-Din, Saiyid: A descendant of Saiyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilani, he settled in Gujarat.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, p. 63.

Ghori Khan: Descendants of the tribe of Thakur in Kashmir were called Ghori Khan because of their kinship with Sultan Muhammad Ghori. It was during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin that seven sons of one Malik Firuz, a descendant of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din Ghori, arrived in Kashmir. The ruler received them warmly, bestowed on them the title of Malik, and granted several villages to them as *jagirs* in the *pargana* of Shawara. However, the internecine feuds among the sons of Zainu'l-'Abidin following his death brought about a change in the outlook of the Malik brothers who now turned to Sufism under the teachings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh and Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri. They—Malik Mas'ud Thakur, Malik Buland, Malik Aargosh, Malik Aalpal, Malik Gada, Malik Isma'il and Malik Nasir—played a seminal role in the spiritual and social uplift of the Kashmiris. The distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi and *faqih*, Shaikh Dawud Mishkati, himself influenced by the Kubrawiyya and Rishi traditions, belonged to the tribe of Thakurs called Ghori Khan in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 157-8.

Ghulam Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh: Also known as Kale Sahib, he was the son and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ghulam Qutbu'd-Din (d. 1233/1817). The latter had come to Delhi from the Deccan after the death of his father, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din, in 1199/1785. His disciples included the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1253/1837–1274/1858) and, the princes, princesses, and nobles at his court. He is said to have been popular among both the Delhi elite and the commoners. He died on 15 Safar 1262/12 February 1846.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Tazkira-i Ahl-i Dihili*, pp. 25-7.

Ghulam Qutbu'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of the famous Chistiyya Sufi, Maulana Fakru'd-Din (d. 1199/1785) who had established a *khanqah* in Delhi after migrating from the Deccan. After his father's death Qutbu'd-Din came to Delhi from the Deccan and succeeded him in the capital. Among his disciples must be specially mentioned Emperor Muhammad Akbar II (1221/1806–1253/1837) and Mughal princes and princesses. He died on 18 Muharram 1233/28 November 1817.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Tazkira-i Ahl-i Dihili*, pp. 25-7.

Ghulam Rashid, Shaikh Abu'l-Faiyaz: He was a grandson and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Arshad. Having lost his parents at a tender age, Ghulam Rashid was brought up under the loving care of his grandfather who educated and later initiated him as a Qadiriyya (*Ganj-i Faiyazi*, f.4b). He penned a commentary on his grandfather's Arabic syntax called *Hidayat al-Nahw*, and also wrote a Persian commentary on a popular Arabic *qasida*, the *Qasida-i Ghausiya*, eulogizing Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. As a Sufi master, he used parables and anecdotes to disseminate the teachings of the Qadiriyya order. Considering man's ability to conquer sensuality and the devil by way of worshipping God, he accorded a superior status to human beings. Angels, he argued, never faced such an impediment; hence they were inferior to men. He died in 1167/1753.

Ghulam Sharafu'd-Din bin Shaikh Imamu'd-Din, *Ganj-i Faiyazi*, Cambridge MS., Browne Persian Catalogue, III (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*,II, pp. 100-1).

Ghulam Sharafu'd-Din: A disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi Shaikh Ghulam Rashid Abu'l-Faiyaz (d. 1167/1753), he claimed as a scholar and a Sufi that "control of the spirituality and welfare of Muslims had become dependent on the Indian Qadiriyyas."

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 101.

Ghurab: "A crow." Ghurabu'l-Bain, crow of separation, was a term used by the Sufis for a certain state of separation from God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad: Born on 4 Rajab 721/30 July 1321 in Delhi, his real name was Saiyid Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Husaini. Popularly known as Khwaja Banda Nawaz (His Servants' Helper) as well as Gisu Daraz (Long Locks), his father took him to Daulatabad in the wake of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's orders to the Muslim elite of Delhi to migrate southwards. It was in the serene environment of Daulatabad that Gisu Daraz obtained his early education. He assisted an associate of Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din Gharib to collate the *Risala* of Qushairi and later translated it into Persian. Afterwards he reached

Delhi and enrolled as the disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh.

According to Shaikh, 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Gisu Daraz left Delhi for the Deccan after the death of his spiritual preceptor. He reached Gujarat via Gwalior. Zafar Khan, the founder of the independent Gujarat sultanate, and his successors, who were devoted to Shaikh Ahmad-i Khattu, did not pay much attention to Gisu Daraz. After living in seclusion for several years, the Saiyid left Gujarat for the Deccan. While arriving near Ahsanabad Gulbarga, the Bahmani Sultan, Taju'd-Din Firuz (800/1397–825/1422) received him warmly along with his retinue of nobles and officials. The Sultan, whose main interest lay in philosophy, found the Saiyid wanting in knowledge of his favourite subject. So his attitude towards the Saiyid changed. However, the Sultan's brother, Ahmad Khan, grew closer to the Saiyid. In 818/1415 when the Sultan sought the blessings of the Saiyid for his son and heir apparent, Hasan Khan, a licentious moron, he refused. Thereupon the Sultan banished him from his *khanqah* near the fort. Along with his family the Saiyid moved outside the town to the site where his tomb, now a place of pilgrimage, was later built. It was there that Ahmad Khan took refuge when his brother decided to blind him. The Saiyid blessed Ahmad. Following his elder brother's decision to abdicate in Ahmad's favour, the latter succeeded the throne on 5 Shawwal 825/22 September 1422.

Gisu Daraz died in Gulbarga in 1422, shortly after the accession of Ahmad. The new ruler was deeply shocked, built a gorgeous mausoleum for him, and gave liberal grants to his descendants. However, the glory of Gulbarga, Gisu Daraz's town, waned when Sultan Ahmad (1422-36) transferred his capital to Bidar.

Gisu Daraz was a prolific writer. His works include: *Jawami'u'l-Kilam, Wujudu'l-'Ashiqin, Asmaru'l-Asrar, Istiqamatu'sh-Shari'ah, Hada'iqu'l-Uns, Tarjuma-i 'Awarif al-Ma'arif, Sharh-i Tamhidat-i 'Ainu'l-Quzat, Sharh-i Bait-i Amir-i Khusraw Dihlawi, Risala-i Azkar-i Khanwadah-i Chistiyya, 'Ishq Nama, Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz,* and *Tarjuma-i Risala-i Qushairiyaa.*

Gisu Daraz distinguished himself as an interpreter of Prophetic traditions through his translation and commentary of the *Mashariq al-anwar* and the *Fiqh al-akbar.* Although Ibn 'Arabi's writings had exercised great influence on the Sufis of the Chistiyya order in India, Gisu Daraz was critical of his ideas. His correspondence with his Chistiyya contemporary, Mas'ud Bak in Delhi, and Ashraf Jahangir of Kyechuchha, is redolent of his reservations about the *Wahdat al-Wujud.* He stated: "People keep on saying that *haqiqat* is a divine secret, but I, Muhammad Husaini, say that *shari'at* is the divine secret, because I have also heard talk of *haqiqat* from the mouths of *muwallihs,* Haidaris, Qalandars, *mulhids* and *zindiqs* (heretics of sorts); nay, I have even heard it from the mouths of Yogis, of Brahmans and of Gurus. But talk of the *shari'at* I have not heard from the mouth of anyone other than the people of true faith and belief, i.e Sunni Muslisms. Thus it is evident that the *shari'at* is the divine secret."

Notwithstanding his concern for the *Shari'ah*, Gisu Daraz's poetry is characterized by mystical love.

> "What shall I call him who denies love?
> He is a cow, a jackass and a hard stone."

In the tradition of Ahmad Ghazzali and 'Iraqi, observes Schimmel, he felt that "human beauty leads to divine love".

> "Well, you look at the beautiful one and
> see figure and stature:
> I do not see anything in between the
> beauty and art of the creator", for
> "Those who have quaffed the goblet of
> love at the pre-eternal covenant . . .
> Have washed from the slate of being
> everything except the picture of the
> beloved."

True to Chistiyya traditions, Gisu Daraz avoided the company of the wealthy. He wanted the truly spiritual rulers to follow the example of Ibrahim bin Adham. If it was not possible for them to emulate such an example, they should appoint an *'alim* of integrity in order to be able to ensure the implementation of the laws of the *Shari'ah* in their kingdom. Such rulers were also advised to be compassionate and just to the weak and the underprivileged.

Gisu Daraz had good knowledge of Sanskrit language and the Hindu epics and debated several issues of spiritual importance with Brahmans. The most significant distinction between Sufism and Hindu mysticism, according to him, was the realization of the Truth by a Sufi through strict adherence to the *Shari'ah.* It was the purification of the self and an exclusive interest in God, within the framework of the *Shari'ah,* rather than perception of the self through ascetic exercises that was vital to such a distinction.

Writing some time after 1673, Abbe Carre furnishes an eyewitness account of the *'urs* ceremony at the *dargah* of Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz: "I was surprised to find the road [to Gulbarga] full of procession of *fakirs* and Hindus. Most of the men had a sort of cradle on their heads, covered by little streamers of cocks' feathers, bells, and the like. The women and children all carried sticks which they lifted in the air, for the wind to turn whirligigs on them, made of cloth, in all sorts of colours. They also carried plates of copper, little pots and a sort of cauldron on which they beat, as on our Basque drums. . . . This led me to enquire of a local Hindu who came to speak to me, what it all meant. 'Why, he replied, don't you know every year there is a pilgrimage there by a great number of people such as you have seen. They [the articles] are thus sanctified when they return home'. 'But', I said, 'what is meant by all those instruments and streamers paraded by them?' 'Those', he said, 'are souvenirs of their pilgrimage, which they keep all their lives, and which they regard with much confidence and devotion in any afflictions or maladies that befall them. They put their children, when sick, into those little cradles you saw, and are quite content, whether the child lives or dies, because the cradle had been in the saint's house and had been sanctified by him. . . . The copper pots and plates are for the food of anyone who is dangerously ill. . . ."

Gisu Daraz, *Jawami'u'l-Kilam,* British Museum MS. OR 252, ff. 9a, 87a-91a.

——*Wujudu'l-'Ashiqin,* Ethe, 1858, f. 136.

——*Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz,* Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. Ivanov, 1232, f. 19a.

——*Istiqamatu's-Shari'a,* Ethe, 1862, ff. 3b; 20b.

——*Khatima,* Ethe, 1856, ff. 195a-196b.

——*Anisu'l-'Ushaq* (quoted in A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* p. 53).

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 236-44.

Digby, *Encounter with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography,* SOAS London, mimeographed, Janurary 1970.

Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements,* Agra, 1965, p. 56, n. 1.

Abbe Carre, as quoted in Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700): Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India,* Princeton, 1978, p. 229.

Gongal: It is a ceremony observed in the villages of the Kashmir valley on the eve of spring. Rice and walnuts are distributed to children to mark the occasion of the beginning of farming in the New Year.

In his poem called *Gongalnama* Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi comes near to describing the tillers of the soil as "the chosen of God" since in his view their activities are not only necessary for a sound social order but also contain certain spiritual truths for the thoughtful. The cardinal point emerging in his exhortations is that the life of the peasant symbolizes the only honest livelihood—the peasant reaps the fruit of the seed sown in the ground from God as a reward for his virtuous industry.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

——"The Rishi Movement as a Social Force in Medieval Kashmir", *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture,* ed. Muzaffar Alam, F. 'Nalini' Delvoye, Marc Gaborieau, Delhi, 2000.

Goshah-Nishin: "One who sits in a corner." A Persian term for a devout person who in retirement engages in the contemplation of God.

Gul Muhammad Ma'rufi Karkhi: A resident of Ahmadpur Sharqiyya in the former Bahawalpur state of Pakistan, he was a *khalifa* of Khwaja Muhammad 'Aqil, a Chistiyya *pir*, buried at Kot-Mithan in Dera Ghazi Khan district, Pakistan. Gul Muhammad wrote a valulable biography of Sufis from Shah Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi to Khwaja Muhammad 'Aqil, and of their disciples. He died in 1243/1827.

Gul Muhammad Ma'rufi-i Kharkhi, *Zikr al-asfiya fi takmilat Siyaru'l-Awilya dar manqabt-i Shams al-Huda,* Delhi, 1312/1894.

Gulshan-i Wahdat: This contains the letters of Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ahad Wahdat, the son of Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id, the Mujjadid-Alif Sani's elder son.

Gulzar-i Abrar: Written by Muhammad Ghausi bin Hasan bin Musa Shattari of Mandu between 1020/1611 and 1022/1613, this is an important source of information on the history of Sufism in India considering its author's access to a vast amount of hagiographic literature. Ghausi Shattari was a friend of Abu'l-Fazl and Faizi. His resolve to write this work seems to have been strengthened by a visit of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis to his home on his way to Mecca. 'Abdu'l-Haqq's *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar,* mentioned twice by Ghausi, must have prompted him to undertake the task.

He had a wide knowledge of the Sufi orders in India, including particularly that of the Shattariyyas. He does not ignore the miracles of the Sufis and clearly makes their social and moral role in society intelligible to his readers. Taking great care to place his biographies in historical sequence, Ghausi dedicated his work to the Emperor Jahangir.

The work has been edited by Dr. Muhammad Zaki and printed by Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, in 1994.

Gusul: The importance of daily baths is always empasized in the Sufi literature. According to Baba Dawud Khaki, Baba Hardi Rishi was accustomed to daily baths in running and clean water. It is recorded in some Sufi treatises that the best bath is the one that is taken in the flowing water. Baba Hardi was of the view that the daily bath was also necessary for purifying one's heart. The *Qanzu'l-Awrad* of Khwaja Muhammad Chisti, quoted by Khaki, stresses the importance of regular baths for both internal and external piety. Khaki writes that the practice of bathing in cold water in winter is as great as *jihad*.

Khaki, *Rishi-nama* (PGMK), f. 77b.

H h

Haba: "Dust", especially the finer particles which fly about and are only conspicuous in the sun's rays. A term used by Sufis for those portions of matter (*hayula*) which God has distributed in creation.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Habal-i Matin: Authored by Muhammad Murad Tang, it highlights some abiding principles of the Naqshbandiyya order in the context of the Qur'an and *Hadis*, besides referring to the life and times of some Sufis.

The only extant manuscript copy available at the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art and Languages, written in *khat-i nastaliq*, contains 17 leaves.

Habs-i dam: This means 'holding of breath'. Abu Yazid al-Bistami (874/1469-70) is reported to have remarked, "For gnostics, worship is observance of the breath," and Abu Bakr ash-Shibli (d.945/1538) said that *Tasawwuf* is "control of the faculties and observance of the breath". Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi makes the importance of the practice of *zikr-i khafi* abundantly clear in a verse in which he urges the seeker to keep the tongue pressed against the roof of his mouth, his lips and teeth firmly shut, and hold his breath (*zikr-i Haqq par zev dith talas*). The Naqshbandiyya Sufis firmly believed in this practice.

Faridud-Din Attar, *Tazkirat al-Auliya*, text & tr. given by R.A. Nicholson, "The Origin and Development of Sufism", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 344.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

Hadi Shaikh: He came from Mecca to Kashmir to become the disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 189.

Hada'iqu'l-Uns: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Hadis: Saying of the Prophet Muhammad based on the authority of a chain of transmitters. The Prophet uttered his words of wisdom in a particular situation. These sayings (*ahadis*) form the very basis of Muslim life. The most authentic sayings were collected in six volumes in the second half of the ninth century; among them, those of Bukhari (d. 870) and Muslim (d. 875), called *Sahihain*, are of particular significance. Many Sufis of the India of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries were also scholars of *Hadis* and *Fiqh*, as for example, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, Shah Waliu'llah, and 'Abdu'l-Aziz.

Hafiz 'Abdu'l-Latif: Little is known about him except that he was a contemporary of Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 94.

Hafiz 'Abdu'l-Karim Basir: He was a pupil of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik Qadiri and a contemporary of Akbar. He is euologized for his inward righteouness, he is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 293.

Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Fatehkadli: He was a disciple of Mulla Taiyib. After his *murshid's* death, he received spiritual guidance from Saleh Khan. He earned his living by selling copies of the Qur'an made in his own writing and composed poetry in Persian.

On 13 Zilhaj 1105/26 July 1694 he died and lies buried at the cemetery of Baba 'Abdu'l-Karim Fatehkadli in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Hafiz 'Abdu'llah: Nothing is known about him except that he was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri and that he cured the blindness of a visitor to his abode.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 191.

Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Sani: A disciple of Akhwund Mulla Taiyib, he lies buried in the village of Shaikhpura in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Hafiz 'Abdu'r-Rasul Waiz: He was a pupil of Mulla Rafiq. He obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Kubrawi and Amanu'llah Pampuri. He had committed the Qur'an to memory and was dedicated to preaching.

On 21 Muharram 1261/30 January 1845, he died and lies buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 445.

Hafiz 'Abdu's-Sabur Faktu Baramulli: He was a *khalifa* of Hafiz Ahmad Baramulli. From Khwaja

Ahmad Yassawi he gained knowledge of the stages in *suluk* and, also, obtained *irshad* from him. Later he secluded himself at the *mohalla* of Daddyar in Srinagar and, after his death in 1164/1750-1, was buried in Malkha.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 345.

Hafiz 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri: A resident of the *mohalla* of Naushahr near Mukhtapakhri in Srinagar, he was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by 'Abdu's-Sabur Zargar and authorized to enrol disciples.

Hafiz 'Inayatu'llah was regarded as one of the great Sufis of his time endowed with hidden talents.

His tomb is in Naushahr near Mukhtapakhri in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 329.

Hafiz Abu'l-Khair Charoo Islamabadi: He belonged to the Naqshbandiyya order. After obtaining education in exoteric sciences from Mulla Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Maantji and Mulla 'Attau'llah for a long time, Hafiz Abu'l-Khair received spiritual guidance from Miyan Muhammad Rafiq, *khalifa* of Miyan Gul Muhammad. Later, he gave up teaching in preference to living a contemplative and devotional life at the house of Khwaja Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi.

He died in 1235/1820 and lies buried at the cemetery of Mulla Nuru'd-Din in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 443.

Hafiz Ahmad Baramuli: He left Kashmir in order to seek spiritual guidance and enrolled himself as a disciple of Mir 'Inayatu'llah' in Agra. After completing his spiritual training, he returned to Kashmir and enrolled many disciples.

He died at the age of 80 and was buried in Baramulla.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 444.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 322.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 246.

Hafiz Dawud A'ma: A disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shah Abu'l-Baqa, he was known for his strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* and his righteousness. Originally a villager, he settled in Srinagar towards the end of his life in the vicinity of the shrine of Saiyid Habib Sarkhabi. He led a life of ascetic self-denial.

After his death in 1199/1784-5 he was buried near the mausoleum of Saiyid Habib Sarkhabi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 365.

Hafiz Habibu'llah': A *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju and a Qadiriyya Sufi, he made his mark as a man of piety and good moral fibre. He lies buried at Jamalata in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 31.

Hafiz Hasan A'ma: He was blind and came from a village and to reside near the tomb of Mir Muhmmad Amin Wali in Srinagar. He first received spiritual guidance from Mir 'Ali Muhammad Qadiri in the Qadiriyya order and, later, was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Mulla Nazuk Tashwani. In spite of his physical handicap, he showed exemplary steadfastness in following the *Sunnah* and until his death in 1125/1713 at the age of 90, he offered the prescibed prayers only in the mosque. He never visited the house of a rich man.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 197-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 371-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 277.

Hafiz Hidayatu'llah: After obtaining education from Maulana Muhammad Sadiq and Mulla Hajji Muhammad, he went to Peshawar, where he became a disciple of Shah Muhammad Ghaus. His devotion and steadfastness impressed the Shah, who bestowed on him *khilafat* and authorized him to enrol disciples. The *subehdar* of Peshawar, Sardar Jahan Khan, who venerated Hafiz Hidayatu'llah, built a *khanqah* for him. Until his death in Peshawar, Hidayatu'llah imparted the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences to the people. His tomb is in Peshawar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 355.

Hafiz Ibrahim: He was the son of Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Fatehkadali. A compendium of knowledge, piety and accomplishments, he lies buried in the cemetery of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Hafiz Ibrahim Zargar: He was a disciple of Khwaja Yusuf Midru after which Khwaja Hasan Buchh initiated him into the Qadiriyya order. Most of his time was spent in meditation in caves.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 281.

Hafiz Muhammad: He succeeded his father, Maulana Nur Muhammad Naruwala (d. 1204/1790), the seniormost *khalifa* of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Bahawalpur, Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharwi (d. 1205/1791).

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 116-17.

Hafiz Muhammad Amin: He was a disciple of Khushhal Mir. Known for his asceticism, he lies buried at the village of Daantar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Hafiz Muhammad Isma'il: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya' (U), p. 178.

Hafiz Muhammad Mukhtar: The son and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Wangami, he followed the *Shari'ah* strictly and committed the Qur'an to memory.

Muhammad Mukhtar died in 1271/1854-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Hafiz Murad: A *khalifa* of Khushhal Mir. He obtained *irshad* from Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Fathehkadli.

Hafiz Murad died in 1154/1741 and was buried at Thajurah in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Hafiz Rashid: A *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he lived in relative seclusion and was known for his artistic recitation of the Qur'an.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Hafiz Shah Muhammad Qadiri: Little is known about him except that he was a pious Sufi who lived at Ahmadakadal in Srinagar and earned his livelihood by making copies of the Qur'an. Most probably he lived during the time of the later Mughals.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 236.

Hafiz Shams: Initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he led a secluded life, but gained fame for his excellent recitation of the Qur'an. It is not known where his grave lies.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Hafiz Shattari Jaunpuri: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shah 'Abdu'llah at Jaunpur. He had a good number of disciples in different towns of northern India between Jaunpur and Delhi who propagated the teachings of the Shattariyya order in the region.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 187.

Hafiz Taiyib Mazin: After becoming a disciple of Baba 'Usman Kak, he led the life of an ascetic. His livelihood was making copies of books. Towards the end of his life, he began to live in the house of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Zajil.

He died in 1181/1767-8 and is entombed at Sha'irwari in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 351.

Hafiz Turk 'Ali: He came from Kabul to become the disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Mulla-Shah. Although an ascetic, he was also a fine calligrapher and during his leisure copied the works of his *pir*.

Tawakkul, Beg, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, ff. 66a-66b.

Haft-ahkam: Authored by Shaikh Muhibu'llah in 1053/1643, it contains 7 basic principles of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Haft-iqlim: Written by Amin bin Ahmad Razi, a first cousin of Nur Jahan's father and Jahangir's prime minister I'timadu'd-Daula (Ghiyas Beg bin Muhammad Sharif), in 1002/1593-4, it contains 1560 biographies from various geographical regions.

Haidar: Originally a Turk, he lived in Sawa in Kuhistan (Mountain Land), a province about a hundred kilometres south of Nishapur. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he would hold rods of red hot iron in his hands when overcome with ecstasy, as if they were wax, make necklaces and bangles, for his personal use. His followers, known as the Haidaris, also wore iron jewellery. While innumerable miracles are attributed to him, it is also recorded that he would walk through fire in summer, and would stand in the snow in winter. He is also said to have predicted about the invasion of Sawa by the Mongols.

Ibn Battuta found the followers of Haidar wearing iron rings through their ears, hands and other parts of their bodies. According to Jamali, the Haidaris passed round iron rods through heir male organs, and since both ends were sealed, called them *sikh-i muhr* (rods of the seal). This custom was "acquired from the Hindu Naga sannyasis" indicating their "determination to remain celibate".

Haidar lies buried in the town of Sawa. His burial place came to be known as the *Turbat-i Haidari* (the Tomb of Haidar).

The most eminent Indian Haidari was Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, reported to have settled in Delhi in the mid-thirteenth century.

The wandering Haidaris lived in South Asia for several centuries. Ibn Battuta descripted a party of Haidaris in a village near Amroha in 1342. "There came to me a company of poor brethren who had iron rings on their necks and arms, and whose chief was a coal-black negro. They belonged to the corporation known as the Haidariya and they spent one night with us. Their chief asked me to supply him with firewood that they might light it for their dance, so I charged the governor of that district, who was 'Aziz known as al-Khammar'. . . to furnish it. He sent about ten loads of it, and after the night prayer they kindled it, and at length, when it was a mass of glowing coals, began their musical recital and went into that fire, still dancing and rolling about in it. Their chief asked me for a shirt and I gave him one of the finest texture; he put it on and began to roll about in the fire with it on and to beat the fire with the sleeves until it was extinguished and dead. He then brought me the shirt showing not a single trace of burning on it, at which I was greatly astonished."

The Moorish traveller draws certain similarities between the practices current in the order of Shaikh Ahmad bin 'Ali al-Rifa'i (1106-82), popularly known as the Rifa'iyyas of Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, and of the Haidaris of India: "When the afternoon prayers had been said, drums and kettledrums were beaten and the poor brethren began to dance. After this they prayed the sunset prayer and brought in the repast, consisting of rice-bread, fish, milk, and dates. When all had eaten and prayed the first night prayer, they began to recite their *zikr*, with the Shaikh Ahmad sitting on the prayer-carpet of his ancestor . . . then they began the musical recital. They had prepared loads of firewood which they kindled into a flame, and went into the midst of it dancing; some of them rolled in the fire, and others ate it in their mouths, until finally they extinguished it entirely. This is their regular custom and it is the peculiar characteristic of this corporation of Ahmadi brethren. Some of them will take a large snake and bite its head with their teeth until they bite it clean through."

The *qalandars*, particularly the Haidaris and Jwaliqis, were active in the provincial kingdoms, especially Jaunpur and the Sultanate of Bengal. Several stories are recorded in the *Tarikh-i Dawudi* about the encounter of *qalandars* with Sultan Sikandar Lodi and the Emperor Babur. Some of these stories sound absurd; but they do bear testimony to the fact that *qalandars* were not a despised lot in Muslim societies.

Fawa'idu'l-Fuad, pp. 22-3, 92.

Jamali, p. 67.

H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, II, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 274-5.

'Abdu'llah, *Tarikh-i Dawudi*, pp. 45, 63-4 (quoted in Rizvi, *Infra*).

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 532a-532b.

The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 356.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 307.

Haidar Majzub: He was an intoxicated soul who died in Kankal in AD 1700.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, p. 165.

Haidar Shah Buchh: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi, who was endowed with all the qualities of a Sufi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Haja Baba: His real name was 'Abdu'r-Rahman. He was a favourite *khalifa* and sincere companion of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Known for his excellence in *faqr* and *fana*, Haja Baba was often entrusted by his *murshid* the task of guiding his disciples. After the death of his spiritual preceptor, the Haja, in the true manner of Baba Nasib, toured numerous villages and disseminated the teachings of his order in the mosques founded by him. He is said to have spent forty years as a bachelor at the village of Kunja Naubog in the *pargana* of Phag, though he married afterwards. For some time he secluded himself at a *khanqah* near the Jama mosque in Srinagar. His nights were spent awake in the remembrance of God and he would observe fasts during the daytime.

After his death in Muharram 1121/ March 1709, Haja Baba was buried near his *murshid's* tomb in Bijbehara.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 111-12.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 242.

Haja Baba-i Qalash: Little is known about him except that he was a Kashmiri Sufi and is entombed in the neighbourhood of the cemetery of Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Haja Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi. Throughout his life, he served his spiritual master and was buried in the precincts of the shrine of Latifu'd-Din at Pushkar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 129.

Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari, Shaikh: A descendant of Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, his early spiritual teacher was Maulavi Sadru'd-Din Bukhari. He achieved perfection in esoteric knowledge and from his teacher learnt that there were only two *ni'mats* in the world and that a majority of the people, because of their ignorance or *ghaflat*, did not strive in that direction. One *ni'mat* was the eternal reality of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. Although the Prophet is alive, some people do not benefit from the reality of his spiritual being. The other is the Qur'an through which Allah directly converses with His creatures. Commoners, in 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's view, are conscious of this *ni'mat*.

Inspired by the teachings of his *pir*, 'Abdu'l-Wahhab first set off for Madina and after returning to Multan, reached Delhi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. The Sultan held him in high esteem. Later in his life, 'Abdu'l-Wahhab undertook the pilgrimage of the holy places in Mecca and Medina for the second time.

On becoming a disciple of Shah 'Abdu'llah Quershi (d. AD 1499), Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab benefited immensely from the discourses of the former on the esoteric meaning of the Qur'anic verses. 'Abdu'l-Haqq describes his love for Shah 'Abdu'llah not unlike that of Maulana Rumi for Shams Tabriz. He refers to his commentary on the Qur'an which is pregnant with the meanings of love for the Prophet Muhammad against the background of the Qur'anic verses. So overwhelmed was 'Abdu'llah with love for Prophet that, in 'Abdu'l-Haqq's view, he could not explain the real meaning of his words. However, 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes several passages from 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's commentary to show his abundant love for the Prophet.

The essence of 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's interpretation of the Qur'an is strict adherence to the teachings of the Prophet alone which would enable the seeker to gain true happiness in this world and the Hereafter. But, according to him, this state could be gained only under the guidance of a perfect spiritual teacher who enjoys the company of the Prophet in spiritual terms. The key to understanding the *ma'irfah* of Allah and *Nur-i Muhammadi* [q.v.] was therefore provided by a perfect Shaikh through his strict adherence to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab died in 932/1525-6.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 380.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 208.

Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wali: He belonged to Turfan in Turkistan. He performed *hajj* and during his stay in Medina obtained *sanad* in *Hadis* from Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan. Thereafter he left for Kashmir. He stayed with Mulla Qwamu'd-Din for a longer period and granted *sanad* in *Hadis* to his host. In 1170/1756-7 Sukhjeevan Mal had him murdered on the charge of being the prince of Balkh. It is said that even after his death the Hajji's tongue continued to recite one of the Attributes of Allah, *Ya Samad*.

Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wali lies buried at the town of Pattan in the Valley.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 348.

Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar: After becoming the disciple of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din, this grandson of Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar received intense training in the recitation of *zikr* and *maraqaba* of the Kubrawiyya order. His brother sent him to Akbarabad on business for the family. Overcome with divine love, he wore the dress of a *qalandar* and left for Mecca. Returning from *hajj* to Kashmir, he met his *murshid* and spent six months in his service. Following the death of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din, Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar secluded himself in a cave at the village of Panzan and resorted to *chillas* forty times.

On 12 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1172/13 November 1758 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar died and was buried at 'Alikadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 342-3.

hajj: Pilgirmage to Mecca, obligatory for a Muslim once in his life, if he has the means.

Hajji 'Atiqu'llah Qadiri: A grandson of Mir Afzal Andrabi who guided him in *suluk*, he along with Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din Naqshbandi played an important role in generating social awareness about famine and rising prices in the Kashmir valley. As a result of social tension and food riots, the Mughal *subehdar*, Afrasiyab Khan, torched many houses at Zaina Kadal in the city. Subsequently, he summoned Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din and Hajji 'Atiqu'llah to his *darbar* along with their supporters. Unmindful of the consequences, 'Atiqu'llah angrily voiced his concern over the sad plight of the famine-stricken people. Enraged at what was termed insolence, the Mughal *subehdar* gave orders for his execution.

In 1159/1746 Hajji 'Atiqu'llah Qadiri was buried at the graveyard of Saiyid Mansur in the *mohalla* of Zaldagar in Srinagar.

Diddamari (US), p. 437.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 79.

Hajji Ahmad Qari: He was the son and *khalifa* of Makhdum 'Abbas Multani, a descendant of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Multani. He learnt the Qur'an by heart and after learning exoteric sciences, turned to Sufism. At the prime of his youth, he renounced the world for some period and was always seen with a black blanket on his shoulders. Afterwards he travelled extensively. He went on *hajj*, and then reached Lahore via Iran. During his stay in Lahore he learnt the art of reciting the Qur'an from Shaikh Muhammad Mah Roshan with the aim of imparting his skills in *qira* to seekers. He met Baba Dawud Khaki who was then in Lahore on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Sufis. Khaki persuaded him to accompany him to Kashmir. On reaching Srinagar, after meeting Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he settled in Kashmir and married the daughter of Shaikh Hasan Laloo.

Hajji Ahmad Qari's mission in Kashmir was not simply to disseminate the teachings of his order but also to guide many seekers in *'ilmu'l-qira*. He avoided meeting visitors and made himself available to earnest seekers during the time scheduled for the teaching of the Qur'an. Ghazi Khan Chak, the Shia ruler of Kashmir, was a follower. Once Sultan offered him a thousand *ashrafis*, but the Hajji refused.

Hajji Ahmad Qari died on 8 Ramazan 969/12 May 1562 and lies buried at Qutbu'd-Dinpura in Srinagar.

Waqi'at-i Kashmir (U), pp. 218-19.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 204.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir.*

Hajji Baba-i Qadiri: A wealthy trader belonging to the Katju family, he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shah Ni'matu'llah Qadiri (d. 1077/1666-7) of Rajmahal. Authorized to enrol disciples, Baba Qadiri left no stone unturned to disseminate the teachings of his order within the framework of the *Sunnah*. He went on *hajj* at the age of sixty. For several years he served as a sweeper at Medina until the Prophet appearing to him in a vision and advised him to return to Kashmir and marry.

On reaching home Baba-i Qadiri led a married life and dedicated the remainder of his life to the popularizing of the *Shari'ah*. He also crusaded against the *bid'a*.

On 14 Sha'ban 1066/28 May 1656 Baba-i Qadiri died. He is entombed near the cemetery of Bulbul Shah in Srinagar. The chronogram *satun-i din uftad* (The pillar of religion fell) testifies to the contribution of Haja Baba-i Qadiri to the religious life of the city of Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 185-6.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 237-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 257.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 199.

Hajji Gagan Shuryani, Shaikh: A descendant of the Pir-i Kabir, Hajji Gagan reportedly performed *hajj* seven times. During his last pilgrimage, the Hajji was divinely inspired to enter the discipleship of a *malamati*, Shaikh 'Isa Mashwani. Finding a jar of wine in the cell of Shaikh 'Isa, the Hajji was outraged. But the *malamati* Shaikh caught hold of the Hajji and poured the wine down his throat. Immediately he became an ecstatic (*majzub*). He gave up wearing clothes, rarely performed *namaz*, shaved his head, beard and eyebrows in the manner of a *qalandar*.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 374b-375b.

Hajji Ibrahim Muhaddis Qadiri: Son of a Sufi called Shaikh Dawud, he was born at Manikpur near Allahabad. He performed *hajj* several times, took lessons on *Hadis* from Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din 'Alqami (a disciple of an eminent *Hadis* scholar, Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Suyuti), Shaikh Muhammad Bakri Shafi'i in Cairo, and Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi in Mecca. His visit to Syria brought him in close touch with many Sufis, *qalandars* included. He spent over twenty-four years outside India in pursuit of knowledge and spiritual illumination. After his return home, he settled in Agra. His lectures on *Hadis* and *Fiqh* proved immensely advantageous to innumerable scholars. He died in 1001/1593 in Agra at the age of eighty-six.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 389.

Hajji Bahram: He belonged to a family of carpenters. After being initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, Hajji Bahram led the life of an ascetic. He did not marry, lived in seclusion, observed regular fasts and abstained from meat. His austerities reduced him to a sekeleton. In spite of the fact that he did not receive any offerings from his devotees, he managed to survive with the support of his brother, a carpenter, who took care of his frugal needs in the evening when he used to break his fast. Once the governor of Aurangzeb, Hafizu'llah Khan (1685-9), offered him fifty rupees as *nazr*. After a great deal of persuasion, the Hajji accepted just one rupee.

Notwithstanding Hajji Bahram's self-denial, he performed *hajj.* He died at the age of 90 in 1100/1688-9 and was buried at the village of Machhipura in the *pargana* of Uttar in Kashmir. But such was the faith of the folk in his spirituality that, after some days, some of his ardent devotees took out his corpse from the original place of his burial and buried it at the village of Wuhpura.

Diddamari relates several stories of his *murshid's* (Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang) meetings with Hajji Bahram which speak not only of his spiritual calibre but a deeper understanding of the Qur'an from the perspective of a Sufi. Once he quoted the Qur'anic verse: "Your providence is promised in the heavens" in praise of such seekers as did not waste their best time on this planet in just earning their livelihood.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 157-60.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 311-13.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 240.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 222-3.

Hajji Fateh Muhammad Sialkoti: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Usman Jalandhari who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Khwaja Baqi Billah. During his stay in Kashmir, Muhammad Murad Tang benefited from his spiritual guidance.

Fateh Muhammad Sialkoti died in 1100/1688-9 and is entombed in Sialkot.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 90-1.

Hajji Gada: He was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Mulla Shah. He travelled in many countries and lies entombed in Baramulla, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 301.

Hajji Gana'i: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Hajji Ibrahim Adham: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad, his original home was Balkh.

Ibrahim Adhami's extensive travels in the Muslim world brought him to Srinagar during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Although himself a Sufi, he was a great admirer of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi with whom he entered into a dialogue on spiritual matters. It is unfortunate that his compilation, *Maqamat*, the earliest source on Sufism in Kashmir, is not extant. Saiyid 'Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, often alludes to Adhami's work in his description of Nuru'd-Din's role in the history of Sufism in Kashmir. Significantly, the author of *Maqamat* is popularly known as Baba Adhami, understandably for his association with the founder of the Rishi order.

Baba Adhami died in 841/1437 and is entombed at Sha'irwari in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, ff. 19b, 32a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 90.

Hajji Muhammad: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He was known for his goodness and lies entombed somewhere in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Hajji Muhammad Miskin: He was a *khalifa* of Shah Abu'l-Baqa (d. 1136/1723-4). Little is known about him except that he was a Naqshbandiyya Sufi of intrinsic qualities.

Muhammad Miskin lies buried in Baramulla, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Hajji Muhammad Qadiri, Shaikh: See Naushah Ganj Baksh.

Hajji Muhammad Salih: Initiated by Miyan Mir Lahori, he travelled the Muslim world and is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 301.

Hajji Mustafa: He was a native of Sirhind and a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Lahore, Miyan Mir. Originally a potter, the Hajji used to remain so much engrossed in meditation in the best tradition of his *pir* that once, while being overwhelmed by the feeling of God's presence, he could not complete his obligatory prayers. He died in 1039/1629.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, p. 141.

Hajji Mustafa Rumi Naqshbandi: Originally from Rum (modern Constantinople), he was a disciple of Shaikh Taju'd-Din Makki who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Baqi. He came to Kashmir as a traveller from Mecca in early eighteenth century. After spending time at Saraf Kadal in Srinagar, he moved to the village of Hanjak where he laid out a garden, besides constructing a house and *khanqah*. He lived in this house until his death and lies buried in his garden near the *takia* of Din Shah Majzub.

According to Hasan, Hajji Mustafa neither enrolled nor trained any disciple. But Diddamari names Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Buchh and 'Abdu'l-

Gani Lankar as his disciples. Throughout his stay in Kashmir, the Hajji remained steadfast in his practice of the Naqshbandiyya *nigahdasht* (q.v.) and *yadasht* (q.v.).

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 107.

Diddamri, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 282.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 262.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 209.

Hajji Najmu'd-Din: A *khalifa* of Khawaja Muhammad Sulaiman, he was born in 1819 in Jhunjhunu near Jaipur. The Hajji was initiated as a Chistiyya by Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman. He had the distinction of becoming his *pir's khalifa* at the young age of twenty. Attracting the local Muslims and Hindus from Rajasthan as a hermit living in Shaikhawati, the Hajji wrote profusely in Persian and Urdu. He also freely used Rajasthani words and phrases. His work was mostly related to the teachings of the Sufis of the Chistiyya order. He owed his popularity to his poetry on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, composed in both Urdu and Rajasthani. Hajji Najmu'd-Din died on 19 Ramazan 1287/13 December 1870. To his *khalifas* goes the credit of reviving the glory of the days of Khwaja Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri by establishing their *khanqahs* in all the important towns of Rajasthan.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 369-75.

Hajji Ni'matu'llah: The grandson of Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi, he obtained guidance in exoteric and esoteric sciences from his own relatives and excelled in both the fields of knowledge. His teacher in *Hadis* was Mulla Amanu'llah.

Ni'matu'llah died in Kashmir in 1182/1768-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 352.

Hajji Ni'matu'llah Sirhindi: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir of Lahore, he was called a Hajji without ever undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca. In fact, when he was about to leave for Mecca, his *pir* advised him not to travel (probably owing to ill health), and vouchsafed him certain invocations that led him to call himself a Hajji. He died in 1017/1608-9.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 33-5.

Hajji Nizmau'd-Din Forahi: One of the acknowledged Kashmiri Sufis of his time, he went on *hajj* after mastering exoteric and esoteric sciences and met several Sufis and *masha'ikh* during his travels. On his return home, he secluded himself in his house and never came out of its precincts. It is said that he did not even attend the funeral prayers of his son. It was his usual habit to donate his copies of the Qur'an.

Writing in both poetry and prose, one of Nizamu'd-Din's works deals with *tasawwuf* and *Tawhid*. In this work he was critical of such Saiyids as seem to have gained notoriety for their evil deeds. This explains why he likenened such particular individuals to the wolves and Yazid. Although his contemporary, Sa'id Saiyid Andrabi, took umbrage at the remarks of Nizamu'd-Din against the Saiyids, he did not change his opinion about Saiyids of ignoble disposition.

Nizamu'd-Din died on 29 Zilhaj 1261/29 December 1845. He was laid to rest at Fauraha situated in Kamraz, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 392-3.

Hajji Rishi: A disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi, he lies buried near his tomb at Bumzu in Kashmir. His role model where the practice of austerities is concerned was Baba Bamu'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Hajji Salih Kashmiri: He was a disciple of Miyan Mir who won the admiration of his *pir* for his assiduous devotion to Sufism. It was under Miyan Mir's *khalifa*, Mulla Shah, that he perfected his knowledge of esoteric sciences. Dara-Shukoh writes about the esteem in which the Hajji was held by Mulla Shah for his righteousness. He would often travel to Lahore from Kashmir in order to converse with Mulla Shah on matters of spiritual concern. He died in Lahore exactly 40 days after the death of Miyan Mir (Jamada Awwal 1045/1635) and lies buried outside the mausoleum of the latter.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), pp. 173-4.

Hajji Shah Muhammad: Little is known about him except that he was an itinerant Sufi who died in Delhi at an old age. Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim's conversation with him during the period of his illness points to the latter's belief in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 89.

Hajji Shuhrat: A disciple of Shah Ni'matu'llah (d. 1077/1666-7) of Bengal, he served the cause of the Qadiriyya order in Bengal. Emperor Aurangzeb received him warmly and assigned him a village in Mathura where he settled permanently.

Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Mir'at-i Jahan-numa*, Aligarh MS, f. 323a.

Hajji Sulaiman: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan

Mir and lies entombed near his *murshid's* mausoleum in Lahore.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, (U), p. 178.

Hajji Uwais, Shaikh: A descendant of Shaikh Wutu, the Pir-i Kibar, living in the tribal area around Peshawar and Qasur (near Lahore), he rose to spiritual prominence as a Chistiyya Sufi among the Shuryani and Kweshgi tribes since he was believed to have obtained guidance from the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar. He died in 1016/1608.

'Abdu'llah Khweshgi Qasuri, *Akhbaru'l-auliya' min lisanu'l-asfiya*, Calcutta, 273, ff. 5b-15b.

Hajji Witar (Utar) Baba: He was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki who was known for his austerities. As a Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Witar Baba observed fasts during the day and stayed awake at night in order to win the countenance of Allah. He went on *hajj* on foot, and is said to have braved the hazards of the journey with great fortitude.

Witar Baba's tomb lies at the village of Atthora in the *pargana* of Kruhin in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 197.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 214.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 190.

Haka Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi of 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Hakim 'Inayatu'llah Gaani: He was a favourite disciple and *khalifa* of Muhammad Sharif Taiyib. Diddamari, a contemporary of the Hakim, is all praise for his versatile qualities.

He died in Kashmir in 1125/1713.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 372-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 431-2.

Hakim Nuru'd-Din Mattu: He belonged to a noble family. He received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Shah Fazlu'llah. Later, he enjoyed the company of Shah Nizamu'd-Din Qalandar and, under the latter's influence, became an enraptured soul.

Nuru'd-Din Mattu died on 18 Sh'aban 1241/ 28 March 1826 and was buried in the *mohalla* of Saiyidpura near Hasanabad in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 389.

Hakim Shah Majzub: Nothing is known about his spiritual mentor except that he became an ecstatic during the days of his youth. After satiating his wanderlust, he finally settled at Hawal in Srinagar. His abode, still known as the Takia-i Hakim Shah, became a rendezvous of the needy, poor, *saliks* and even ulama during his lifetime by virtue of his spirituality and wisdom. Although he responded to the requests of worldly people by way of hints in a state of intoxication, he would enter into a meaningful dialogue with seekers after the Truth.

Hakim Shah died in 1117/1705-6 and his tomb at Hawal continues to remain a venerated site.

Tang *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, pp. 214-15.

Diddamri, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 347.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 469.

Hakim Shah Sani: He was a goldsmith jailed for committing theft. Overwhelmed with a spiritual experience during his long internment, he lapsed into unconsciousness. Subsequently, after being released from the prison, he began to roam about in the streets and lanes of Srinagar. After his wanderings were over, he settled at Gojwara. People flocked to his abode for the fulfilment of their mundane wishes.

Col. Miyan Singh, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, was a devotee of Hakim Shah.

He died on 2 Zilhaj 1261/2 December 1845 and was buried in Gujjwara.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 476.

Hakim 'Usman Shattari: Rizvi wrongly describes him as the son of Shaikh 'Ayni but he was a son of Shaikh 'Isa bin Shaikh Ibrahim Siddiqui who hailed from Bubakan village in Siwistan (Sindh). As the noted *khalifa* of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, 'Usman Shattari enrolled many disciples of scholarly calibre. He migrated to Burhanpur from Gujarat in 983/1575-6. There he lectured for nearly twenty-seven years and a good number of scholars benefited from his knowledge and insights. Akbar's invasion of Burhanpur in 1008/ 1599-1600 forced him to seek shelter in a forest near the village held by him as *madad-i ma'ash*. Unfortunately local tribesmen murdered him and his *dervish* followers.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 407-8.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 167.

Hakim Masihu'z-Zaman: He was a Shi'i scholar who, after being initiated as Qadiriyya by Mulla-Shah ceased to be a Shia.

Tawakkul-Beg, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, f. 66a-b.

Hal: A state or condition. A term used by the Sufis for those thoughts that "come upon the heart of man without his intention or desire, such as sorrow, or fear, or pleasure, or desire, or lust. If these conditions are stable and intransient, they are called *malkah* or *maqam*; but if they are transient and fleeting, they are called *hal*."

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Halim Ibrahimabadi: As the leading disciple of Shaikh Sufi, a well-known Chistiyya Sufi of Jahangir's time, Halim Ibrahimabadi mastered the *Fusus al-Hikam* under his *pir*. [See Shaikh Sufi.]

Hall-i ashghal-i Shattar: It was written by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari. [See 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari, Shaikh.]

Halmat Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. As a Rishi, he observed fasts regularly and spent sleepless nights in remembrance of his Creator. He did not eat meat and, according to Tang, is said to have a little knowledge of the *Shari'ah*. For many years he secluded himself in a cave at Humhama in the vicinity of Srinagar. After coming out of the cave, he founded a mosque, laid out a garden near his one-time abode, and planted trees. His shrine at the abode of his worship is a place of veneration for the residents of Humhama and the surrounding areas.

Tang, *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, RPD. No. 19, f. 61b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 279-80.

Ham'at: Written by Shah Waliu'llah, it deals with the Sufi orders and contains a discussion on the exoteric and the esoteric dimensions of Islam. The Shah describes Sufism in terms of *ihsan*. A Sufi works in the presence of God either in terms of witnessing Him in front of him or, in the belief of being witnessed by Him. For him Sufism was synomynous with *ihsan*. His concept of a Sufi was that of a person who strictly followed the *Shari'ah* in his everyday life in accordance with the laws interpreted by one of the schools of *Fiqh*. He was of the view that a Sufi should not involve himself in the quibbling debates of jurists.

His description of the Unity of Action (*Tawhid-i Af'ali*) and the Unity of Attributes (*Tawhid-i Sifati*) and the Unity of Being (*Tawhid-i Zat*) is excellent. These were stages in the Sufic progression to *jazb* and not necessarily the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Unlike the Mujaddid, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he did not regard the *Wahdat al-Wujud* as merely a preliminary but the final stage of the Sufic development. Shah Waliu'llah emphasized that the position of the adherents of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was comprehensible only in correctly perceiving *ibda'*, *khalq*, and *tajalli* in relation to the Universal Self (*Nafs-i Kulliya*). All forms of existence in their multiplicity originated from, according to Shah Waliu'llah, *Nafs-i Kulliya*. The process of origination known as *ibda'*, being different from creation (*khalq*) and emanation (*fayz*), was, therefore unfathomable. It was this mysterious process that was responsible for the appearance of the *Nafs-i Kulliya*. The emergence of the *Nafs-i Kulliya* was indicative of the overflowing existence of the power of the Absolute from the pure non-being. Shah Waliu'llah asserted that the Unity (*Wahdat*), experienced by most Sufis in multiplicity, was not anything but the unity of the *Nafs-i Kulliya* with the Absolute. He therefore understood the universe as God's theophany (*tajalli*) rather than God in his unrevealing eternity and single entity. The theophany related to Being (*Tajalli-i Wujudi*) was thus related to the manifestation of Being in various forms and predictions as a process of external activity in contrast to the theophany concerned with Vision (*Tajalli-i Shuhudi*) which was "revealed to the mystic heart in different colours and ways in the event of mystic drawing himself towards God with all the force he could muster". The emerging point is that theophanies of every kind including the *wujudi* and *shuhudi* experiences were different from the most exalted form of theophany (*al-Tajalli al-A'zam*) which was neither God nor different from God. Only the descent of God in the theophany of His Attribute, Merciful (Rahman), revealed the reality of the *Tajalli-i Wujudi* to Shah Waliu'llah in a state of perfect devotion to Him. He believed that he had assimilated the theophany of Rahman in a perfect form as every part of his being was infused with it as a rose was infused in rosewater. Such an experience as well perception was indescribable in words; so Shah Waliu'llah could only acknowlege that he realized God was manifesting Himself to him in all His majesty and in distinct ways.

The Urdu translation of *Ham'at* appeared in Lahore in 1944.

Hama Ust: 'All is He', an ecstatic expression of those Sufis who believe in the Unity of Being (*Wahdat al-Wujud*). *Hama az Ust*, 'Everything is from Him' is the utterance of the sober Sufis.

Hama'il: "Things suspended." An amulet or charm.

Hamid bin Fazlu'llah, Shaikh: He was known as Dervish Jamali Kanbo Dihlawi. Belonging to the family of the Kanbo merchants that gained considerable prominence during the reign of the Lodis, he lost his father while still young. The orphaned Hamid managed to obtain a formal religious education and turned to poetry. He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Samau'd-Din while in Ranthambhor. On the advice of his *pir*, Hamid changed his *nom de plume* from Jalali (Awe-inspiring) to Jamali (Lovable).

Jamali's fame as a poet spread as far as Herat. He travelled to Mecca and Medina. From there he visited the Maghrib, the Yemen, Palestine, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Khurasan. On his way to Delhi, Jamali visited Ceylon to see the footprint of Adam and reached the capital. He then reached Herat before Jami's death on 9 November 1492, and had a discussion with the great poet on the latter's favourite subject, Iraqi's *Lama'at*. The author of *Afsana-i Shahan* writes that Jamali was accustomed to travelling in the manner of a *qalandar*, daubed with ashes and with skin wrapped around his waist. Maulana Jami on seeing Jamali in the same dress asked what was the difference between him and an ass. Jamali replied that the difference was that of the skin worn by him. When Jami learnt on questioning that the visitor had come from Delhi, he asked him to recite any of the celebrated Jamali's verses. Jamali sang: "My body is smeared with the dust of Thy street, That too is torn down to the knees." Realizing that he was talking to Jamali, Maulana Jami showed immense respect to the distinguished visitor. The Maulana then asked Jamali to explain to him the meaning of such verses of Amir Khusraw and Amir Hasan as contained Hindi words.

On returning home, Jamali found a great patron of his talents in Sultan Sikandar. However, the latter's son, Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26), proved to be very unkind to his father's favourites. One such person was Sikandar's wazir, Miyan Bhuwa, executed under the orders of the new ruler. Jamali wrote the latter's elegy, notwithstanding abortive attempts of the new court favourites to have him punished. Jamali celebrated Babur's conquest of India in his panegyric on the new ruler and the crown prince, Humayun. He died on 10 Zu'lqa'da 942/1 May 1536 while accompanying Humayun during his Gujarat campaign.

A prolifc writer, Jamali wrote *Siyaru'l-'Arifin*, containing a number of autobiograhphic references and stories about Indian Sufis who had lived or travelled various parts of the Muslim world, as well as a *Diwan*, and a *masnawi* called *Mihr wa Mah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 392-3.

Muhammad Kabir, *Afsana-i Shahan*, British Museum, MS, Rieu, I, 243b, ff. 36b-37a.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, I, p. 347.

Hamid Kabir, Saiyid: He was the son of Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din and the grandson of Makhdum Jahaniyan. As the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, his generosity was proverbial.

Najmau'd-Din Yusuf, *Mahbubiyya*, India Office, DP, ff. 92a-93b.

Hamid Qalandar, Maulana: He is the celebrated author of the *Khyar al-Majalis* who recorded the discourses of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh in this work. Hamid Qalandar first met Nasiru'd-Din in 754/1353-4. Encouraged by the Chistiyya Sufi to write an account of his conversations, the *malfuzat* was regularly supervised. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din died in 1356. Consequently, Hamid Qalandar wrote his *malfuzat* with a certain degree of nostalgia.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), 200-7.

Hamid Qadiri, Shaikh: The son of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq (d.942/1535), he was initiated into Sufism by his grandfather Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani. He was very popular among the Muslims of Uch. A large number of gifts and grants received by him were given away for the public good. He was enraged when Emperor Akbar's Sadru's-Sudur, Shaikh Gadai Kamboh, summoned him to Agra from Uch. The subsequent disgrace of Shaikh Gada'i and the fall of his patron, Bairam Khan, from power was attributed by many Sufis and pious men to Shaikh Hamid's maledictions. He died in Multan in 978/1571.

Akbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 362.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, p. 91.

Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 53-4, 83, 168, 233.

——*Sufism*, II, pp. 59-60.

Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Qazi: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi in India. Son of 'Ata'u'llah Mahmud, his first name was Muhammad bin 'Atta. After his father's death in his hometown in Bukhara, his family migrated to Delhi, before 1200. Hamidu'd-Din was offered the post of the Qazi of Nagaur. He served in that capacity for three years. At Nagaur, Hamidu’d-Din attended a lecture of the Bada’un-born scholar, Maulana Raziu’d-Din Hasan Saghani, on a book of *Hadis*, entitled *Misbah-al Duja*.

Qazi Hamidu’d-Din left Delhi for Baghdad after resigning his post. He met Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Suhrawardi in Baghdad who initiated him as a Suhrawardiyya. His meeting with Qutbu’d-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki in Baghdad resulted in a cementing of the bonds of spiritual friendship between the two. From Baghdad, he reached Medina and, after staying there for over a year, visited Mecca. Leaving Mecca after three years, he reached Delhi where Khwaja Qutbu’d-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki had already settled.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Suhrawardiyya Sufis to *sama‘*, Hamidu’d-Din had a passion for attending such gatherings, thanks to his friendship with Bakhtiyar Kaki. In spite of the efforts of the ulama to persuade Sultan Shamsu’d-Din Iltutmish to legislate against *sama‘*, Qazi Hamidu’d-Din is said to have silenced them all at the *mahzar* arranged under the orders of the Sultan. What frustrated the ulama was the admirable support lent by Minhaj Siraj, himself a Qazi with a deep knowledge of Islamic law, to Hamidu’d-Din.

Qazi Hamidu’d-Din was a Sufi of versatile talents. He wrote the *Lawa’ih* (Flashes of Light) which is extinct. The importance of this book as one of the most significant works on Sufism can be gleaned from the fact that Baba Farid used it as a main source for imparting lessons to his chief disciples. Even the letters of the Qazi, addressed to Baba Farid, were highly valued by the Chistiyya Sufi. Once the Baba wished to participate in *sama‘* but no musician was present. Asking Maulana Badru’d-Din to bring him the Qazi’s letters, Baba Farid fell into an ecstatic state the moment he started reading them. In particular he seems to have been moved by this verse:

Aan aql kuja ki dar kamal-i tu rasad,
Aan ruh kuja ki dar jalal-i tu rasad,
Geeram ki tu parda bar girifta zi Jamal,
Aan deeda kuja ki dar Jamal-i tu rasad

How can I gain that intellect which can perceive Thy perfection?
How can I get that spirit which can comprehend Thy Majesty?
I know that Thou removeth the veil from Thy beauty,
Where can I get that eye which can perceive it?

Other works written by Hamidu’d-Din were the *‘Ishqiyya*, the *Tawali’ al-Shumus*, and the *Risala min Kalam*. In his *‘Ishqiyya*, Qazi Hamidu’d-Din describes love as the source of all that exists. Lover and Beloved mirror each other notwithstanding their separate identities. What makes Sufis present everywhere is their state of being lost in Being. This state also makes Sufis a part of God’s attributes. The extinction of ‘I’, therefore, results in the predominance of ‘He’. Hamidu’d-Din’s *Tawali‘ al-Shumus* gives a definitive exposition of the names of Allah. Of all the names of Allah, the greatest in his view is Huwa (He) who according to the Qur’an is the One. “Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; And there is none like unto Him.” Qur’an, CXII.

Qazi Hamidu’d-Din Nagauri’s influence on his contemporary Sufis seems to have been tremendous. Qutbu’d-Din Kashani, an eminent scholar, believed that all that he and his students had read, as well as what they had not read, were to be found in the treatises of the Qazi. His pithy sayings were long taken to heart by Sufis. Among his prominent disciples, though he enrolled a few, were Shaikh Ahmad Naharwani, Shaikh ‘Ainu’d-Din, Shaikh Shahi Muy-tab (hair-rope maker) and Khwaja Mahmud Muyina-Duz (tailor of Fur).

He died in 625/1227-8.

‘Abdu’l-Haqq gives a prominent place to the Qazi in his celebrated work for his penetrating and seminal ideas on *‘ishq, zikr, huwwa,* and *Nur-i Ilahi.*

Fawa’idu’l-Fu’ad, pp. 128-241.
Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 45, 276.
Suru’s-Sudur, pp. 61, 273.
Minhaj Siraj, *Tabqat-i Nasiri*, Calcutta, 1873-81, pp. 165-70.
Isami, *Futuhu’s-Salatin*, p. 114.
Jamali, *Siyaru’l-‘Arifin*, pp. 147-51.
‘Abdu’l-Haqq, *Akhbaru’l-Akhyar*, pp. 76-94.
Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 38-9.
‘Abdu’r-Rahman Chisti, *Miratu’l-Asrar* (U), pp. 726-9.

Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, Shaikh: Born in 900/1494 at Tujjar, in the modern district of Baramulla in Kashmir, he was the son of ‘Usman Raina. His father was known for his love of learning and the care with which he maintained the *khanqah* of Shaikh Isma‘il Kubrawi at Srinagar. At this seminary Shaikh Fatu’llah, the son of Shaikh Isma‘il Kubrawi, taught Hamza Makhdum for a year, while he learnt the Qur’an and its commentary from Maulana Dervish. At another institution called Madrasahtu'l-Daru'sh-Shifa, founded by Sultan Hasan Shah, he studied books on *Fiqh* and some works of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani under the guidance of Maulana Lutfu'llah.

Popularly known in Kashmir as "Beloved of the World" (Mahbubu'l-'Alam), Shaikh Hamza Makhdum was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Saiyid Jamal'ud-Din Bukhari. Before his departure for Delhi from Kashmir, the Saiyid bestowed the *silsilah-nama* and *ijazat-nama* on his Kashmiri disciple who later played a significant role in popularizing the Suhrawardiyya order in the Valley. His disciples included such prominent personalities as Baba Dawud Khaki, Miram Bazaz, Baba 'Ali Raina, Khwaja Hasan Qari , Khwaja Ishaq Qari, and Haidar Tulmuli.

Hamza Makhdum's role in the dissemination of the teachings of the Suhrawardiyya order has been discussed at length in hagiographies by his disciples. From these accounts, he emerges as a Sufi of great eminence whose teachings moulded the outlook of Kashmiris for centuries after his death. The Shaikh emphasized the supreme importance of *zikr* and considered it to be a panacea for diseases of the heart. He himself spent long periods of time in meditation and *zikr*, and advised his followers to follow his example. Like the Suhrawardiyya Sufis of the yore, he did not approve of *sama'*. Such was his aversion for music that once after he happened to hear *sama'* while on his way to offer prayers, he performed his ablutions afresh.

Significantly, Hamza Makhdum was also responsible for popularizing the Rishi order in Kashmir. He visited the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi in the humility and sombreness of a seeker after the Truth. When Mulla 'Ali Raina wished to become his disciple, Shaikh Hamza advised him to undertake the pilgrimage of Nuru'd-Din's shrine at Chrar-i Sharif. The Shaikh, though rooted in the Suhrawardiyya traditions, had imbibed in his person the traditions of the Rishi order. He remained celibate through his life and allowed some of his disciples to practice vegetarianism.

Shaikh Hamza practised *zikr-i chhahar zarb, habs-i dam* and *hosh dar dam.*

Shaikh Hamza died on 24 Safar 984/23 May 1576 at the age of 84. His tomb, on the slope of Koh-i Maran (Hariparbat hillock) in Srinagar, continues to be one of the major centres of pilgrimage for the Kashmiris. Some of his devotees make it a point to visit his tomb regularly on either Mondays or Thursdays. Likewise, there are some who visit his shrine for thirteen days continuously for the fulfilment of their mundane wishes.

'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 592.

Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD Nos. 741 and 1108.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 500.

Hasan Qari, *Rahatu'l-Talibin*, RPD No. 501.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497.

Muhammad Siddique Niyazmand, *Hafi Ganj-i Sultani*, Srinagar, 1994.

Mohibbu'l Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans.*

Ishaq, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Haqa'iq-i Hindi: Compiled in 1566 by Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgrami, it is a Persian dictionary of Hindi songs popular among the Sufis. Divided into three sections, the first offers a mystic interpretation of Hindi words used in *Dhrupad* or a certain kind of musical note; the second gives a symbolic explanation of the terms used in Vaishnavite songs in Braj Bhasha, the *lingua franca* of the Mathura region; and the third expounds the words used in Hindi Sufi poetry from the standpoint of Sufism.

haqiqa: Mystic truth; reality. The main goal of a Sufi is to reach the stage of the divine reality which is possible only by following the *Shari'ah*.

Haqiqatu'l-Muhammadiyya: Written in Arabic by Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, it throws useful light on the attributes of God, the progress of the soul, the mystical interpretation of the Arabic alphabet, and classes of Sufis. Its Persian translation by the Shaikh's *khalifa*, Miyan 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (date of translation Sha'ban 1069/April-May 1659), is available in the Khuda Bakhsh Library. Rizvi says that a good copy of the Arabic original is in Tashkent.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 13.

Haqiqi: As opposed to that which is *majazi*, or figurative.

Haqq: truth or reality, according to the Qur'an (18/29) "The truth is from your Lord"; in other words, God alone is the reality of realities. The essential reality of a Sufi is that his every action is determined by *ihsan*. The Prophet's saying: *likulli zi haqqin haqiqah*, "to every real thing there corresponds a divine reality (or truth)" also needs to be read in this context.

Haqqu'l-Yaqin: "A conviction of the truth." A term used by the Sufis for a state in which the seeker after truth has, in thought and reflection, positive evidence of his extinction and of his being incorporated in the essence of God.

Haqqu'n-Nas: "The right of men." A term in law implying the same as Haqqu'l-'Abd. The Sufis have always laid stress on protecting the rights of men, irrespective of differences in religion, culture or race.

Hara: It is a name of Mahadev or Siva, and of Agni. Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri has also used the name Hara (Har) in his poetry for the dissemination of Islamic teaching among the unlettered folk.

Hardi Rishi: Originally a disciple of Baba Rajabu'd-Din, he later received further spiritual training from the latter's disciple, Nauroz Rishi. After Nauroz's death, he became the head of the Rishis at Nagnaran in Martand, Kashmir.

Hardi Rishi always remained busy in doing good for the people. He himself cultivated land and urged his disciples to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow. Such was his insistence on combining asceticism with agricultural service to God that he would say that if the Rishis were not strong enough to do much in respect of bringing more and more land under cultivation, the least they could do was to plough daily an area equal to the area of the size of their prayer-carpet.

Hardi Rishi's date of death is not known, though he lived in the second half of the fifteenth century. His tomb is situated in Nagnaran.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 42a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 148a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 83b-84a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 53b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 119, 620n.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 258.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 106.

Hasan Afghan, Khwaja: A disciple of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Multan. Although illiterate, Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya held his disciple in high esteem, so much so that he used to remark that "if God asked him what he had brought from the world, he would present Hasan as a gift". Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya relates an interesting story about Hasan Afghan who once wandering through the streets decided to offer congregational prayer in the nearest mosque. No sooner had he completed his prayers than he told the *imam*: "Khwaja! you commenced *namaz* and I followed you. In your thoughts you travelled from here to Delhi, did some shopping, and then went to Khurasan and Multan, then back to the mosque. Unfortunately I had to wander with you. What sort of *namaz* is this?" Nizamu'd-Din Auliya is reported to have related another story about the spiritual state of Hasan Afghan: "Once a mosque was being built in a village. Khwajah Hasan reached there and asked the builders to fashion the arch in a position that faced the *Ka'bah*. 'This', he said and suggested a certain direction. There was a *danishmand* present there. He challenged the suggestion and argued that the *Ka'bah* was in a different direction. This led to much argument between them. Khwaja Hasan asked the *danishmand* to face the direction he had suggested, and note it well. He did accordingly and saw the *Ka'bah* in the same direction as Khwajah Hasan had pointed out." Nizamu'd-Din Auliya then remarked: "He (Khwajah Hasan) was illiterate. People would come to him, put a piece of paper and tablet before him, write a few lines in prose and poetry in Arabic and Persian, adding one or more lines from the Qur'anic verses and ask him which of these lines were the verses of the Qur'an. He would point out the *Qur'anic* verses correctly. They would say that he had not read the Qur'an, how could he know that that it was the Qur'an? He would reply that he saw (a kind of) light in those lines, which he did not find in others."

Hasan Afghan died in 1291.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr., pp. 81-2, 129n.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 146.

Hasan 'Ajami, Shaikh: An eminent disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi Shaikh Ahmad Qushashi in Medina, having specialized in the *da'wat-i asma'* of the Shattariyyas. He studied under the guidance of a number of distinguished scholars and Sufis. He died in 1113/1701-2.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, pp. 186-7.

Hasan Barki, Shaikh: A native of the town of Bark, between Kabul and Qandhar, who came to Sirhind where he received direct guidance under Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he was entrusted with the spiritual care of Maulana Ahmad Barki (d. 1026/1617). However, after the latter's death, the

Mujaddid appointed Shaikh Hasan as his successor. He discharged his duties as a Naqshbandiyya Sufi to the satisfaction of his *pir*. His main contribution to the Naqshbandiyya order in the Kabul-Qandahar region was emphasis on strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* while following the Path.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 379-81.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 362-6.

Hasan Budla, Shaikh: He was the son of a wealthy man of Delhi. From his childhood, Shaikh Hasan was overcome with ecstasy and roamed the streets of Delhi naked. Even as a *majzub* he commanded the respect of the ulama and some of them are said to have seen him in their dreams assisting the Prophet Muhammad perform ablutions. Some *Hajji*s returning from Mecca even revealed that they had seen him in Ka'ba; this despite the fact that he never left Delhi. Shaikh Hasan was fond of *sama'*. Whatever he received as gifts was immediately distributed among the *qawwals* and the audience. He died in 964/1556-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 481-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 255-6.

Hasan Muhammad Chisti, Shaikh: Born in 929/1522-3, he was the son of Shaikh Ahmad. Considered to be the greatest Chistiyya in the early sixteenth century in Gujarat, Hasan Muhammad was popularly called Shaikh Miyanji. Initiated by his father as a Chistiyya, he was also initiated into the Qadiriyya, Nur Bakshiyya, Taifuriyya, and other orders by Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali, the son of Shaikh Nur Bakhsh. Sultan Muhammad III (950/1543–962/1554) assigned him the revenue of several villages which the Shaikh utilized for the construction of a mosque inside Ahmedabad city near Shahpur Gate. Completed in 973/1565-6 at a cost of 100,000 rupees, the mosque took eight years to finish. Shaikh Hasan Muhammad celebrated the *'urs* of Sufi *pirs* lavishly.

The Shaikh dedicated himself to teaching and training disciples in Sufism for twenty-seven years during his father's lifetime and for fourteen years after his death. Besides, he authored a commentary of the Qur'an entitled the *Tafsir-i Muhammadi*. He also wrote notes on the Qur'anic commentary of Baizawi.

He died on 28 Zu'lqa 'da 982/11 March 1575 leaving four sons and two daughters.

Mira't-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 75-6.

Hasan Sarmast, Shaikh: He was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi, who lived during Islam Shah Sur's reign.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 368.

Hasan Shah Majzub: He was a *qalandar* who wandered the streets and bazars of Srinagar barefoot. Whatever little is recorded about him relates to his popularity among the people as a *qalandar* of immense spiritual merits.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 212.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 465-6.

Hashim Khudawand Hadi, Saiyid: He came to Bijapur from Bukhara during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). He enrolled as a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi of Bijapur, Aminu'd-Din A'la and later became his *khalifa*. His *Chakki-nama* states in lucid terms the ontological link between God, the Prophet, the *pir*, and the woman at the grindstone. He died in 1704-5.

Makhzanu'l-Ansab as quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 74.

Hashim Khudawand Hadi, *Chakki-nama 'Irfan*, Dakhni MS Hyderabad, no. 93B, ff. 126b-127b.

Hashim Kishmi, Khwaja Muhammad: Son of Khwaja Muhammad Qasim Nu'mani, a Kubrawiyya Sufi and an *'alim* of Badakshan, he was drawn towards the Naqshbandiyyas early in his life. During his travels in India he spent time with Mir Muhammad Nu'man at Burhanpur. In 1031/1621-2 he went to Sirhind to become the disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. So impressed was his *pir* with Hashim Kishmi that he deputed him to Burhanpur where he proved himself to be more popular than Muhammad Nu'man, thanks to his literary skills and penchant for composing Sufi poetry. He authored the *Nasamatu'l-Quds min hada'iqu'l-uns* (q.v.) and *Zubdatu'l-Maqamat*. He also compiled the third volume of the *Maktubat* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

He died about 1053/1643.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 1-5.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 368-83.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 37.

Hashim Pir 'Alawi, Shah: Born in 1576-7 in the house of Qazi Burhanu'd-Din, his father was a wealthy judge whose holdings included a village in *in'am* worth Rs. 4,000. Hashim entered the discipleship of Wajihu'd-Din at an early age and was just fourteen years old at the death of his *pir*. After becoming the disciple of one of his deceased *pir's* older *murids*, Shah 'Abdu'llah Husaini, he lived like an ascetic in the best of Shattariyya traditions. Following his father's death in 1605-6, he gave away the family fortune, including the village in *in'am*, and afterward left Ahmedabad for Bijapur.

Hashim Pir enjoyed immense respect and popularity in Bijapur, not only because of his spirituality and social role, but also as a result of the events connected with his return journey to Bijapur from Mecca after performing *hajj* in 1626-7. It so happened that the Portuguese seized the ship he was travelling on. Thanks to the intervention of Sultan Ibrahim II, Hashim Pir was released. When Ibrahim II died in 1627, his successor Muhammad 'Adil Shah did not lag behind in showing respect to the Sufi. He even sought the Sufi's counsel on matters concerning the state. Such was the fame of Hashim Pir in Bijapur that one of his *khalifas* writes in *Ganj-i Asrar* that he had 5,500 disciples. Another *khalifa* of Hashim Pir attests to the social role of his pir in these words: "Every day a great number of men would come to that guide [Hashim] declaring that their poverty and unfortunate state had caused them to come to his service in want of relief. He would ask them if they wanted employment as domestic servants. Some said they would work for such-and-such a noble; others said they would work for anybody who would look after their welfare. And he [Hashim Pir] would express his willingness to write them letters of recommendation for employment. . . . And in every possible way he would take their pleas and stories to the king, the Wazir, or to whomever was necessary for the task."

Eaton rightly observes that Hashim Pir was "perhaps the only Sufi of Bijapur to employ his good favour with the court for truly constructive social ends." What is of further importance to note about him is that he valued exoteric learning so as not to feel embarrassed in the presence of the ulama. His deep knowledge of exoteric sciences enabled him to argue his viewpoint on the significance of *bai'at* in Sufism with considerable force.

Hashim was fond of *sama'* and *raqs* and defended this as a means to ecstasy within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*.

Hashim Pir exercised appreciable influence on the non-Muslim population of the seventeeth century. Under his influence, several non-Muslims renounced their ancestral religion and embraced Islam.

Hashim died in 1646. Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah constructed a massive mausoleum, the well-known Gol Gumbad, directly in the rear of Hashim Pir's *dargah* in the extreme eastern end of Bijapur.

Maqsudu'l-Murad, compiled by Shah Murad bin Saiyid Jalal. Persian MS (Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, Tasawwuf no. 335), pp. 8, 101 sqq. 122-6, 129.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 132 sqq.

Shah Na'imullah, *Ganj-i Asrar*, Persian MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Taswwuf no. 134).

Zubairi, *Basatinu's-Salatin*, pp. 331 sqq.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 118-22.

Hashiya Tarjamat al-Qur'an: It is a different commentary of Shaikh Muhibu'llah on his own exegesis of the Qur'an, titled *Tarjamat al-Kitab*. The commentary was written from the standpoint of a Sufi.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 18, 269.

Hasnatu'l-Muqarrabin: Authored by Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang in 1107/1695-6, about 15 years before he wrote *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, this work is repeatedly mentioned in the latter. It dealt with the miracles of the sons and *khalifas* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the grandfather of the author's *murshid*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi. It is not extant.

Tang, *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, RPD. No 19, f. 1b.

Hawa: "Desire, love; hankering after." A term used by the Sufis for lust, or unholy desire. Hawa-i-Nafsani, "the lust of the flesh".

Hawajim: "Assaults, shocks." A term used by the Sufis for those thoughts of the heart, which enter it without desire or intention.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hawajis: "Thoughts". A term used by the Sufis for the worldly thoughts of the heart.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hayat-i Rahim: Written by Abu'l Amin Pir Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur, a well-known Kashmiri poet, this work throws light on Sufism in Kashmir. Printed at Lahore in 1340/1921, it focuses on the role of his spiritual preceptor, 'Abdu'l-Rahim Safapuri. Sardar Waryam Singh, a tahsildar of Kashmir, accepted Islam under the influence of 'Abdu'l-Rahim Safapuri during the reign of the Dogra Maharaja.

Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p. 116.

Hazrat: Presence; majesty; highness; or the modes of divine presence in contemplation.

Hazaratu'l-Quds: Completed in 1053/1643 by Shaikh Badru'd-Din bin Ibrahim Sirhindi, a disciple of the Mujjadid, the first volume of this work deals with the history of the Naqshbandiyya order traced from Abu Bakr al-Siddiq to Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and his sons and disciples. The second volume fully describes the Mujjadid's life, miracles, teachings and responses to criticisms. Some account of the Mujjadid's children and disciples is also given. The second volume is published by the Auqaf Department, Lahore. The Indian edition of the second volume is published by Danish Publishing Company, New Delhi in 1999.

Hidayatu'llah Husaini, Shah: He migrated from Gulbarga to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). Affiliated to the Chistiyya order, Hidayatu'llah Husaini died in 1609.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, 61 Sqq.

Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin: It was authored by Baba Haidar Tulmuli. The author calls himself Mir Haidar and claims to be a Saiyid. He lost his parents at an early age and was brought up by an uncle who made arrangements for his early education. Once he had a vision of the Prophet, his companions, and Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Having been instructed to visit Kashmir in supernatural circumstances, Mir Haidar came to the Valley at the age of fifteen from Gujarat. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he took up residence at Tulmulla.

The work, completed in 993/1585, is divided into five chapters: the first deals with the deeds of a novice (*'amal-i mubtadi*), the second with his occupations (*ashgal-i mubtadi*), the third with his recitations (*azkar-i mubtadi*), the fourth deals with the various sayings taken from the works of the Sufis on *muhabat*, *shouq*, *taqwa*, etc., and the last throws light on various aspects of the life of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and his disciples. Ms. copies available in the Research Library of Directorate of Research and Publications department of J&K Government. [See also Mir Baba Haidar.]

Hifzu'l-Ahd: "The guarding of the covenant." A term used by the Sufis for remaining firm in that state in which God has brought them.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hijab: A term used by the Sufis for that which obscures the light of God in the soul of man.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hikmah Al-hikmah: "The wisdom." Sufis use this term to "express a knowledge of the essence, attributes, specialities, and results of things as they exist and are seen, with the study of their cause, effects, and uses". The term is actually rooted in the Qur'an: "He granteth wisdom to whom He pleaseth; and he to whom wisdom is granted receiveth indeed a benefit overflowing; But none will receive admonition but men of understanding." (2/269). The Sufis say there are four kinds of wisdom expressed in the term *al-hikmah*: (1) *Al-hikmatu'l-mantuqah*, "spoken wisdom", which is made known in the Qur'an, or in the *Tariqah*, "the Path" (i.e. the Sufi path). (2) *Al-hikmatu'l-maskutah*, "unspoken wisdom" such as understood only by Sufis, and not by the natural man. (3) *Al-hikmatu'l-majhulah*, "unknown wisdom", or "those acts of the Creator the wisdom of which is unknown to the creature, such as the infliction of pain upon the creatures of God, the death of infants, or the eternal fire of hell. Things which we believe, but which we do not understand." (4) *Al-hikmatu'l-jami'ah*, "collective wisdom", or the knowledge of the truth (*haqq*), and acting upon it, and the perception of error (*batil*) and the rejection of it."

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Himmah: "Resolution, strength, ability." A term used by the Sufis for a determination of the heart to incline to God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hindawi: A generic term referring to indigenous dialects in northern India. The singing of *Hindawi* music at *sama'* gained popularity at most Sufi centres, particularly those not far off from Delhi. The ideas of Sufis, Saiyid Gisu Daraz acknowledged, could be effectively expressed through *Hindawi*. He attributed the popularity of the *Hindawi* music to its subtlety, arousing humbleness and serenity after piercing into the heart. Few of the *Hindawi* songs recited at *sama'* gatherings are extant, but a few verses attributed to Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri and Baba Farid are redolent of the natural ability of these Sufis to express their ideas in regional dialects. The *Siyaru'l-Auliya* refers to a verse attributed to Baba Farid in the Multani dialect. Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgrami, who himself composed poems in *Hindawi*, quotes two *dohas* of Baba Farid with a Persian translation. Significantly, Shaikh Hamid quotes a poignant *Hindawi* verse about the oneness of Reality notwithstanding "differences in nomenclature". Rizvi refers to the translation of a free Hindi translation of one of Nizami's ghazals by Shaikh Hamid in his *Sururu's-Sudur*.

The *Guru Granth*, compiled by the fifth Sikh Guru, Arjan, contains over a hundred *slokas* ascribed to Baba Farid. Believed by some scholars to have been composed by Shaikh Ibrahim, a successor of Baba Farid, whom Guru Nanak visited at Ajodhan, others attribute these compositions to Kabir. What is, however, of significance to stress is that the *Janam Sakhis* is replete with *slokas* that Guru Nanak and his successors composed to "support, rather than dispute, the ideas contained in Baba Farid's *slokas*". As Rizvi rightly observes: "A careful analysis of Baba Farid's *slokas* in the Guru Granth would tend to suggest they were not composed by one individual. Therefore it is wrong to ascribe them either to Shaikh Ibrahim or another of Baba Farid's descendants, known as Farid Sani. They represent the teachings of Baba Farid through the years from his own time to the fifteenth century and were therefore composed by a number of different descendants, all using Farid as their *nom de plume*."

Sururu's-Sudur, pp. 50-1, 69.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 367.

Gisu Daraz, *Jawami'u'l-Kilam*, compiled by Saiyid Muhammad Akbar Husaini, Hyderabad, pp. 172-3.

Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgarami, *Saba'-i Sanabil*, Kanpur, 1299/1881-2, p. 58.

Mohan Singh Diwana, 'Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Shaikh Ibrahim Aur Farid Sani', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, February 1938, May 1938 and February 1939.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 328-9.

hosh dar dam: Social awareness even while breathing; the Sufis of the Naqshbandiyya order were mentally alert even while controlling their breath.

Hujjatu'l-Haqqi 'Ala'l-Khalq: "The demonstration of Truth upon the creature". A term used by the Sufis for the Insanu'l-Kamil, or the "perfect man", as Adam was when he proceeded from the hand of his Maker, and when he became a demonstration of God's wisdom and power before the angels of heaven. As is stated in the Qur'an, "Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: "I will create a vicegerent on earth." (2/30).

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Hulul: Descending; alighting; transmigration. A Sufi term for the indwelling light in the soul of man. For Shaikh 'Ali Hujweri's disappointment with certain Sufis of his own time, called Hululis, see Eng. tr. of *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, pp. 236, 143, 260-6, 271.

Husain Ahmad Chisti, Shaikh: Originally he was a disciple of Shaikh Aman Panipati. Later Shaikh Salim Chisti initiated him into the Chistiyya order. He earned a remarkable place in the history of Arabic calligraphy in India by signing inscriptions on the base of the facade of the Buland Darwaza. Shaikh Husain died in 1000/1591-2 and lies buried to the south-west of the tomb now called Islam Khan's tomb.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 416.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, p. 12.

S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay, 1971, pp. 81; 86.

Husain Baiyu: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Thag Baba, he was a Sufi of immense qualities and lies buried in the cemetery of his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Husain Lahori, Shaikh: He became a disciple of Shaikh Bahlul Darya'i (d. 983/1575-6) at the tender age of ten. His father, Shaikh 'Usman was a weaver, and his great grandfather, Kalas Rai, had embraced Islam during Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq's reign (752/1351–790/1388). He started his career in the Path as a "hardy mendicant" after his *pir* retired to the village of Chaniot. For twenty years he wandered in the wilderness around Lahore, retiring to the tomb of Data Ganj Baksh for the night. On becoming a *malamati* later he roamed about the streets of Lahore inebriated, singing and dancing. When challenged by the Makhdumu'l-Mulk for violating the *Shari'ah*, he silenced him by saying that he alone was not a sinner. His main argument was that while both he and the Makhdumu'l-Mulk professed faith in the unity of God (*Tawhid*) and the finality of the Prophethood in Muhammad (*Khatam-i Nabuwwa*), two other fundamentals of the faith, *zakat* and *Hajj*, were bypassed by the Makhdum-u'l-Mulk in his own manner of ignoring the five obligatory prayers and the fasting. Nothwithstanding this fact, Shaikh Husain Lahori enrolled a great number of disciples who popularized the Qadiriyya order in all parts of the Panjab and elsewhere in the subcontinent. Among his favourite disciples was Shaikh Madho, a Brahman, who embraced Islam under his influence. Shaikh Husain danced and sang while participating in such Hindu festivals as *Holi* and *Basant*. As late as the end of the nineteenth century, the practice of throwing colours on the eve of *Holi* remained main feature of the *'urs* celebrations at the Lahore tomb of Shaikh Husain. He died in 1008/1599 in Lahore.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 141-6, 166-8.

Husain Shah *alias* Kudu: Little is known about him except that, after being overcome with divine love, he took to wandering. Husain Shah belonged to Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 466.

Husamu'd-Din Ahmad, Khwaja: Born in 977/1569-70 at Qunduz, he was the son of Qazi Nizam (d. 992/1584) of Badakshan who had migrated to Agra. Because of the influence enjoyed by his father at the Mugal court, the Khwaja married a sister of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl and joined the imperial service. He held a *mansab* of 1000 and took part in the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan under Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (964/1556–1036/1627). Disgusted with the protracted guerilla-type warfare in the Deccan, he resigned from the imperial service. Being essentially a seeker after the truth, he began to lapse into mystical trance and started roaming about the streets and bazaars in a seemingly insane manner. After distributing his wealth to local *dervishes*, he took to the life of chosen poverty. Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya.

Khwaja Husamu'd-Din believed his *pir* to be the prototype Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. So greatly was he devoted to his *pir* that he took care of the latter's family after his death. Despite the fact that most of his letters of recommendation did not receive a positive response from the official circles, he continued to seek alleviation of the sufferings of poor people through correspondence with the dignitaries of Delhi.

Husamu'd-Din was wedded to *Wahdat al-Wujud* in the true spirit of Ahrari *pirs*. It seems that he was not attracted to the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* expounded by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Nevertheless, his relations with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi remained cordial. While the latter was deeply moved by Khwaja Husamu'd-Din's selfless service to Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's tomb and his family, the former was appreciative of the merit of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's efforts in advancing the cause of the *Shari'ah*.

He died on I Safar 1043/7 August 1633.

Maktubat, I, no. 266, to Khwaja 'Abdu'llah and 'Ubaidu'llah; III, no. 72, to Khwaja Husamu'd-Din.

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiratu'l-Khawanin*, I, Karachi, 1961, pp. 242-3.

Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asiru'l-Umara'*, II, Calcutta, 1888-91, pp. 878-9.

Zubadatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 80-1.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, I, p. 274.

Husamu'd-Din Fatehpuri, Shaikh: He was a *khalifa* of Qazi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir Thaneswari who, in his turn, was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. A Chistiyya Sufi of exalted status, Husamu'd-Din was intimate with Shaikh Akhi Jamshed Rajgiri. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti reproduces a letter authored by Husamu'd-Din to Shaikh Akhi in which he advises travellers in the Path to sincerely worship One God without the scintilla of *shirk*, *riya*, and pride.

Husmau'd-Din's date of death is not known, though he was a contemporary of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi (d. 844). His tomb at Fatehpur in Jaunpur was a place of popular veneration.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1119-27.

Husamu'd-Din Muttaqi Multani, Shaikh: He was a great scholar who distinguished himself as a Sufi of impeccable integrity. He would cultivate land himself and pay land revenue. Shaikh 'Ali Mutaqqi obtained early education from him.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 373-4.

I i

Ibadatu'l-Khawass: Completed in 1053/1643 by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, this work stresses the importance of ablutions, prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage from the Sufic viewpoint. MS. Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Ibaha signifies authorization to perform an act as one wishes to do so. However, "it is also a term of abuse for Sufis of antinomian leanings; it is not a Hindu sect as I.H. Qureshi believes".

Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 14-16.

Ibn Battuta: Born at Tangier on 17 Rajab 703/24 February 1304 and leaving Tangier on 13 June 1325, Ibn Battuta distinguished himself as a traveller. He recorded the experiences of his travels in North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Mecca, Iran, Iraq, Asia Minor, Transoxiana, modern Afghanistan, and India in the work called *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara 'ib al-Amsar wa 'Aja'ib al Asfar*. The travelogue completed in December1357 was also known as the *Rihla*. The date of the death of Ibn Battuta is either 1368-9 or 1377. Besides being the guest of many rulers, nobles and the ulama, Ibn Battuta also kept the company of merchants and members of the artisan guilds (*asnaf*). He also spent time in Sufi *khanqahs* and in "the hospices run by the Akhi and Futuwwa organizations".

The Travels of Ibn Battuta, vol. 3, ed. and tr. Sir Hamilton Gibb, Cambridge, 1971.

Ibrahim al-Kurdi (al-Kurani), Shaikh: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Qushshahi Shinnawi (d. 1071/1661) who carried on the mission of the Shattariyya order in Medina. A linguist who read, in addition to other languages, Arabic, Persian, Kurdish and Turkish, the Shaikh had also an expert knowledge of Shaf'i *Fiqh* and *Hadis*. He travelled through Egypt and Syria, and it was at the latter place that his belief in the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was strengthened on seeing Ibn 'Arabi in a dream. On reaching Medina he received a *khirqa* from Shaikh Ahmad Qushshashi.

Shaikh Ibrahim's intense passion for listening to *sama'* was not liked by Khoja, a teacher of the Ottoman Sultan in Turkey. When the Khoja was in Medina he informed the Shaikh about his efforts to uproot the sinful innovation (*bid'a*) of the recitation of the *zikr-i jahr* in mosques. In reply the Shaikh recited the Qur'anic verse : "And who is more unjust than he who forbids that in places for the worship of Allah, His name should be celebrated?—whose zeal is (in fact) to ruin them?" (2/114). The Khoja then produced extracts from *fatwas* from the books of Hanafi jurisprudence forbidding the *sama'*. Shaikh Ibrahim retorted that he was not constrained to follow Hanafi decrees considering his affiliation to the Shaf'i school of *Fiqh*. Uninfluenced by the advice of his well-wishers to adopt a more accommodating disposition, the Shaikh even wrote a treatise in defence of his views on the *sama'*. He told his friends that nothing could prevent him from expressing the truth.

Shaikh Ibrahim died in 1101/1689.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, pp. 184-6.

Ibrahim Iraji, Mir Saiyid: He was the son of Mir Mu'in 'Abdu'l-Qadir Hasani and a disciple of Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Shattari. He was initiated into several Sufi orders, notwithstanding his recognition as a Sufi of the Qadiriyya order. Shaikh Bahau'd-Din is said to have compiled the *Risala-i Shattariyya* for his son who was a bibliophile. It was his usual habit to copy books and also put in black and white his comments concerning passages laden with inner meaning. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq described him as "the most outstanding scholar" of Delhi whose company was a source of strength for a number of contemprory ulama. He died in 953/1546-7 and is entombed at the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 250-1.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), pp. 350-1.

Ibrahim Qari Shattari, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif. A Sindhi by birth and an excellent calligrapher, he served as an *imam* of congregational prayers offered by the faithful along with Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He died in Burhanpur in 991/1583.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 330-1.

Ibrahim, Shaikh: A *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Abu Sa'id Chisti Gangohi (d. 1049/1639-40), he lived in Saidpur near Gangoh.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 472.

Id al-Ahda: The feast of sacrifice.

ihsan: The Sufi ideal of the *Shari'ah* as prefigured in the Qur'an, namely, surrender (Islam), faith (*iman*), and doing everything 'as beautifully as possible' is called *ihsan*. The fulfilment of this ideal requires not only 'the interiorization of ritual acts' but also a constant endeavour to produce a model of peaceful domestic and social life worthy of imitation. Muhammad said *ihsan* was "both to worship God as if thou sawest Him, and to remember that God seest thee" (*Mishkat*, book I, ch. I).

There is hardly a *malfuzat* or a *tazkira* in which the Sufis have not emphasized the importance of *ihsan*.

ijazas: Licence. Most Sufis claimed several initiations and possessed a number of licences (*ijazas*). Trimingham dispels confusion and misunderstanding regarding upbringing (*Shaikh-at-tarbiya*) and discipleship (*Shaikh-as-Suhba*).

Trimingham, *The Sufi Order of Islam*, p. 192.

Ikhtiyaru'd-Din Marwani, Shaikh: He became the leading disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Nizam Narnuli (d. 997/1589), after having a spiritual experience. Following deep meditations at his tomb, he had a vision of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti; the spirit of the Khwaja directed Ikhtiyaru'd-Din to seek initiation from Shaikh Nizam. When he rushed to the Shaikh's house, he found him engrossed in meditation. Shaikh Nizam's demeanour did not impress Ikhtiyaru'd-Din. So he decided to leave his precincts. No sooner he began to depart than the Shaikh raised his head and inquired why he was flouting the orders of the Khwaja. Thereupon Ikhtiyaru'd-Din entered the discipleship of Shaikh Nizam and became his successor in Kalpi. As a Sufi of the Chistiyya order, Ikhtiyaru'd-Din became popular; he died in 1011/1602-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 279.
Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 307a-b.

Ikhlas: Sincerity; purity of intention; title of the 112th chapter of the Qur'an. It is worthwhile to mention that while exhorting his followers to devote themselves to understanding the meaning of this *surah*, the illustrious founder of the Rishi order of the Sufis in Kashmir, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, actually directed them to mould the quality of personal life in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Qur'an. In the language of religious ethics as developed by him, *ikhlas* demanded selflessness with regard to both word and deed. The culmination of one's *ikhlas* was the disappearnce of the thought of divine reward in this or the next world.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, p. 122.

Ilahdad Majzub, Mir Saiyid: He was a grandson of Shaikh Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din of Amehi. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti not only testifies to the spiritual excellence of Ilahdad Majzub, but also writes about his personal association with the intoxicated soul as a seeker after the Truth for twelve long years, in spite of his wide range of meetings with numerous contemporary Sufis.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1197.

Ilahdad Shahrukh, Maulana: Born in 1449, he was a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah of Manikpur. From the days of his studentship, Maulana Ilhadad distinguished himself as a great *'alim*. He wrote commentaries on several works including the one on the *Hidaya*. Affiliated to the Chistiyya order, Maulana Ilhadad died in 1526.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 347.

'Imadu'd-Din Firdawsi, Shaikh: A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Firdawsi, he lived in relative seclusion.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 638.

'Imadu'd-Din Isma'il Multani, Shaikh: He was a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 52.

'Imadu'd-Din Rafiqi, Shaikh: He was the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Aslam Rafiqi and a pupil of Maulavi Maqbul Maantji, Shaikh Ahmad Wa'iz and Maulavi Qalandar 'Ali. He received spiritual guidance from Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali and Dervish Mushtaq. Although he led a life of piety in solitude, he distinguished himself as an *'alim* of *Hadis*. Towards the end of his life, he performed *hajj* and returned to Kashmir after obtaining a *sanad* in *Hadis* from the ulama of Mecca and Medina. He died on 7 Ramazan 1300/12 July 1883 and was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 411.

Intibah-i fi Zikr-i Auliya-Allah: It is by Shaikh Muhammad Murad Rafiqi. [See Shaikh Muhammad Murad Rafiqi.]

Irshad-nama: It was composed by Burhanu'd-Din Janam in 1582-3 in a highly Sanskritized form of Dakhni, and deals with Sufism *vis-à-vis* the Chistiyya viewpoint.

Ishaq Baig: Little is known about him except that as a devoted disciple of Mulla Aslam Zajil he dedicated himself to the service of the people in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 440.

'Ishq Nama: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Isma'il Ba'i: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Ba'i. Khwaja Abdu'l Ahad Sirhindi initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order during his sojourn in Kashmir. Subsequently, he accompanied his *murshid* to Sirhind and, after completing his spiritual training, returned home. Having received authorization from his *murshid*, Isma'il Ba'i guided several seekers in the Path. He had close association with Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunamiri.

Miskin describes the tomb of Isma'il Ba'i at Ahmadakadal in Srinagar as a centre of popular pilgrimage.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 237.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Isma'il Hazara: He was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir, and is mentioned by Dara-Shukoh.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Istiqamatu'sh-Shari'ah: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Istilahatu'l-Sufiya: Authored by Kamalu'd-Din 'Abdu'r-Razzaq (d. 730/1329), about whom little is known except that he was the son of Abu'l Ghana'im Kashani and that, according to Jami, was a pupil of Nuru'd-Din 'Ala'u'd-Daula (d. 736/1336). Author of several works, his *Istilhat al-Sufiya* or Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Sufis was published in Calcutta by Sprenger in 1845. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq was a Sufi of the school of Ibn 'Arabi.

D.B. Macdonald, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 88-90.

Itihafu'l-Taqi fi Fazl Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi, a disciple and khalifa of Shaikh 'Ali Mutaqqi, it dealt with the life of the latter.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 446.

Illah-Din Majzub: He belonged to Narnaul. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis writes about his peculiar habit of roaming about in the streets of the town. He would not stir from a certain spot chosen by him as his habitat for several days. Always in the habit of talking to himself and wearing old and tattered garments, he also wore iron rings around his feet and legs. "O God come ! O God go! O God sit down!", usually the words he would utter whenever anyone passed by. Another peculiarity of the *majzub* was his act of setting free any prisoner at the site of the bazaar where some wooden stocks were set up. The *majzub* would insert his own legs instead. He would also stand still in garbage dumps for hours.

The author of the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* records miraculous stories about Illah-Din Majzub and invokes God's grace for him.

He died on 15 Sha'ban 964/13 June 1557.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 484-5.

imam: One who leads the ritual prayers at a mosque; among Shias the leader of the community who is the descendant of the Prophet's son-in-law, 'Ali, and his daughter Fatima.

Imamu'd-Din Abdal, Shaikh: He was the only disciple of the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi, Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi (d. 657/1258-9).

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 61.

Maulana Taju'd-Din, *Risalah Hal Khanwadah-i Chist* (MS. Personal collection of Nizami); *Rauzah-i Aqtab*, pp. 82-3 (quoted in Nizami, *Some Aspects*, p. 191 and note).

iman: Faith; the inward aspects of Islam.

'Inayat Shah: A disciple of Sultan Mir (1125/1713). After the death of his *murshid*, he was overwhelmed by a spiritual experience and started roaming about. His devotees were considerable. He lies buried at the village of Tahman in the *pargana* of Shahabad in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 471.

Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif: This contains a selection of Hajji Naushah Baksh's *diwan*. The verses in the *Intikhab* are mainly in Hindi and Panjabi. Many *dohas* composed by the Hajji answer questions earlier posed by Kabir. For instance, Kabir wrote, "Those who walk between limits are men, Those who go beyond them are *pir*. Those who transcend the limited and the limitless, are called faqirs" (*Kabir-Bijak*, p.163). Naushah wrote: "None can walk between limits, who can transcend the limit? In name men came into the world, very few could achieve anything" (*Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif*, p. 259). Although Naushah's ethical teachings do not differ from those of Kabir and Nanak, nonetheless, he composes his thoughts within the framework of the egalitarianism of Islam. He is critical of the caste system, a contrast to the brotherhood of Islam. *Kalima*, he says, removes all differences (ibid., pp. 300, 302-3). Significantly, however, the Hajji was not oblivious of certain class and caste distinctions that existed among the Muslims, Saiyids, Qureshis, Mughals, and Pathans (ibid., pp. 267, 98). He condemned such a differentiation. His roots in Islam also inspire his criticism of the transmigration of souls theory of the Hindus (ibid., p. 305).

Naushah's disciples spread from the Panjab to Kabul. As compared to the Sufic poetry of Sultan Bahu or Bulhe Shah, his poetry did not achieve the same popularity or fame.

Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi, *Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif*, ed. Saiyid Sharafat Naushahi, Lahore, 1975.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 181.

Sukhdeva Singh, ed., *Kabir-Bijak*, Allahabad, 1972, p. 163.

Intikhab-i Manaqib-i Sulaimaniyya: See *Manaqib-i Sharifa*.

Inzi'aj: "Being disturbed and moved from its place." A term used by the Sufis for the movement and excitement of the heart in the direction of God, through the effect either of a sermon, or music.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Iqtibasu'l-anwar: See *Sawatiu'l-anwar*.

Iradah: Purpose, will, intention, of man inspired by God. According to the Sufis, it is "a flame of love in the heart which desires God and longs to be united with Him."

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Isbat al-Nubuwwa: Written by the Mujaddid around 995/1586-7, its aim was to reaffirm the importance of the prophethood.

Ishaq, Shaikh: He migrated to Delhi from Multan. It is not known who initiated him as a Chistiyya. He would seldom talk to anyone except Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi. Overwhelmed by an ecstasy while attending a *sama'* gathering at his neighbour's house, he died in 989/1581.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 286.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, pp. 441-2.

'Ishq: "Love." A word used in Sufi literature to express divine love. The word, however, preferred by Muslim writers, other than the Sufis, for the love of God is *hubb*.

Islami masawat: The Islamic concept of equality.

Isma'il Gilani, Saiyid: He was a son and disciple of Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Rabbani of the Panjab. Akbar presented him 11,000 *bighas* of land in Firuzpur. His ardent followers included the merchants of Lahore. So devoted was he to meditation and asceticism that he did not allow his daily routine to be disturbed by his followers. Both Isma'il Gilani and his father died in the same year, 978/1570-1.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 127.

Isma'il Qadiri bin Hasan: He came from Baghdad. He was a Sufi of the Qadiriyya order and migrated to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). His date of death is not known.

Mishkat, copy B, 491b.

Isma'il Shahid, Muhammad: He was the son of Shah 'Abdu'l-Gani and the grandson of Shah Waliu'llah. Although a learned scholar, he became a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli because of the latter's "mystical achievement". He earned martyrdom along with his preceptor in AD 1831.

Shahid Isma'il's works *Siratu'l-Mustaqim*, *Mansab-i Imamat*, and the *Taqwiyatu'l-Iman* are a compendia of family teachings and became the official handbook for the reform and militant movements which his *pir* subsequently launched. The moral and social ethics of the *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya* is laid down in the Urdu work *Taqwiyatu'l-Iman*. In this work, the author emphasizes the significance of the struggle against innovations such as saint worship, Muharram festivities, and the fireworks in the *shab-i barat*. Not the least, Isma'il Shahid was concerned about extravagant expenses at weddings and the taboo on the remarriage of widows as well as caste-like distinctions among the Muslims of India. W.W. Hunter writes about the influence of his teachings in the villages of Bengal.

Hunter, *The Indian Musulman*, p. 74.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 261.

Ism-i-Jalali: Any of the attributes of God which expresses His power and greatness, e.g. the Judge (al-Hakim); the Just (al-Adil); the Great (al-Kabir).

Ism-i-Jamali: Any of the attributes of God which expresses His mercy or condescension, e.g., the Compassionate (ar-Rahim); the Hearer (as-Sami); the Guardian (al-Hafiz).

Ism-i-Sifah: Name of a divine attribute.

Ism-i Zat: Name of the divine essence; the essential name of God, i.e. Allah, or Hu, as distinguished from His attributes.

Istighfar: Seeking forgiveness of God; the Prophet is reputed to have remarked: "I swear by Allah that I ask pardon of Allah, and repent before Him more than seventy times daily." Indeed, repentance has been highly valued in Sufism. The most popular invocatory prayer in Kashmir, the *Awrad-i Fathiyya,* begins with *istigfar.*

Istihlak: Literally to plunge oneself into killing. In Sufi terminology, however, it is the stage (*maqam*) where through renunciation of the worldly riches, an attempt is made to kill the carnal self.

Istilahat al-Sufiyya: *Dictionary of Sufism*. Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kamalu'd-Din bin 'Abdu'l-Ghana'im al-Kashani (d. 730/1329), the author was an ardent interpreter of Ibn al-'Arabi. See for his influence on India, Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

'Istilam: To cut symbolically one's hands and feet in order to make oneself solely dependent on Allah. The transition of a *salik* from the state of *istihlak* to *istilam* makes him inherit this world and the Hereafter. Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri best sums up this stage in a verse:

banda jai-i rasad ki mahaw shud
B'ad azan kar-i juz Khuda'i neest

An *'abd* reaches a stage where consequent upon his intoxication (inability to think or act) there exists nothing except the Eternity of God.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 89.

Istiqamah: "Standing erect". A term used by the Sufis for rectitude of life, purity of life; and also meaning being steadfast in religion according to the rules of the Qur'an.

Ithaf al-sadat al-Muttaqin: Written by Saiyid Muhammad al-Murtaza ibn Muhammad Zabidi (d. 1205/1790-1), who migrated from India to Arabia, it is a voluminous commentary on the *Ihya 'ulum al-din* of Imam Ghazali. See Muhammad al-Murtaza ibn Muhammad Zabidi, Saiyid.

Ittihad: Union; concord; intimate friendship. A term used by the Sufis for seeing the existence of all things visible as only existing in God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

izn: Permission; leave.

J j

Jabarut: The four worlds referred to in Sufism are *nasut*, *malakut*, *jabarut* and *lahut*. The first is the world of humanity (*'alam-i nasut*), the second that of angels (*'alam-i malakut*), the third that of majesty or power (*jabarut*), and the last "the world of the Godhead" (*lahut*). *Nasut*, perceived through the physical senses, is the phenomenal world described by Ghazzali as *'alam al-mulk-wa-shahada.* Even within the sphere of his existence (*nasut*) a human being is capble of rising to the heights of angels not only through spiritual faculties, but also through the development of such ethical qualities in his personality as are called angelic, in common parlance. *Malakut*, therefore, need not be understood as an angelic or spiritual world in its literal sense. In a deeper spiritual sense, it is a human ability to perceive through action and insight what is beyond the reach of average men engrossed in mundane affairs. The third gradation of existence is that in which a human being is further capable of perceiving the majesty of Allah through contemplation of His names and attributes. This sphere is, indeed, the world of power or the celestial world in which a Sufi feels comfort. But the last sphere of existence, "the world of Godhead", is beyond perception. It is the indescribable world of unity, though erroneously defined as a stage in which human nature (*nasut*) is not identical or interchangeable with the divine (*lahut*). The only union that one can think of between the Creator and the created can be best described within the framework of the *Shari'ah;* and in this sense *nasut, malakut, jabarut*, and *lahut* merely represent the mystic idea of four spheres of existence (*maratib-i wujud*) rather than any definite stages in Sufism. Even the great Sufis of Islam who had reached an understanding of *lahut* never claimed divinity for themselves. And although Allah vouchsafed them merely a slight understanding of the (uncreated) world of mystery (*'alam al-ghaib*), they continued to derive the greatest solace in remaining His servants (*'ubud*).

Eager to prove the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic mystic traditions, Athar Abbas Rizvi remarks, "Yogic obstacles and stages correspond with those along the Sufi path. They are numbered differently; the four stages of the Sufi journey are *nasut, malakut, jabarut,* and *lahut*. According to the Sufis of Ibn al-Arabi's school, *nasut* (human nature) is like a vessel which contains the *lahut* (Divine nature)." Rizvi gives tacit approval to the misconception that the "*lahut* in the heart was identified with *anahata-cakra* of the Yogis." Tara Chand's views are also misconceived: " . . . The absolute God in His divinity (*lahut*) became in Adam God in Humanity (*nasut*). Mansur conceived of the relation of God with a man as the infusion of the divine into the human soul; in Hindu terms, the illumination of *buddhi* by *Purusa*."

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 119-20 and note.

Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 70-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 353, 369.

Jabbar: Omnipotent; an absolute sovereign. One of the ninety-nine names or attributes of God.

Ja'far Saqqaf, Saiyid: Came to Bijapur from Arabia during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). The Sufi order to which he belonged is not known. He died in 1647.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, pp. 188-90.

Jahan-Ara Begam: She was the daughter of Shahjahan. Born on 21 Safar 1023/2 April 1614, she was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Miyan Mir. Her fondness for her father and her brother, Dara-Shukoh, is well known. She did not marry.

Jahan-Ara herself states that she was the first woman in the house of Timur who evinced interest in *tasawwuf* and resolutely followed its practices. Initially fascinated by the Chistiyya order, she authored a life story of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti containing also some biographical notices of his disciples. The work was called *Munisu'l-Arwah.* Later, after obtaining initiation into the Qadiriyya order, she wrote a biography of Mulla Shah, entitled the *Sahibiyya.*

Following the death of her mother, Mumtaz Mahal (17 Zu'lqa'da 1040/17 June 1631) and also during the captivity of his father from 1658 to 1666, Jahan-Ara took care of her father wholeheartedly. She exercised a sobering influence on her father who had very strong reasons to feel resentful at the treatment meted out to him by his son, Aurangzeb. Following Shahjahan's death, she kept the company of Aurangzeb and until her death in Ramazan 1092/September 1681, showed prudence in offering advice to him.

Oriental College Magazine XIII, 4 August 1937, pp. 3-19.

Bernier, F., *Travels in the Mongol Empire,* p. 12.

N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor,* pp. 217-20.

Jalal: Being glorious or mighty. Zu'l-Jalal, "The Glorious One," is attribute of God.

Jalali: It is explained in the *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* that those who annihilate themselves and transcend their human limitations, God grants them *baqa*. Having reached the pinnacle of spiritual excellence, a Sufi is vouchsafed either extreme humbleness of mind and heart or glory. The first category of the Sufis is called Jamali and the second is named Jalali.

Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari, Saiyid: He was a disciple of the eminent Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya. Also called Jalal Surkh (Red), he first migrated from Bukhara to Bhakkar. He then migrated to Uch and remained there until his death in 1291.

Nizami rightly highlights the contribution of Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari in the popularization of the Suhrawardiyya order in Uch. He was critical of the rulers for their court etiquette and customs, and raised his voice against the illegal sources of the income of nobles and sultans. Significantly, the Saiyid regarded all Muslim rulers after the Khilafat-i Rashida as rulers who had seized and retained power by force (*Malik-i 'uzuz*). As a matter of fact, the Hadis of the Prophet inspired the Saiyid: "The khilafat shall remain for 30 years after me. Later it would degenerate into Malik-i 'uzuz." Nizami, however, rightly remarks that visits to royal courts were taken by the Suhrawardi Sufi for the redressal of the grievances of the poor. Thus on being once asked about the purpose of his visit to Delhi, Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din remarked: "I did not undertake this journey to Delhi for the sake of fame or worldly fortune. (The reason was) that the son of a teacher of mine told me: 'Your teacher died leaving behind seven daughters. The Sultan of Delhi and the dignitaries of the State have faith in you. You should go there and collect from these people something for me so that, through your kind help, I might arrange for their marriages.' I have come to Delhi with this purpose; otherwise, what has a *dervish* to do with the society of rich people and nobles?"

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 121-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 48.

Siraju'l-Hidayah, ff. 129a-b (quoted in Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century,* p. 248).

Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari, Saiyid: Popularly known as the Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, Lord of the Mortals, Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din was born on in 1308. He was the son of Saiyid Ahmad Kabir and a grandson of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Surkh, a disciple of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya. After obtaining a formal religious education, he first became his father's disciple. Later Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order.

Although Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq made Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din the Shaikhu'l-Islam as well as the head of a *khanqah* in Siwistan (Sehwan), the Saiyid did not cling to these positions for long. He went on a pilgrimage and during his extensive travels in most parts of the Muslim world interacted with many Sufis. Jamali says that he met over 300 Sufis. From Shaikh 'Abdu'llah al-Yafe'i al-Yamani, the most revered Sufi in Mecca, he learnt about the status of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. On return to Uch, Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din went to Delhi to meet Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din from whom he obtained initiation in the Chistiyya order.

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari also earned the title of the Jahangasht (World Traveller). The Book of Travels of Makhdum Jahaniyan (*Safar Nama-i Makhdum Jahaniyan*), collated by Yusufi or Najam-u'd-Din Yusuf ibn Ruknu'd-Din Muhammad Ni'amu'llah Gardizi, though for the most part legendary, testifies to his extensive travels, distribution of gifts to *qalandars*, and conversion of *yogis.* Whatever the truth about the Saiyid's visit to China, Mongolia, and Ceylon, he seems to have definitely made an impact on the evolution of South Asian Muslim society. Interestingly, the *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin* of Mulla 'Ali Raina, the earliest hagiographic source belonging to the sixteenth-century Kashmir, states that Lal Ded owed her conversion to Islam to the Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.

There is little doubt that most of the journeys undertaken by Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din took place during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, when his brother administered his *khanqah.* But the Saiyid spent considerable time in Uch during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq and influenced the religious policy of the Sultan. He visited Delhi several times, and one of his important visits to the capital, in 1379-80, was marked by the compilation of his many sayings by his disciple, Abu 'Abdu'llah 'Ala'u'd-Din Sa'd bin Ashraf into a book called the *Khulasatu'l-Alfaz Jami'u'l-'Ulum.* (See W. Ivanov, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Calcutta,* 1924, no. 1209.)

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari believed in the total distribution of all one's possessions to the poor after the adoption of asceticism, rather than bequeathing the same to ones' sons. He advised beginners on the Sufi path not to make attempts to understand the philosophy of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* as it was the domain of experts. Disapproving of the ceremonies associated with the celebrations of the *Shab-i Barat*, from the standpoint of the *Shari'ah*, as for example, the use of fireworks, the white-washing of graves and the kindling of lamps at the graves, the Saiyid laid emphasis on meditation and charity. Such was his concern for the poor that he urged *dervishes*, Sufis and the ulama to visit rulers, government officials and the rich for the benefit of the deprived. He justified his visits to Firuz Shah on the same grounds. Although he did not favour the visit of the rich and the ruling class to the *khanqahs*, he urged Sufis to bring home to such visitors the significance of following the *Shari'ah*.

He died on 10 Zu'lhijja 785/3 February 1384 and was buried in Uch.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 142-3.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, pp. 417-18.

Mahbubiyya, ff. 55b-56b.

Jamali, pp. 155-64.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 485b-486b.

Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, ed. Maulvi Wilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 514-16.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 101-3.

Siraju'l-Hidaya, ff. 67a-68a (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 277-80).

Mulla 'Ali Raina *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, ff. 36ab-38a.

Jalalu'd-Din Kasi, Shaikh: A member of the Afghan Kasi tribe, he rose to prominence as a Chistiyya Sufi in Unnao in the sixteenth century. Under Islam Shah Sur, Jalalu'd-Din Kasi held a high post in the Afghan government. However, following the decline of Afghan rule, he took the path of renunciation and moved to Bangarmao in Unnao where he lived at the *khanqah* of Shah Muhammad Chisti. His *pir* advised him to visit the tomb of Shaikh Badru'd-Din of Bada'un. There he found spiritual illumination in the recitation and reflection of the Qur'an until midnight. Within a short period he became popular among a good number of people. Shaikh Jalal adopted a Hindu boy who had embraced Islam while lapsing into an ecstatic state upon reading some Arabic eulogies of the Prophet in the *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa'di. The convert was named 'Abdu'llah and obtained education from Shaikh Jalal. Interestingly, Shaikh Jalal was directed by the spirit of Shaikh Badru'd-Din to take due care of the convert. Shaikh Jalal was murdered in 1013/1604-05 by a gang of thieves who found it difficult to carry on their clandestine activities because of his regular nocturnal recitations of the Qur'an.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 307b-308b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 834.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, pp. 291-2.

Jalalu'd-Din Qureshi, Saiyid: 'Abdu'l-Haqq provides considerable information about him on the basis of oral sources. Although a *majzub*, he strictly observed the injunctions of the *Shari'ah*. He was at home in Arabic, Persian, and Hindi. Giving wide berth to the company of worldly people, he would spend most of his time in the wilderness of Delhi, Bayana, and their environs. He died in 948/1541 at the age of 25.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 422-5.

Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi, Shaikh: He was the second disciple of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi after Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Naguri (d. 625/1227-8). Having studied at several places, including Bukhara, he became a disciple of his father's *pir*, Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi. After the latter's death, Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din entered the discipleship of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi on reaching Baghdad.

As missionaries of the Suhrawardiyya order, both Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din and Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya travelled together from Baghdad to Nishapur. From Nishapur, after meeting Shaikh Faridu'd-din 'Attar, Jalalu'd-Din travelled alone and reached Multan. Although Multan was a centre of the Suhrawardiyya order, the Shaikh did not stay there for long and travelled to Delhi, via

Ajodhan. Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish warmly received him but the Shaikhu'l-Islam, Najmu'd-Din Sughra, did not like either his presence in the capital or the royal welcome accorded to him.

In order to discredit the Shaikh, Najmu'd-Din accused him of having committed adultery with a dancing girl, called Gawhar. He paid her 250 *dinars* as advance in cash and deposited the rest with a Muslim grain merchant (*baqqal*). A *mahzar* ordered by the Sultan to enquire into the charge levelled by the dancing girl, however, exposed the evil deed of Sughra. Knowing that Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din was not on good terms with Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, Najmu'-d-Din purposely proposed the name of the latter for the chairmanship of the meeting in the presence of about two hundred prominent Sufis. The Sultan accepted the suggestion. As soon as the accused arrived, to the bewilderment of Najmu'd-Din Sughra, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din ran to receive him and carried his shoes. Such respect shown by the chairman to the accused convinced the Sultan of the futility of *mahzar*. But to the Sultan's reaction, Baha'u'd-Din replied that Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din had served his *pir* for seven years and therefore it was fitting for him to use the dust from Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din's feet as an eye-wash. Hence Gawhar was summoned before the assembly of distinguished ulama and Sufis. Such was her metamorphosis in the presence of the pious that she admitted that the charge was false. Subsequently the grain merchant corroborated it. Thereupon the Sultan dismissed Najmu'd-Din Sughra.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din left for Bada'un soon thereafter. The local administrator of Bada'un, Qazi Kamalu'd-Din, showed immense respect to him and had his own son enrolled as his disciple. In Bada'un the Shaikh converted a Hindu boy and named him 'Ali. From Bada'un the Shaikh reached Lakhnauti, and founded a *khanqah* with a *langar* attached to it. He bought some gardens and land to be attached to the monastery. On reaching Devatalla (Deva Mahal) near Pandua in northern Bengal, the Shaikh converted a large number of non-Muslims, particularly, according to Rahman, "down-trodden and persecuted Buddhists and Hindus". Devatalla came to be known as Tabrizabad and drew a large number of pilgrims as a result of the Shaikh's role.

The virtues of Jalalu'd-Din elicited the admiration of hagiographers including Amir Hasan Sijzi, Hamid Qalandar, and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti. Once he is said to have addressed the Qazi of Bada'un in these words: "The great ambition of ulama is to become a *mutawalli* or a teacher somewhere. If they aspire for something higher, it is *qaziship* of some town. Their highest ambition is the office of *Sadr-i Jahan*. Beyond that they dare not aspire for anything."

The date of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi's death is unknown; no reliable information of his Bengali *khalifas* is available. His impact on the people of Bengal was considerable, so much so that the places visited by the Sufi in Bengal had turned into centres of pilgrimage in the seventeenth century, observes Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti.

Jamali, pp. 168-9.

Fawa'idu'l-Fuad, pp. 249-50, 147-8.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 211-12, 191-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 56.

Miratu'l-Asrar, pp. 721-6.

M.A. Rahman, *Social and Cultural History of Bengal*, I, Karachi, 1963, p. 99.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 158, 162-4.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, I, pp. 201-2.

Jalal Thaneswari: Born about 874/1469-70, his ancestors belonged to Balkh. When only eight years old, he memorized the Qur'an and completed his education at the age of seventeen. Although he started his career as a teacher and a *mufti*, his ecstatic temperament led him to Sufism. He gave up his profession and became a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi. He had a passion for *sama'* and is reputed to have made "vigorous physical movements during the ritual". Many leading nobles of the Mughal government visited him, but he generally remained in an ecstatic state. The Shaikh blessed Akbar when the Emperor called on him on his way to Kabul in February 1581. He died on 14 Zu'lhijja 989/9 January 1582.

Shaikh Jalal authored the *Irshadu't-Talibin* in order to guide *saliks* within the framework of the *Shari'ah*, *Tariqa* and *Haqiqa*. He emphasized the importance of cultivating love of God by undergoing hardship and sacrifice. Only a Sufi who died within himself before his physical death could become united with God in this life, observes the Shaikh. He also advised the novices in the Path to seek an accomplished and punctilious guide with an impeccable understanding of exoteric and esoteric truths. And while training his disciples in *zikr*, he laid emphasis on several forms of breath control.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 285.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 103-4.

Irshadu'l-Talibin, Amritsar, 1327/1909, p. 22.

Akbar-nama, III, pp. 341-2.

Majma'ul-Auliya, f. 734b (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 265).

Muhammad Akram, *Sawati'u'l-Anwar*, India Office, MS., ff. 304b-385b

jali: Aloud. See *Zikr-i Jali*.

Jama' al-Barakat: It is a summary of the *Ashi'at al-lama'at*, the Persian commentary on the *Mishkat al-masabih*. The author is Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis himself. [See *Ashi'at al-lama'at* and *Mishkat al-masabih*.]

Jamal al-din Muhaddis, Saiyid: He was one of the most eminent Sufi scholars who accompanied Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani to Kashmir. His knowledge of both *Hadis* and the interpretation of the Qur'an (*Tafsir*) was deep. He earned the title of 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa (True Faith) because of his knowledge.

Such was the impact of the teachings of Jamalu'd-Din that the place in Srinagar where he settled and founded a *madrasa* came to be known as 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa. The very fact that the *madrasa* attracted a considerable number of pupils bears an elaborate testimony to the role played by the Kubrawiyya Sufis in creating *Shari'ah*-consciousness in Kashmir. Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din is entombed in a quarter of Srinagar called Arwat, previously called 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 6a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 66.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, f. 70b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 18.

Jamal Multani Badau'ni, Qazi: His piety was extolled by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p. 376.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 148.

Jamal Shah Reshdaraz: He was a resident of Lar in the Kashmir Valley. He was a real *faqir* who wandered in this area and is said to have enjoyed considerable popularity for his spirituality.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 476.

Jamal Shah Sag Nawaz: His *murshid* is not known. However, after secluding himself in the caves and on the mountains for a certain period of his spiritual training, he became a *majzub*. Subsequently, he stayed for long on the 'Aishabad road and then took up his abode at the market of Tashwan in Srinagar. Later, he shifted his dwelling to the entrance gate of the Shergarhi Fort in Srinagar.

It is interesting to note once Mahda Nawab began to quarrel with Jamal Shah apparently on the latter's spiritual support to Gulab Singh, the first Dogra Maharaja of Kashmir. When Mahda Nawab questioned Jamal Shah as to why he had ruined Kashmir by handing over its sovereignty to Gulab Singh, Jamal Shah retorted: "I have authority to do whatever I want to do." Following a bitter dialogue between the two, Mahda Shah ultimately struck Jamal's head a severe blow with a stick which caused his death. Only a few days after this event, Gulab Singh died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 477.

Jamali: See Hamid bin Fazlu'llah.

Jam-i Jahan-numa: It is the work of the eminent Sufi poet Muhammad Shirin Maghribi (d. 809 /1406). Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din 'Alawi Gujarati, a Sufi teacher and prolific author wrote a Persian commentary on it.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 76.

Jan Muhammad Muharrami: He was one of the most noted munshis or scribes at Shahpur Hillock in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century. A *murid* and *khalifa* of Shah Aminu'd-Din A'la, Muharrami seems to have written copies not only of his spiritual mentor's essays, but also those of Burhanu'd-Din Janam, Miranji Shamu'd-Din 'Ushshaq, and Muhammad Husaini Bandanawaz Gisu Daraz.

M. Akbaruddin Siddiqui, *Bujhte Chiragh: Dakani Adab par Mazamin ka Majmu'a*, (Urdu), Hyderabad, pp. 138-48.

janbaz: One who gives up one's life; Saiyyid Muhammad Isfahani, a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order who came to Kashmir, earned the title of 'Janbaz' for his extreme ascetic practices. [See Saiyid Janbaz Wali.]

Jannah: "A garden". A term used by Sufis to express different stages of the spiritual life: *Jannatu'l-Afal*, the paradise of works, or that enjoyment which is derived from sensual pleasures, such as eating, drinking, etc.; *Jannatu'l-Wirasah*, the paradise of inheritance, which is a disposition like that of the saints and prophets; *Jannatu'l-Sifat*, the paradise of attributes; and *Jannatu'z-Zat*, the paradise of essence, being united with God (i.e. absorption into the divine essence).

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Janu'llah, Shaikh: A noted *'alim* and an excellent teacher belonging to Lahore, his interest in Sufism drove him to Thaneswar where he was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din. After relinquishing his teaching position, Janu'llah stayed with his *pir* and accompanied him when the latter was banished to Mecca by Emperor Jahangir. He finally returned to Lahore where he achieved considerable eminence.

On 9 Jumada II 1039/24 January 1630 he breathed his last at Lahore where he was buried.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 466.

Jawahir-i Faridi: Written by 'Ali Asgar bin Shaikh Maudud bin Shaikh Maudud Chisti of Fathpur, it glorifies the spiritual attainments of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar and his descendants. Completed in 1033/1623, the work abounds in myths related to performance of supernatural feats such as flying through the air, and the conversion of huge numbers of Hindus. The author writes about Shaikh Salim Chisti and some of his descendants on the basis of personal acquaintance.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 26-7.

Jawahir-i Khamsa: Written by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, it deals with esoteric practices of the Sufis of the Shattariyya order. The first draft prepared by the author in 929/1522-3, perused by his *pir*, Hajji Huzur, was revised in 956/1549. It was also rendered into Arabic simultaneously. [See Ghausi Shattari, Shaikh Muhammad.]

Jawami'ul-Kilam: Written by Gisu Daraz, it deals with the debates held by the author with Brahman scholars. According to Rizvi, "It is interesting to note that the arguments of the Brahmans who discussed Hindu mysticism with Gisu Daraz were based on the theory of the Unity of Being. They asserted that creation was not outside the Divine Being and the mystic exercise of prime importance was the perception of the self. In reply Gisu Daraz refused to recognize the importance of Hindu ascetic exercises calling them merely physical exercises, which failed to lead to an understanding of the truth (literally, 'heart'). The latter, according to Gisu Daraz, depended only on obedience to the *Shari'ah*. The most important aspect of Sufism to Gisu Daraz was the purification of the self and an exclusive interest in God."

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 254.

Jazb al-qulub ila diyar al-mahbub: Begun at Medina in 998/1589-90 and completed at Delhi in 1001/1592-3 by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, it is the history and topography of Medina. The work was published in Calcutta, Lucknow, and Kanpur.

Jazbah: "Attraction"; a term used by Sufis to express a yearning after the Divine Being. The nearer approach of man to his Maker through God's grace.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Jamalu'd-Din Maghribi: He was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad Husaini Bandanawaz Gisudaraz in Gulbarga. He died in 1423-4.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 78.

jihad: 'Holy war' against the tyranny, oppression and ethnocentrism of infidels; in terms of the depth meaning of the Qur'an, *jihad* connotes an incessant struggle against one's baser instincts (*nafs-i ammara*). Sufis mostly stressed the importance of *jihad-i Akbar* or "the greater warfare", a constant struggle against one's own lust, as against *jihad-i asghar*, or military warfare.

Jiwa 'Abdu'l-Ha'i, Shaikh: He was a prominent *khalifa* of the illustrious Shattariyya Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Known for his austerities, he did not accept gifts from anyone. He refused even the grain offered to him by his spiritual preceptor. He took to travelling in order to avoid contact with those who flocked to him. After visiting Delhi and Panipat, he settled at Bidauli on the banks of the Jamuna.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 372-3.

Jogi Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Nasru'd-Din. He enjoyed the benevolence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. After being married to a daughter of the well-known wealthy man Sangram Dar, he became the custodian of the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f.183a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 130-1.

Junaid Rishi: He was a disciple of Fasta Rishi who, in turn, was a disciple of Ripi Rishi (Baba Ruknu'd-Din). The latter was a disciple of Baba Loli Hajji, a contemporary of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and a *khalifa* of the latter's *khalifa*, Baba Nasru'd-Din. His descendants are the custodians of the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi at Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 133.

K k

Kabiru'd-Din Hasan, Saiyid: After extensive travels, he settled in Uch. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, his greatest miracle was his miraculous conversion of many non-Muslims to Islam. He died in 896/1490-1 and was buried in Uch.

Akbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 372-3.

Kabiru'd-Din Isma'il, Shaikh: He was one of the prominent disciples and *khalifas* of Saiyid Raju Qattal. He studied the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* under the guidance of his *murshid*. Like the latter, he dedicated himself to the cause of the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order in Uch for the whole of his life.

Jamali, p. 160.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1095.

Kafi: The Sufi poetry in the Panjabi language was generally written in distiches like *sakhis*, known as *kafis*. Not unlike the Hindi Sufi poets, the poets of the Panjab, particularly the Qadiriyyas, chose their own dialect to express their exuberance and Sufi sensitivity in sweet, lyrical effusion.

Kaimuh: The village of Kaimuh of ancient Katimusa (*Rajatarangini*, tr. Stein, II, 55, and n), is famous as the birthplace of Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi of Kashmir. From here, the shrine of Sayyid Husain Simnani, one of the earliest Kubrawiyya Sufis of Kashmir, is situated at a distance of about seven kilometres. It was also at Kaimuh that the Shaikh resorted to seclusion in a cave for twelve years during the earlier stage of his mystical career.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

Kale Sahib: His original name was Ghulam Nasiru'd-Din. He was a revered Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi who died in 1262/1846. [See Ghulam Nasiru'd-Din.]

Kalima: Word; the profession of faith in Islam.

Kalimat-i Chand: Authored by Mir Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgarami (d. 1017/1608), it deals with Sufism.

Kalimat-i Taiyibat: This contains the letters of Shah Waliu'llah and Mirza Jan-i Jahan Mazhar. The first two volumes of Shah Waliu'llah's letters, according to K.A. Nizami, contain 281, and the second 77 letters. These letters are in private collections. A complete copy of the first volume is preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur. While some letters, particularly those addressed to Ahmad Shah Durrani, Najibu'd-Daula, Asaf-Jah and some nobles have political overtones in the context of the decline of the Mughal Empire, the main spirit is about a moral and social rejuvenation of Indian Muslims. Notwithstanding his plea for forbidding the festival of Holi and bathing in the Ganges in one of these letters, the author generally shows the deep concern of a Sufi over social atrophy of Indian Muslims. Although he does not approve of the practices of Shias observed on the eve of Muharram, nevertheless, he expects the Shias not to go beyond the bounds of moderation (*hadd-i i'tidal*).

Kalimatu'sh-Shu'ara: Compiled by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Sarkhwush in 1093/1682, it is a detailed biographical dictionary of poets of the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Kalimatu's-Sadiqin: Written by Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani, it provides valuable biographical information of 125 Sufis buried in Delhi. The author had intimate contact with the Naqshbandiyya *khanqah* of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah in Delhi besides being close to the *khanqahs* of Panjab and Kashmir. The author quotes eleven aphorisms of the Mujjadid to show the latter's enthusiasm for Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani.

Kalimu'llah, Maulavi: He came from Bengal and was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Mirza Jan-i Janan.

Maqamat-i Mazhariyya, p. 82.

Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi, Shah: Born in Shahjahanabad (also known as Jahanabad or Delhi) on 24 Jumada II 1060/24 June 1650, his ancestors hailed from Khujand. Shaikh Ahmad-i Mi'mar (d. 1059/1649), a mathematician and an engineer who was his grandfather designed the Taj Mahal and the Red Fort. His father Nuru'llah, a calligrapher, designed the inscriptions of the great Jami' mosque in Delhi.

Kalimu'llah was essentially rooted in secular education and wrote a number of commentaries on Baha'u'd-Din Amuli's works on astronomy and on Ibn Sina's *Qanun fi'l-tibb* (Canon of Medicine). He was attracted to Sufism because of his contact with

Shattari, who were also his teachers. On the advice of a *majzub*, he left for Medina where he was initiated into the Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya and Qadiriyya orders by Shaikh Yahya Madani (d. 28 Safar 1101/11 December 1689). However, the Shaikh earned fame for reviving the distinction and reverence that the Chistiyyas had relished in Delhi during the days of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Shah Kalimu'llah's abode in Delhi was near the Bazar Khanam between the Red Fort and the Jami' mosque. He was known for the austerities he observed in accordance with the true traditions of the Chistiyyas. He spurned all offer of *futuh*. Although Shah Kalimu'llah refused to grant an interview to Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19), he relented after persuasion. In his old age, however, the Shah could not stop his relatives and disciples from accepting lavish gifts.

Shah Kalimu'llah wrote a Sufic commentary on the Qur'an. His treatises are considered to be "masterpieces of eighteenth-century Sufic thought". Among these the *Kashkul*, completed on 1 Zu'lqa'ada 1101/6 August 1690, shortly after his return from Medina, along with its appendix called the *Muraqqa*, was marked by a new horizon for Chistiyya teachings and practices.

Shah Kalimu'llah superbly explains the importance of *zikr* and *fikr*. The primary objective of *zikr* "was to remind Sufis of the evanescence of the self into Allah". He talks about various forms of *zikr*, as outlined by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Sulami (d. 412/1021-2): that of the tongue (*zikr-i lisani*), of the heart (*zikri-i qalb*), of the innermost aspect of the soul (*zikr-i sirr*), and of the spirit (*zikr-i ruh*). Likewise, against Sulami's classification, *fikr* is classified as 1. reflection on one's sinfulness and negligence of duties to God, 2. on God's bountifulness and beneficence with reference to one's ingratitude, 3. on eternity and one's incapacity to grasp it, and 4. on both angelic and phenomenal creations so that omnipotence of the Creator in awarding bounties and punishment contrasting with man's one's powerlessness overwhelms the heart.

Attaching much importance to *zikr* considering its value in promoting love and *ma'rifa*, he quoted the Quran: "Therefore remember Me, I will remember you." Although *fikr* was concerned with an examination of self, time, ecstasy, number, profit, and loss, nonetheless, both were necessary to attain the goal of total extinction of individuality (*fana' al-fana*) and subsistence in God (*baqa' al-baqa'*).

Shah Kalimu'llah died on 24 Rabi' I 1142/17 October 1729, leaving a huge estate of 100,000 rupees.

Najmu'd-Din Nagauri, *Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain*, Rampur, 1289/1872-73, p. 45.

Gul Muhammad Ma'arufi Karkhi, *Zikru'l-asfiya' fi takmila-i Siyaru'l-auliya' dar manqabat-i Shamsu'l-Huda*, Delhi, 1312/1894, p. 79.

Maktubat-i Kalimi, letter nos. 47, 64.

Kashkul-i Kalimi, Delhi, 1308/1890-1, p. 2.

Nuru'd-Din Husain, *Fakhru't-Talibin*, Delhi, 1315/1897-8, p. 77.

Kaliyuga: A term conveying evil and wickedness. Significantly, in his poetry, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri used Sanskrit words for the dissemination of the teachings of Islam in Kashmir. [See Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri.]

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

Kamal Muhammad 'Abbasi, Shaikh: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din. After receiving esoteric and theological education in Ahmedabad under the guidance of his eminent Shattariyya *pir*, he migrated to Ujjain in 982/1574-5. There he entered into a matrimonial alliance with an eminent Sufi family of Kalpi. Being a scholar of *Hadis*, Kamal Muhammad lectured on theology for thirty years. He also wrote *fatwas* based on the rulings of the ulama. He died in 1013/1605.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 424-5.

Kamal, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh 'Usman Zinda Pir of the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya branch. Initiated by his father, Shaikh Kamal preferred to live as an ascetic. Although the citizens of Panipat urged him to assume the leadership of the *khanqah* after his father's death, he turned down the offer in favour of his younger brother, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab, pp. 229-31.

Kamalu'd-Din Sulaimani, Qureshi Shattari: He was a disciple and successor of Shaikh Ruknu'd-din Shattari. The famous Shattariyya Sufi and the author of the *Gulzar-i Abrar* was tutored by Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 281.

Kamalu'd-Din Zahid, Maulana: It is not known whether he was initiated into Sufism, but he lived like a Sufi, acestic, righteous, and refusing Balban's offer to act as the royal *imam.* "Our prayer is all that is left to us", reacted the Maulana to the Sultan's request, "Does the Sultan want to take that also from us?" Taken aback, the Sultan permitted the Maulana to leave for his home.

An outstanding scholar of the *Hadis*, Kamalu'd-Din Zahid imparted lessons on *Mashariqu'l-Anwar* (q.v.) to his pupils. One of his students was Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. The certificate given by him to his most distinguished pupil is worth quoting: ". . . Be it known after the praise of God and His Prophet that God provided an opportunity to the great Shaikh and the Imam of the world, Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Ali, who is endowed with great erudition and profound learning and is the beloved of divines . . . to study the entire text of *Mashariqu'l-Anwar* which contains a gist of the *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahi Muslim* with the writer of these lines. . . . He studied it as critically and with such diligence, effort and perseverance as the book deserves to be read. The writer of these lines has studied this book with two great scholars: the author of *Sharh Asar al-Nayyarain fi Akhbar al-Sahihain* and Mahmud b. Abul Hasan Asad al-Balkhi. . . . I have received both oral and written permission from these scholars (to teach this book). Both scholars had studied this book with its author. I have permitted Sultan-u'l-Mashaik to narrate the traditions of the Prophet on my authority as is laid down in the *'Ilm-I Hadis*. . . . I request Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh not to forget me and my descendants in his prayers. . . . He studied this book in a mosque of Delhi known after the name of Najm-u'd-Din Abu Bakr al-Taiwasi. . . . May God protect this city from all calamities and misfortunes. . . . These words are in the handwriting of Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Marikali, known as Kamal Zahid and were written on Rab'iu'l-Awwal 21, 679 A.H."

Amir-i Khwurd, *Siyaru'l-Aulya*, pp. 101, 104-6.

'Abdu'l-Haqqq, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, p. 71.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, p. 155.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, I, p. 159.

Kamalu'd-Din, Saiyid: A brother of Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Muhaddis. Both brothers accompanied Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani to Kashmir. Although Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din settled in the mohalla of Qutbu'd-Dinpura in Srinagar, he spent most of his time visiting various parts of the Valley. He lies buried in the neighbourhood of Qutbu'd-Dinpura.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 6a.

Kamil: "Perfect; complete." Al-Insanu'l-Kamil, "the perfect man". A mystic term (Insanu'l-Kamil).

Kalimatu'l-Haqa'iq: Authored by Burhanu'd-Din Janam, it deals with the Chistiyya viewpoint on Sufism. The author refers to the central symbol of the *chakki-nama,* the grindstone, in the similar manner that popular writers referred to it. He attributes the movement of the wheel to the power hidden in the hand. That hand is described as *'arifu'l-wujud* ["knower of existence", i.e. God], and "those who see that the power is in the hand are witnesses of the light; thereby they witness the essence, which is God."

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 161.

Kamalu'd-Din Biabani: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi of Gulbarga, Jamalu'd-Din Maghribi. Known as Shah Kamal, he belonged to the Chistiyya order of the Sufis of Bijapur. Shah Miranji was directed by the Prophet in a dream to go to Bijapur in order to seek spiritual guidance. No sooner had he reached Bijapur than Shah Kamal met him and initiated him into the Chistiyya order. Afterwards, Shah Kamal roamed about in the forests. He died in AD 1462-3.

Shajaratu'l-Atqiya, pp. 19f. (as quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 77-8).

Kandal Rishi: Little is known about him except his piety and asceticism, and that he was a *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. He lies buried near the tomb of his *murshid* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Kani Rishi: Little is known about this disciple of Baba Bamdu'd-Din Rishi, except his austerities and meditative exercises in the true manner of his *pir*. His grave lies near the tomb of Baba Bamu'd-Din at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Kanzu'd-Daqai'q: See Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani.

Kanzu'l-Fawa'id: Written by Khwaja Ziau'd-Din, a prominent disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif, it contains the conversation of the latter. The work has not survived. 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, however, has quoted certain extracts which show that the teachings of Sadru'd-Din 'Arif centred on the Qur'an and *Hadis*. The importance of *zikr* in Sufism is stressed. Sadru'd-Din repeated the saying of the Sufis that no breath should be taken without remembering Allah; any violation in this regard would lead to the destruction of one's self. The ultimate goal of *zikran-i kasira*, according to him, was to reach the state of silence of the tongue and enlightenment of heart or *zikr-i qalbi*.

Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din died in 684/1285.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 122-6.

Al-Kanzu'l-Makhfi: "The Secret Treasure." A term used by the Sufis for the essence and personality of God.

Kanzu'l-'Ummal: This is an encylopaedia of *Hadis* written by Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi. It sought to rearrange in alphabetical order the *ahadis* compiled by Jalalu'd-Din Abu'l-Fazl 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad's as-Suyuti (d. 911/1505) in his *Jama' al-Jawami* or *Jami' al-Musnad*. [See 'Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh.]

Kanzu's-Sa'adat: Also known as *Ganj-i-sa'adat*, it was written by Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi 'Alawi Hussaini in 1072/1661-2. The author gives biographical information about his father, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, in one section of this Persian work while analysing the problems of *Fiqh* and the duties of Muslim rulers in its remaining portion. The section dealing with the principles of government follows, by and large, the *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and the *Suluku'l-Muluk* of Fazlu'llah Ruzbihan Isfahani. Apart from dealing with the controversies revolving around the question of succession to the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Shi'i Imams from the viewpoint of a Sunni, the author gives an interesting account of Sufic principles and practices. MS Oriental Institute, Tashkent.

Kanzu'r-Rumuz: Mir Husaini Saadat, a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif, wrote it in praise of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi and his illustrious disciple, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya.

Karam Shah Lari: He was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Rahma Shah. Pir Hasan Shah gives an eyewitness account of his austerities. Once during winter Hasan found Karam Shah meditating for the whole night in just a shirt and without a portable brazier (*kangri*). Such was the fire underneath his soul, observes the chronicler, that he gulped four buckets of cold water. He lies buried in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 397.

Karam Shah Shahabadi: A disciple of Shah Asadu'llah Nawabazari, he travelled to every nook and corner of the Kashmir valley and initiated numerous people into the Chistiyya order.

He lies buried in Shahabad.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 392.

karamat: A miracle attributed to a Sufi.

Karamatu'l-Auliya: Authored by Shaikh Badru'd-Din after the death of his *pir*, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, it describes the miracles that Sufis performed after their death.

Karim Khan: A *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Like his brother, 'Ali Khan, Karim Khan elicited praise of his contemporaries for his piety. Diddamari describes him as the son of 'Ali Khan.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 248.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 241.

Karim Muhammad: He was the youngest son of the Shattariyya Sufi of Bijapur, Saiyid Muhammad Mudarris (d. AD 1675). Although appointed *khalifa* by Muhammad Mudarris before the latter left the Konkan Coast for Mecca, Karim Muhammad spent the rest of his life as a recluse.

Mishkat, copy B, fol. 547b.

Karimu'd-Din, Shaikh: Born at Attock near Hasan Abdal, he obtained his early religious education in Lahore. Stirred by a desire to know God before his death, he consecrated himself to prayer and meditation. Later, on reaching Sirhind, the Mujaddid initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya, and afterwards deputed him to spread the teachings of the order in Hasan Abdal. He won considerable success in the region. When the number of his disciples reached seventy, his *pir* with whom he had constant personal contact authorized him to initiate as many disciples as possible. He died on 3 Muharram 1050/25 April 1640.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 385-8.

Zubadatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 355-62.

Kashf: The uncovering of anything covered; a manifestation. A mystic term used for a revelation of any secret truth to the mind of man, by the grace and power of God.

Kashifat: A treatise written by the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din (d. 990/1582), on various forms of perception of the manifestations of the Absolute. The work is not extant. However, the author's illustrious son, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, has reproduced a brief extract from this treatise on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar.*

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 306-7.

Kashkul-i Kalimi: It was written by Shah Kalimu'llah of Delhi.

Khalasman Rishi: Also called Kailas Rishi, he was the son of Pilasman Rishi. Known for his renunciation, Khalasman belongs to the category of Rishis in Kashmir whose existence cannot be established either chronologically or as a matter of reality in historical terms. Only folklore and folk beliefs refer to their one time existence, though later historical sources lend credence to such information without any crictical examination.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 111.

Khalid Kurdi, Maulana: He travelled from Syria to India and reached Delhi in 1224/1809-10. After being initiated as a Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya by Shah Ghulam 'Ali Mujaddidi, the Maulana returned to Syria where he preached the Naqshbandiyya order with a dedicated zeal. One of his disciples, Maulana Shami, authored the *Durr-i Mukhtas*, consisting of a collection of Hanafiyya *fatwas.*

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 342.

Khalid-i Makhazin: Written in 932/1525 by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, it deals with the mystical journey of soul. Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati, a worthy disciple of the author, wrote a commentary on this work of considerable importance. MS. Khuda Baksh Library, Patna.

khalifa: Viceregent; successor of a spiritual leader; a Sufi usually had one or more *khalifas* who were authorized to induct others, into the order. According to the Qur'an (Sura 2/31), God made Adam his *khalifa*, his viceregent on earth, which shows man's exalted status among the creatures.

Khalifa Abu'l-Qasim: He lived in Akbarabad and was a disciple of Mir Abu'l-'Ala. He became the *pir* of Shah 'Abdu'r Rahim after the death of Hafiz Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Akbarabadi. According to Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, Khalifa Abu'l-Qasim was a Sufi of unparalleled spiritual worth. An interesting discussion on the subtleties of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* between Abul-Qasim and Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim is recorded by Shah Waliu'llah in his *Anfasu'l 'Arifin.*

The spiritual exaltedness of Khalifa Abu'l-Qasim can be judged from the fact that even a Sufi scholar like Shah Waliu'llah describes at some length his miraculous achievements.

Such was the impact of Abu'l-Qasim on his *murids* that one of them, a mason, often recited a verse in his *majlis* in order to bring home the spiritual value of time in Sufism:

kar-i 'alam darazi darad
har chi girad mukhtasar girad.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 73-83.

khalq: Creation; mankind; people.

Khan Razzaqi Muhammad: See *Malfuz-i-Razzaqi.*

khanqah: The humble structure in which a Sufi lived; spiritual training was given in the *khanqah* and usually a public kitchen and other facilities were attached to it.

Khan Shah: Little is known about him except that he was a spiritual preceptor of the little known seventeenth Sufi of Kashmir, A'zam Shah, the son of Khwaja Rafiq's *khalifa*, Mir 'Ali.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 471.

Khatam-i Sulaimani: Authored by Maulavi Ilah Bakhsh Baluchi, it contains some useful information about the Chistiyya Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa. Published in Lahore, 1325/1907-8.

Khat-i Irshad: It is a document preserved in the Khanqah-i Mu'alla, Srinagar. Authored by the Kubrawiyyya Saiyid, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, the son of illustrious Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, it testifies to Shaikh Nuru'-Din Rishi Kashmiri's final absorption in the Islamic identity. As the document reads: "Realize that allegiance (*bait*) is *Sunnah* of the prophets and *khulafa* and this *Sunnah* will remain unchanged until the Day of Judgement. Thus it is not permissible for any one among the protege of Allah (*aulia*) and ulama to claim for himself vicegerency of Allah without authorization and so long as he has a permission from a perfect teacher and guide, himself owing allegiance to such an order as is continuously connected with the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of Allah on him).

In the Name of Allah who has graced us and all (pious) servants to follow the right Path and, besides, saved us and all noble and dignified servants from emulating *Ahl-i bid'a* and *'Ahl-i hawa* and, besides, elevated us, the group of sincere and friendly (believers), to such exalted ranks as are marked by the *m‘arifa* of Allah. And praise and salutations upon His messenger and His *nabi* and his chosen one Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa and upon his progency whose love is a passport for gaining virtuousity and exalted power (*daula*) and upon such of his companions as are the shining stars of the spiritual kingdom, and in following them we have received guidance. And then the one who is weak, feeble, and defective is Muhammad bin ‘Alibin Shihabuddin Hamadani. May Allah grant him His special favours. (And) he says: Realize that the meaning and purpose of creation is to arrive at an understanding of Allah (*m‘arifa*) as some verses of the Qur'an, *ahadis-i-Qudsiyya*, sayings of the prophets and pious history bear testimony to it. Thus it is obligatory on everyone among human kind to struggle towards that goal for which he has been created. And since there are innumerable ways leading towards Allah (and) as the Prophet (Peace of Allah on him) has said: ‘The ways guiding towards Allah are equivalent to the breath of (whole) creation.’ And among these the nearest path (*tariqa*) is the exalted *madhab* of Kubrawiyya, Hamadaniyya and Husainiyya led by my father ‘Ali Hamadani as in this path he was guided by such *mashsikh* as had granted him permission of *irshad* and the number of such dignitaries is thirty three. And then my brother Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri who is pious, gnostic, man gifted with *kashf, mujahada* and *mushahada* and is also a *zahid* and *‘abid*. May Allah guide him like *Salihin* and *‘arifin* and shower on him His grace like those who are perfect in piety and nearest to Allah. He not only insisted on his entry into the circle of Allah's lovers and perfectly pious souls but implored for it with every fibre of his being. Hence I granted him permission to make seekers (after the Truth) repentful and take allegiance from them. And may teach them *zikr-i chahar zarab* which will cleanse their heart from the dirt of its snares and (other) obstacles. (Besides) may accept *nazr* and *hidaya* and resort to seclusion, looked with favour in the exalted *tariqa* of *Saadat*, and it is an integral part of *tariqa* that he may not forget me at occasions solemnized by the grant of prayers. I have written this (treatise) on the night following Friday on the 15th of the month of Rajab, 814 Hijra in the capital of Kashmir.

May Allah save Kashmir and its inhabitants against calamities and destruction!"

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 161, 164, 256-7.

Khatima: It was written by Gisu Daraz. Rizvi writes: "The ruler should work for the glory of the Divine, which would simultaneously weaken the will of his carnal self. Gisu Daraz used an example that if a country was seized with drought the king should don tattered clothes, start digging with a spade, then sow some seeds and pray for rain. Thus a monarch demonstrated he was more helpless thant the lowliest beggar and such an admission would cause rain to fall."

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 255.

Khatir: "Mind; conscience". A term used by mystic teachers, *Khatir* is said to be of four kinds: *Al-Khatiru'r-Rabbani*, "conscience inspired of God"; *al-Khatiru'l Malaki*, "conscience inspired by angels"; *al-Khatir'n-Nafsani*, "conscience inspired by the flesh"; *al-Khatiru'sh-Shaitan*, "conscience inspired by the devil."

Kitabu't-Ta‘rifat (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Khazina'ul-Asfiya: Written by Mufti Muhammad Ghulam Sarwar bin Mufti Ghulam Muhammad of Lahore between 1280/1863-4 and 1281/1864-5, it is an invaluable source on the history of Sufism. The author had a very rich personal collection of biographical dictionaries and works on Sufism.

Khazinah-i Jalali: Compiled by Abu'l Fazl bin Ziya, it is a compendium of the teachings of the Makhdum Jahaniyan.

Khazinat al-Fawa'id al Jalalaiyya: Composed by Ahmad bin Ya‘qub in 752/1351, it is a compendium of the teachings of the Makhdum Jahaniyan.

Khilwah: "Privacy; retirement". A term used by the Sufis for retirement from the world for the purposes of worship and meditation.

khilwat dar anjuman: Spiritual awareness even in being an active member of society.

khirqa: A frock (not always patched as generally believed) worn by Sufis, generally gifted by a spiritual preceptor to a *khalifa* to symbolize the latter's succession or to legitimize his authority. The investiture with the *khirqa* formed part of the introduction into the *tariqa*, the mystical path, because the spiritual preceptor granted through the *khirqa* some of his *baraka* to the disciple. Besides the *khirqa* given by the master to whom one had pledged *bai‘a* one could obtain a *khirqa* from other masters whom one visited. The latter form of the Sufic robe, known as *khirqa-i tabarruk*, was given only for blessing and not for authorizing the enrolment of disciples.

Khirqa-i iradat: Sufic robe authorizing one to enrol disciples in a particular order.

Khizr Afghan, Hajji: A native of Banur near Sirhind, he was a disciple of the Mujaddid's father. After performing *hajj* and visiting many countries in Arabia and Syria, he reached Sirhind to become the Mujaddid's disciple. A darling of his *pir*, the Mujaddid often called him his favourite, 'Khizra'. As long as he lived in Sirhind, no one else was allowed to call *azan*, thanks to his sonorous voice. He was fond of reciting *durud* and *na't* during Friday nights with deep emotions. He later moved to Bajwara, but so distressed was he by the death of his *pir* that he died, according to the author of *Zubdatu'l-Maqamat,* a year after the latter's death in 1035/1625-6. Hajji Khizr enrolled many Afghans in the Naqshbandiyya order. One of his talented disciples was Shaikh Adam Banuri who was also granted discipleship by the Mujaddid.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 347-9, also pp. 84-5.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 383-4.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., p. 354n.

Khizr Baba-i Qari: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Ibadi Qari. He learnt the skills of *'ilmu'l-qirat* from his *murshid*. From Shaikh Akbar Hadi, Shaikh Taiyib Rafiqi and several other Sufis, he obtained permission to recite *awrad* and *wazaif.*

Khizr Baba lies buried at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Khizr Siwistani, Shaikh: He lived in the mountains of Siwistan in Sindh during the sixteenth century. He was a Qadiriyya hermit, loved the company of wild animals, and avoided contact with people. He is reported to have subsisted on leaves and wore nothing other than a loincloth.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 27-8.

Khoram Pandit: Little is known about him except that he was a venerable Sufi and lies buried at Gurgarhi *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 282.

Khuda Bakhsh Multani: A disciple of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Multan, Hafiz Muhammad Aqil (d. 1226/1811), he gained popularity as a Sufi and scholar.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, p. 140.

Khudanuma, Shah Miranji: He migrated from Golconda to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). He had been a military officer (*jama'dar*) in Golconda before coming to Bijapur as ambassador. It was in Bijapur that he underwent a dramatic transformation in his life after meeting the prominent Chistiyya Sufi, Aminu'd-Din. He gave up everything in preference to leading the life of a recluse on Shahpur Hillock. He died in AD 1675.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 74, 275-6.

Khulasat al-mafakir: Compiled by 'Afifu'd-Din 'Abdu'llah bin As'ad al-Yafi'I (d. 768/1367), this work, written by a native of Yemen, is a collection of two hundred anecdotes concerning Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilani. Persian translation of 105 anecdotes from this work was completed by a poet called 'Abdi in 1051/1641-2.

Khulasatu'l-Alfaz Jami'ul-'Ulum: Modelled largely on the pattern of the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad*, it is a collection of the utterances of the celebrated Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Saiyid Abu 'Abdull'llah Jalalu'd-Din Husain bin Ahmad Bukhari, better known as the Makhdum Jahaniyan. The account dates from Sunday 8 Rabi' II 781/24 July 1379 and ends on Tuesday 17 Muharram 782/23 April 1380, during the time of the Shaikh's visit to Delhi. It was the work of his disciple Abu 'Abdu'llah 'Ala'ud-Din 'Ali bin Sa'd bin Ashraf bin 'Ali al-Qureshi al-Husaini. Covering a wide range of topics, it warns the beginners on the Sufi Path not to concern themselves with the *Wahdat al-Wujud* as it could be understood only by experts. The Makhdum Jahaniyan encouraged the author in his undertaking and clarified particular points he could not understand.

W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, no. 1209, Calcutta, 1924.

Khulasatu'l-Manaqib: Written by Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Badakshi, a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, it is the earliest source about the latter. It is an interesting collection of stories related by the author's *pir*, and also incorporates anecdotes and legends about, and verses composed by other Iranian Sufis. The work does not contain any information regarding Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani's role in Kashmir beyond a casual reference to his departure for the Valley. Notwithstanding the legendizing tenor in Badakshi's work in describing the miraculous exploits of his *pir* in different parts of the Muslim world, he does not fail to give an objective assessment of his spiritual preceptor's historical role. Thus he quotes Saiyid 'Ali as saying that his contemporaries were unable to recognize the value of his work and his role and that it would become intelligible only a century after his death.

Prof. Shamsu'd-Din's Urdu translation of the work has been recently published by Shaikh Muhammad 'Usman, Srinagar.

Khulasatu'l-Ma'rif: Written by Adam Banuri, a distinguished *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, it contains the teachings of the author's *pir*. Ms. India Office, London.

Khurram Hafiz: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Muhammad Amin Sufi, he died at the age of 100. His tomb lies at Tilwanpura in the compound of his house.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 415-16.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 319.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 240.

Khush Dahan, Shaikh Mahmud: migrated from Bidar to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). A nephew and disciple of Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, Shaikh Mahmud later became a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Burhanu'd-Din Janam.

Shaikh Mahmud became the chief exponent of Chistiyya teachings at Shahpur Hillock. The essence of the teachings of the Chistiyya Sufis of Bijapur was strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* in the first stage of a *salik's* journey. The second was *Tariqat*, or the stage of the way, in which the first esoteric secrets and practices of the order were imparted to the traveller. In the next stage, called the *Haqiqat*, or the stage of truth, the reality of God's existence as the only absolute truth dawned upon a seeker. And the fourth was the *Ma'rifat*, or the stage of esoteric knowledge, in which the traveller realized the presence of the divine within himself. While the guidance of a *murshid* was a must for passing through these stages, however, there was yet another stage, called the *maqam-i qurb* (place of nearness), which could be attained by a traveller only through the grace of God if there were no assistance from the *pir*.

Shaikh Mahmud died in 1617.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 176.
Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 74, 144-6.

Khushal Shah: Little is known about him except that he wandered in the wilderness and fields where he engaged in cultivating a kind of bean, called *lubiya* in Persian (*Dolichos sinesis*). An enraptured soul, Khushal lies buried in Bijbehara, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 475.

Khushal Shah Sopuri: He was a disciple of Agar Shah. Throughout his life he made every effort to disseminate the teachings of Sufism among the people. He was buried at Tulibal in the town of Sopur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

khwaja: Master; teacher; title of the pioneers of the Naqshbandiyya order.

Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Baqi: He was a *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju in the Qadiriyya order. He was noted for his piety and virtuosity and, after his death in 1122/1710, was buried outside the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar. Miskin wrongly says that he died in 1127/1714-15. Diddamari describes him as an ascetic and had the privilege of meeting with him at the age of 90.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 365-6.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 321.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 230.

Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Hakim: He was the son of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Karim Banday. After obtaining formal education, he received initiation in the Naqshbandiyya order from Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshabandi.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 282-3.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 262.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 209.

Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Karim: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Bandey: He was a nephew of Baba Dawud Khaki and a *khalifa* of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi. His father, Khwaja Talib, was a dignitary of Kashmir who was offered the post of *qanungo* by Emperor Akbar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 243, 245.

Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Kubrawi: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of noble qualities and that he lies buried at the village of Haniwari in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 315.

Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Mattoo: He belonged to the business community of Srinagar. After enrolling as a disciple of Khwaja Zahid Balkhi (not mentioned in Hasan and Miskin) he renounced the world and devoted himself to the worship of Allah at a village in Kashmir until his death during the time of the later Mughals.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 345.

Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Qadiri: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Dawud Khaki. He committed the Qur'an to memory.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim: He belonged to a family of dignitaries in Tashkent who were also responsible for the upkeep of a *khanqah*. After the death of his father (Khwaja Muhammad Sharif), he migrated to the Panjab along with his brother, Shah Niyaz, following an internal feud. Being closely related to 'Abdu's-Saifu'd-Daula, the Subehdar of Lahore, the Khwaja stayed in the city for some time. From Lahore he went to Shahjahanabad. After staying with the Waziru'l-Malik, Fakhru'd-Din Khan, he gained access to the court of Muhammad Shah (1719-48), thanks to the good offices of one Saiyid Muhammad Khan. The Mughal emperor bestowed on him the title of Shaikh-i Kaman. His growing association with the king was, however, resented by the Wazir who now parted company with him. Saddened at the unfriendly attitude of the Wazir, the Khwaja abandoned the company of the king and, instead, met with Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid Sirhindi, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad. Considering the Shaikh's act of not shaving his head to be contrary to the practice of the *Shari'ah*, the Khwaja dropped the idea of seeking his discipleship. Thereafter, at the insistence of Nawab Asif Khan, the Khwaja moved to Hyderabad. From there he reached Mecca and, after performing *Hajj*, toured different countries of the Arab world.

On his return to India, the Khwaja enrolled as a disciple of Khwaja Musa Khan Dehbedi, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid. Pleased with the *murid's* spiritual progress, the *murshid* appointed the Khwaja his *khalifa* and authorized him to enrol disciples.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim accompanied Musa Khan up to Lahore on the latter's way to Khurasan. He stayed in Lahore for some time until he was offered the *faujdari* of Yaminabad. Following the death of his brother, Khwaja Shah Niyaz, at the hands of the Sikhs during the latter's revolt against Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Khwaja left for Jammu. From there he went to Turkistan to see Musa Khan. Although the Khwaja stayed with his *pir* for a considerable time, he was ultimately commanded by his *pir* to leave for Kashmir. The Khwaja reached the Valley via Yarqand and spent some time with Baba Mahmud Chisti, Miyan Muhammad Wali Dar, and Khwaja Kamal Naqshbandi. After some time, he bought houses and laid out gardens in the Valley.

During the governorship of the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Nuru'd-Din Khan Bamzai (1762 to 1769), however, the Khwaja went to Tashkent. Although warmly welcomed and offered all his ancestral property, the Khwaja refused to accept anything. Instead, he decided to dedicate himself to the cause of guiding the people of Kashmir on to the Path. Ultimately he came to the Valley and lived there up to the ripe old age of 100.

On 12 Jamiu'd'l-Awwal 1200/13 March 1785, he breathed his last.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 81-3.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Banday: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Gaani: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar. He gained fame for his *mujahada* and *mushahada* and, after serving his spiritual preceptor for his whole life, was buried near the latter's tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 308.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju: He came from a trading family of Jamalata in Srinagar. In the prime of his youth, he became a disciple of Shaikh Bangar Rishi Pampuri. Later Mir 'Ali Qadiri initiated him in the Qadiriyya order. He was known for his self-denial and whatever was offered to him was distributed to the poor. Notwithstanding his intrinsic merit as a Sufi, the Khwaja followed the *Shari'ah* strictly and advised his followers to conform their behaviour to its moral injunctions.

He died in 1097/1685-6 and was buried at Jamalata near his house in Srinagar. The locality is now called Rahbaba *mohalla* after 'Abdu'r-Rahim's name

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 161.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 313.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 276.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 216.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shahgulu: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman Sarangpuri: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who, as a result of his passion for *sama'* created a favourable impression at such gatherings.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rashid: Little is known about him except that he was a son of Khwaja Najmu'd-Din Naqshbandi known for his affable manners and humility as a Sufi. He belonged to Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 90.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Razzaq: He belonged to a trading family in Kashmir. After obtaining a formal education, he became a disciple of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. Little is known about him except that he took to a life of renunciation and self-mortification by way of a *jihad* against his inner self.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Razzaq: He was a son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz. Through his long life the Khwaja carried on the mission of the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir and distinguished himself as a spiritual master by virtue of his devoutness. He died in 1114/1702-3 and is entombed at Malachhmar in Srinagar near his *khanqah*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 324.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 275.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 224.

Khwaja 'Abdu'n-Nabi: He was a grandson of Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din Naqshbandi (d. 30 Rajab 1188/ 6 October 1774) and the son of Khwaja Khaliq. After obtaining lessons on *tasawwuf* and *suluk* from Dervish Muhammad Bukhari, the Khwaja devoted himself to worship and meditations in the *khanqah*.

'Abdu'n-Nabi died on 3 Jamiu'd-Sani 1263/ 19 May 1847 and lies buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 93.

Khwaja 'Abdu's-Sabur: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Abdu'sh-Shahid: He was one of the prominent Naqshbandiyya Sufis who migrated from Central Asia to India.

Babur-nama (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 181).

Khwaja Abu Bakr Musalehbardar: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 99.

Khwaja Abu Bakr Mandawi: Endowed with learning, asceticism, and piety, the Khwaja was initially a *khalifa* of Baba Farid. Later, he also received initiation from Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya at his own request. His grave lies in the compound of the tomb of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Siyaru'l-Auliya (U), pp. 300-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 75.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 892.

Khwaja Abu'l-Fath: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Abu'l-Haqq Samarqandi: He was originally from Samarqand; he travelled in various countries in search of a *murshid* and ultimately found him in Kashmir in the person of the Valley's most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 188.

Khwaja Ahmad: Son of Shaikh Abu Yazid bin Shaikh Najmu'd-Din bin Shaikh Qiyamu'd-Din, was, according to Amir Hasan Sijzi, the grandson of Khwaja Mu'inud-Din Chisti. 'Abdu'l-Haqq is all praise for the Khwaja's piety.

Fawa'id'ul-Fuad, Eng. tr., pp. 139-40.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 209.

Khwaja Ahmad Topigaru: A disciple of Mulla Jawhar Naant, he gained excellence in both exoteric and esoteric sciences. However, he dedicated himself to the teaching of exoteric knowledge with a focus on Arabic grammar and several ulama are said to have benefited from him. His grave is situated near that of his *murshid* at Hawal in Srinagar, Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 266.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 219.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 295.

Khwaja Ahmad Kakru: He was a grandson of Jasrat Khan Khokar, a contemporary of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. Jasrat wielded considerable military strength in northern Panjab and granted shelter to Zainu'l-'Abidin (then known as Prince Shahi Khan). He helped the Kashmiri prince against 'Ali Shah in occupying the throne of Kashmir. The migration of some Khokars to the Valley, in fact, started in the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin.

Khwaja Ahmad resigned government service at a young age and received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Mir Muammad Khalifa's successor, Saiyid Mah Roshan. Along with his *pir* Khwaja Ahmad travelled from Panjab to Kashmir and settled in Baramu'lla. He served his *murshid* until the latter's death and later married the daughter of a local dignitary. The Khwaja started business and made a huge fortune. During his lifetime he became famous as a Kakru in the common parlance.

Khwaja Ahmad's tomb in the cemetery of Saiyid Mah Roshan has been a place of veneration.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 318.

Munshi Muhammad Din Fouq, *Tarikh-i Aqwam-i Kashmir*, 2nd edn., 1933, Lahore, pp. 273-4.

Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 2nd edn., Srinagar, 1974, pp. 69-70.

R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 133-4.

Khwaja Ahmad Muttaqi: Nothing is known about him except that he was a pious and God-fearing disciple of the Kashmiri Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Dawud Khaki.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Khwaja Ahmad Shunthu: Little information is furnished by his contemporary, Pir Hasan Shah, except that he was a disciple of Khizr Baba Kanhqahi and spent his life in seclusion. He lived in Kashmir in the nineteenth century.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Khwaja Ahmad Yassawi: He was a descendant of Sultan Khwaja Ahmad Yassawi Turkistani. He travelled Iraq, Arabia, Syria, and India and, after meeting many Sufis, came to Kashmir. For several years he chose the cemetery of Mirza Bashir Baig Mulla Shahi at the foot Hariparbat hillock in Srinagar as his abode. When Khwaja Nizamu'd-Din Naqshbandi learnt about the spiritual calibre of Khwaja Ahmad, he offered him accommodation at his own residence in Srinagar.

After the death of Khwaja Nizamu'd-Din, his son, Khwaja Muhammad Aftab, became a disciple of Khwaja Ahmad Yassawi. Subsequently, lots of people began to visit the latter for obtaining spiritual guidance from him. Hajji 'Ubaidu'llah Balkhi was his close companion.

Although Khwaja Yassawi did not enrol many disciples, he disseminated the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order in an effective manner. He died on 3 Zil Hajj 1114/9 April 1703 and was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 166-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 337-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 293.

Khwaja Ahsanu'llah: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Qasim Haqqani. He was known for his piety and resoluteness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 268.

Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din Naqshband: Popularly known as the Mirza, he was the son of Khwaja Nizamu'd-Din Naqshbandi. After the death of his brother, Khwaja Nuru'd-Din Aftab, 'Ala'u'd-Din, as a Naqshbandiyya Sufi and successor of the former, guided people within the framework of the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*.

Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din lived in Kashmir at a time when famine stalked the Valley. Driven by poverty and intolerable conditions, the people of the city looted the grain merchants. The social unrest resulting in the tumult was attributed to the Khwaja's role. Being charged with inciting the people, the Khwaja was summoned by the Mughal *subehdar*, Afrasiyab Beg, along with his supporters including Khwaja 'Atiqu'llah Qadiri. While the latter was murdered along with Jan Muhammad for his angry protest over the famine conditions in the Valley, 'Ala'u'd-Din decided to leave for Shahjahanabad in the aftermath of the event. He stayed there for many years. He breathed his last in 1159/1746, and lies buried in Delhi near Khwaja Baqi Billah's grave.

Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din's role in the history of Kashmir seems to be not only that of a Naqshbandiyya preacher but also that of a leader who taught people to raise a legitimate protest against the oppressive administration and economic exploitation.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 437.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 181.

Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din: The son of Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din Naqshbandi and a disciple of Hafiz Ayatu'llah Suhrawardi, he died in 1236/1820-1 and lies entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 89.

Khwaja 'Ali Almas: He was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Little is known about him except that he was God-fearing and pious and that he was buried at the village of Wasun in Bangil, Kashmir.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 113.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 246.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 200.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 244, 318.

Khwaja 'Ali Bantji: He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Ali Kawasu: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Ali Masihi: He was born in Ahmedabad. His father, Husain Rumi, was one of the richest men of Gujarat. Affiliated to the Qadiriyya order, he had a taste for mystical poetry. He was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari and also received guidance from Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 529-30.

Khwaja 'Ali Nanat: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Ali Punu: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum in *tasawwuf* and a pupil of Mulla Shams Pal and Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi in both exoteric and esoteric sciences. He performed *Hajj* and obtained a *sanad* in *Hadis* from Shaikh Ibn-i Hajjar Makki. On returning home, the Khwaja taught and, after leading the life of piety, died in 1021/1612. He lies buried at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 217-18.

Khwaja 'Ali Shah bin Shaikh Mahmud Jandar: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Author of the Arabic tract *Khulasatu'l-Lata'if*, the Maulana describes his spiritual experience in it. The *pir* who appears to be the *murid* in *muraqaba* advises the latter to shun every thought except that of Allah in such a state.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 175.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 77-8.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p, 228.

Khwaja 'Ali Sud: A *khalifa* of Aiba Rishi, he lies buried near his *murshid's* grave at Chhatabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 147.

Khwaja Allahdad Kasab: A disciple of the Kashmir Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Dawud Khaki, he earned the praise of his contemporaries for his earnestness as a seeker.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal: He was a descendant of Khwaja Ya'qub Pakhliwal. He first received guidance in exoteric and esoteric knowledge from Qazi Jamalu'd-Din 'Alikadali and, thereafter, received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Khwaja Munawwar Hatabi. Later, he was initiated as Qadiriyya by Shaikh 'Attau'llah Darbagami and, then, received initiation into the Naqshbandiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders from Shaikh Akbar Hadi.

The Khwaja did not rest content on his spiritual laurels in Kashmir. He left for India where in Multan he received further guidance from Shaikh Sulaiman. He is said to have reached the stage of *shuhud*. After being granted *irshad*, he returned home. He wrote *Tuhfa-i Ahmadi* and *Masnavi Tuhfa-i Muhammadi* dealing with *tasawwuf* and presented the same to Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali. His other works include the *Risala-i Tarb'a, Tahqiqat-i Amiri*.

On 8 ZilHajj 1282/24 April 1866 Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal died. He lies buried in the cemetery of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 401-2.

Khwaja Arzan: He was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki who initiated him as Suhrawardiyya. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage at the village of Mandji in the *pargana* of Zaingir, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Khwaja Ashraf Kaul: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja 'Attar: Nothing is known about him except that he was famous for his piety as a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Khwaja 'Attar: A brother and disciple of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i, he died on 19 Ziq'ad 967/12 August 1560 and is entombed at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 255-6.

Khwaja 'Attau'llah Qanungo: Little is known about him except that he lived in Kashmir and, in spite of his preoccupations with the mundane affairs, he had achieved excellence in exoteric and esoteric sciences.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 440.

Khwaja A'zam Diddamari: He was a son of a pashmina trader, Khairu'd-Din, better known by the title 'Khairu'z-Zaman', bestowed on him by Aurangzeb. Born in 1103/1691-2, Khwaja A'zam obtained early education from Akhwund Mulla 'Ubaidu'llah Shahid Sa'id. Later he mastered exoteric sciences under several teachers including Abu'l-Hasan Kawadari.

The knowledge of exoteric sciences did not quench the spiritual yearnings of Khwaja A'zam. So he turned to Sufis. At the age of seventeen he received initiation in the Naqshbandiyya order from Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang. After completing his spiritual training under the guidance of the Naqhbandiyya preceptor, he also kept the company of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Muhammad Kamil Badakshi, Qazi Daulat Shah Bukhari Yassawi, Saiyid Muhammad Hashim Qadiri, Hajji 'Ubaidu'llah Balkhi, Khalifa 'Ubaidu'llah Bukhari Faruqi, Baba Qa'im, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Raza Dihlawi Sirhindi, 'Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif, and Khwaja Muhammad Zahid Balkhi.

Although Khwaja A'zam remained steadfast in following the Path and enrolled some disciples in the Naqshbandiyya order, he distinguished himself as the author of an important work under the title, *Waqi'at-i Kashmir*. Also known as *Tarikh-i A'zami*, it contains an account of the history of Kashmir in addition to a useful biographical information regarding the Sufis, ulama and poets of Kashmir. Among his other works may be mentioned *Faiz Murad, Fawai'du'r-Riza* and *Firaqnama.* While the first two works deal with the biographies of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang and Shaikh 'Ali Raza respectively, the third contains an elegy on Khalifa 'Ubaidu'llah. His other works include *Qawai'du'l-Masha'ikh, Tajrabatu'l-Talibin, Ashjaru'l-Khuld, Samaratu'l-Ashjar* and *Sharh-i Kibrat-i Ahmar.*

On 10 Muharram 1179/29 June 1765 Khwaja A'zam died and lies buried at Diddamar in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 1-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 339-40.

Khwaja 'Azizu'd-Din bin Khwaja Abu Bakr: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Known for his adherence to the *Shari'ah* while following the *tariqa*, he often performed the duties of an *imam.*

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 100.

Khwaja Baba: Received guidance in *suluk* from both Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi and his disciple Ladi Gana'i. His tomb is situated at the village of Badrakot in the *pargana* of Bangil in Kashmir. Inspired by the example of her husband, the wife of Khwaja Baba also became an ascetic and lies buried near her husband's grave.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 180a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 313-15.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 126.

Khwaja Baba Lari: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Since the *murshid* had great faith in his disciple's literary skills, he entrusted the task of editing his writings to him. Baba Lari married late in life; his son Baba Salih earned a name for his piety.

Baba Lari is entombed at the village of Wandhama in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 246.

Khwaja Badru'd-Din: The founder of the Firdawsiyya order in India, he belonged to Samarqand, where he became the disciple of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra. It seems that the Khwaja was deputed by his *pir* to India after Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki's flight to Delhi. He does not seem to have left much impact on the development of the Firdawsiyya order in Delhi chiefly owing to the popularity of the Chistiyya *silsilah* among the high and low. Nevertheless, he was friends with Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Significantly, both celebrated the *'urs* of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Bakharzi with enthusiam. On such occasions, *dervishes* thronged to the *langars* of the Chistiyya and Firdawsiyya orders where food was distributed freely. It is not exactly known on which date Shaikh Badru'd-Din died. He seems to have died during the reign of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji since Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din refers to him in the context of the affluence that Delhi was then enjoying.

Jamali, p. 83.

Khyar al-Majalis, p. 185.

Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Muhammad: He belonged to Khwarzam. After obtaining religious education, he went on *hajj.* On returning from pilgrimage to India, he joined the imperial service during the reign of Akbar. But he resigned as *mansabdar* when overcome by a burning love for his Creator. He came to Kashmir in 994/1585-6 and enrolled as a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Isma'il Shami. After obtaining *khat-i irshad* from his *murshid*, the Khwaja dedicated himself to the spiritual and moral uplift of the seekers after the Truth. According to Hasan, towards the end of his life, he left his family and children in the *mohalla* of Baldimar in Srinagar to spend the remainder of his life in the secluded environment of a remote village. But Khwaja A'zam Diddamari writes that he went to Delhi and died there in 1002/1593-4. Most probably, the latter view is near the truth in view of the fact that Hasan neither gives the name of the village in Kashmir chosen by Baha'u'd-Din as the abode of his meditations nor the date of his death.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 207.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 193.

Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Muhammad: He was the son and *murid* of Maulana Khwajgi Kashani.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 251.

Khwaja Bahadur: He was popularly known as Shaikh Shuhudu'llah. Little is known about him except that he was initiated in the Kubrawiyya order by the well-known Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, and often accompanied him during his travels across India and the Muslim world.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 232.

Khwaja Bast: Nothing is known about him beyond the popular belief that his grave existed in Delhi near the tomb of Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki long before the Turkish invasion of northern India.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 103.

Khwaja Bayazid: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, he went on *Hajj* in spite of being physcially handicapped and died in the holy land.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Khwaja Dawud Balkhi: He belonged to Tajikistan. After performing *Hajj*, he came to Kashmir. It seems that Shaikh Hamza Makhdum was already aware of his visit. Accordingly, he deputed his noted disciple, Baba Dawud Khaki, to Baramulla where he welcomed Dawud Balkhi. After enjoying the company of the most revered Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja Dawud decided to settle in the Valley. He secluded himself in a cave near the Anchar Lake.

Although Dawud Balkhi's purpose was to gain spiritual bliss in solitude, people flocked to his abode for help in mundane matters. In order to keep visitors away, he returned to Srinagar and got married. His decision to lead a married life undermined his importance as a saint in the folk consciousness and hence the visits came to an abrupt end.

Having closely studied the superstitious and animistic practices of the folk, Dawud Balki is said to have made acute observations on Kashmiri psyche. He was critical of the superstitious practices rooted in Hinduism and, above all, their scant respect for the *Sunnah*.

Dawud Balkhi's friendship with Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri and Baba Dawud Khaki was so intimate that the three Sufis would together offer Friday prayers at the *khanqah* of the former in Nau Shahr, Srinagar.

He lies entombed at Zunimar in Srinagar.

Diddamari (US), pp. 207-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 211-12.

Miskin, p. 189.

Khwaja Dawud Gana'i: Nothing is known about him except that he came from Baramulla and distinguished himself as a pious disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order, Baba Dawud Khaki.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Khwaja Dawud: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Dawud Majzub: He was a *qalandar* who was a contemporary of Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushari, Mir Yusuf Qadiri and Shah Gada. Once he rebuked Shah Gada for his popularity as a Sufi and his miracles. "Had you adopted the profession of a sweeper or become a *qalandar* like me," he told Shah Gada, "the curse of fame would not have destroyed you".

Dawud Majzub died as a result of plague that broke out in Srinagar and lies buried at Budhgir in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 453.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 206.

Khwaja Dawud Tusi: He was a favourite disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. His teacher in exoteric knowledge was the well-known *'alim*, Shamsu'd-Din Paul, who owed his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order to his pupil. It was Dawud Tusi who first introduced his tutor to the most famous Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir. Dawud Tusi made his mark as a dedicated spiritual teacher who guided many people in obtaining exoteric and esoteric knowledge.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 179.

Khwaja Fakhru'd-Din: He was a descendant of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi. After being initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Miyan 'Abdu's-Sattar, a *khalifa* of Jawamiyan Kangal, he secluded himself in the *pargana* of Uttar in Kashmir. Such was the severity of his way of remembering God that he would pass sleepless nights seated in the branches of a tree.

Fakhru'd-Din migrated to the Panjab towards the end of his life and died there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 93-4.

Khwaja Farid Naushahri: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Firuz: He was a disciple of Khwaja 'Abdu's-Shahid Ahrari. His son Khwaja Haidar Mantu *alias* Charkhi distinguished himself as a man of learning and piety.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 235-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 236.

Khwaja Gharib Shahamu: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Ghulam: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Habib: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri of Kashmir. He was gifted with all the qualities of a Sufi, *mujahada, mushahda, taqwa* and *karama*. Being fond of *sama'* he was over and over again overcome with ecstasy.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 272.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Gaani alias 'Attar: He lost his father, Khwaja Ibrahim Gaani, a dignitary of Kashmir, in his childhood. Captivated by the inner as well as external beauty of the child, Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar accepted him as his spiritual child. It was only after Khwaja Ya'qub's *pir*, Shah Qasim Haqqani, returned from *Hajj* that the latter called Khwaja Habibu'llah and said: "This young man was entrusted to me at Medina by the Prophet." Thus, after being initiated into the Kubrawiyya order, he was permitted to enrol disciples.

Numerous miracles ascribed to Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar testify to his exalted spiritual rank among the various Kubrawiyya Sufis of Kashmir. What is, however, of particular importance to remember is that he had a vision of the Prophet during the course of his recitation of the *Awrad-i Fathiyya*. It was in the course of his spiritual experience that 'Attar was advised by the Prophet to recite *as-salatu wassalam alaika ya Shaf'i al-muznibin* three times. Since then this particular verse has been chanted three times in all the mosques and shrines of the Valley during the invocation.

Khwaja Habibullah 'Attar died on 2 Rajab 1080/ 18 November 1669 (Diddamari 1084/1673) and was buried at Qutbu'd-Dinpura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 283.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 265-6.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Latoo: He belonged to a respectable family of Srinagar. After obtaining formal education from Mulla Abu'l-Fath Kuloo, he sought the guidance of Mir 'Ali Qadiri in spiritual matters. Having completed his training, he was authorized to enrol disciples in the Qadiriyya order. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang praises him for producing such pious disciples as Baba Isma'il Qadiri and Shah Muhammad *alias* Shahi Baiyu.

Khwaja Habibu'llah died in 1105/1693-4 and was buried at Zaina Kadal in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 161-3.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 313-14.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 276.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 220.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri: Born in 963/1555, he was the son of Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din Gana'i, a pious salt merchant. Having memorized the Qur'an at the age of seven, it was habitual for the young Khwaja to recite the verses at his father's shop. Since he did not show any interest in business, the latter sent him to Mulla Hasan Afaqi who imparted him lessons on *fiqh* and *Hadis*. Afterwards, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order.

Author of *Diwan-i Hubbi*, *Tanbihu'l-Qulub*, *Rahatu'l-Qulub*, *Risalatu'l-Suluk*, *Risalatu'l-*

Tasawwuf, *Mira'tu'l-Ghuyub*, *Sayahat-Nama*, and *Maqamat-i Murshid*, the Khwaja ranks among the distinguished Sufis of the Valley. His *Risalatu'l-Insaf*, the only work written by him in Arabic, makes a subtle distinction between those who strictly followed the *Shari'ah* and those who were drunk with love for the divine. While he is all praise for the former for detesting all that was contrary to the *Shari'ah*, he is superbly eloquent in rapturous admiration of the lovers of God.

An ardent lover of music, he is reputed to have argued with the ulama in favour of music, particularly with Akhwund Maulana Husain Rahnuma. Undaunted by the opposition, he continued to hold *sama'* at his *khanqah*. When, under the pressure of the ulama, the government summoned the Khwaja to the court, he silenced his opponents with an extraordinary argument. His plea was that since his inflamed love for Allah was a kind of disease, it was justified within the bounds of the *Shari'ah* to use the forbidden thing, *sama'*, as a medicine.

Several miracles ascribed to Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri testify to his exalted status among the Sufis of his time. As a *khalifa* of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, he enrolled many disciples: Zaindar Wali, Mir Shamsu'd-Din, Akhwund Mahdi 'Ali Batakhpuri, Mir Yusuf Qadiri, Khwaja Dawud Majzub, and Sharafu'd-Din Pampuri.

The Khwaja's mystical compositions in Kashmiri and Persian gained immense popularity in several *khanqahs* of the Valley. Some of his poems continue to be sung in a chorus by devotees, not only on the eve of his *'urs* but also during the recitation of *khatams* in various shrines of the Valley as well as at such religious assemblies organized at home by mostly some wealthy traders of Srinagar. His euology in Kashmiri verse on Shaikh Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani was the first of its kind in the Valley on the great sufi of Baghdad.

The Khawaja died on 19 Zilhuja 1027/ 27 November 1618.

Habibu'llah Naushahri, *Diwan-i Hubbi*, Srinagar, 1994.
Tanbihu'l-Qulub, Srinagar, 1993.
Rahatu'l-Qulub, Srinagar, 1994.
Mira'tu'l-Ghuyub, Srinagar, 1995.
Risalatu'l-Insaf, Srinagar, 1994.
Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan, Persian text with Urdu translation by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1997.

Khwaja Haidar Mantu *alias* Charkhi: He was the son of Khwaja Firuz. Diddamari calls him Khwaja Haidar 'Allama Nitnu whereas Hasan and Kabir describe him as Charkhi. He is said to have devoted himself to God from his very childhood. He was just seven years old when he became engrossed in meditation. He conformed to the *Sunnah* throughout his life. His teachers included the prominent Kashmiri Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, and Mulla Jawhar Nanat. Later he went to Delhi and obtained guidance from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis.

Khwaja Haidar also performed social service in the true manner of his *murshid*, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. In spite of the persuasions of the rulers, he refused to be the Qazi of the city of Srinagar. In order to avoid the possibility of being lured into accepting the offer, he left Srinagar advising also his sons not to work as Qazis.

Khwaja Haidar died on 22 Safar 1057/19 March 1647 and is entombed in the cemetery of his ancestors at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 236.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 196.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 235-6.

Khwaja Hakim Kawlu: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Mulla Jawhar Nanat. He lived in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 218.

Khwaja Hasan Buchh: He belonged to a trading family of Srinagar. Having renounced his riches, he went to Delhi in search of a spiritual guide. It was Shaikh Muzaffar Dihlawi who initiated him into the Qadiriyya order. He obtained *khat-i irshad* from Akhwund Mulla Shah. His whole life was dedicated to the cause of Sufism.

Khwaja Hasan is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 301.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 288.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 317.
Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 90.

Khwaja Hasan: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Hasan Qari: Born in Srinagar, he was an *'alim* and *fazil*, and a connoisseur of the art of reciting the Qur'an in seven different tones. By profession he was a cloth merchant. Although he lived in affluent circumstances, he had a passion for not only acquiring knowledge but also imparting it in the love of God. His students were many. Hasan's mother played an important part in his education; it was in her company that he visited the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

After his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, Hasan wholeheartedly dedicated himself to the training of his inner self. In the beginning of his spiritual journey, Shaikh Hamza assigned him the menial work of bringing water for the ablution of his servants. Despite his social background, Hasan Qari did not object.

Towards the end of his life, Hasan Qari settled at the village of Shaiva in the *pargana* of Zaingir at the command of his spiritual preceptor. Until his death in 999/1590-1 he guided people in the Path even while living in relative seclusion. He did not accept gifts for himself and whatever was offered to him in cash or kind was immediately distributed among the poor. Although his son insisted that he had every right to such gifts for defraying the expenses of the family, Hasan Qari would silence him by arguing that the needs of one's family did not entitle one to forfeit others' rights.

From Baba 'Ali Raina it appears that Hasan Qari authored several works. Of these only the *Rahatu'l-Talibin* has survived. It deals with the life of Shaikh Hamza and contains an illuminating discourse on *tasawwuf* in order to enable the *saliks* to traverse the Sufi Path. While Hasan Qari regards strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* as a necessary condition for gaining the *ma'rifah* of Allah, he urges the *salik* to create self-confidence by way of purifying his soul and heart. His explanation of the Sufi terms, based on *'Awarifu'l-Ma'rif*, is revealing in many respects. For example, he describes the act of desisting from harming any human soul as a miracle. In his estimation, according equal treatment to the 'high' as well as the 'low' is humility, and doing good to friend and enemy alike is sincerity.

Khwaja Hasan Qari also composed poetry saturated with love for Allah.

The piety and asceticsim of Hasan Qari has been highly praised in the hagiographies. He is said to have been accustomed to bathing several times daily in both the summer and the winter. Baba Dawud Khaki testifies to the spiritual attainments of Hasan Qari in practising *zikr-i chahar zarb* (q.v.) with perfection and success. Baba Haidar Tulmuli, another contemporary of Hasan Qari, held him in high estimation as a scholar and perfect Sufi.

The *khanqah* of Hasan Qari at the village of Shaiva continues to be a popular place of pilgrimage. Several thousand people participate in his *'urs* celebrated on 27 Safar every year with traditional fervour.

Khwaja Hasan Qari, *Rahatu'l-Talibin*, RPD No. 501.

Baba 'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 592.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD Ns. 471 and 1108.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 194.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 179.

Muhammad Siddique Niyazmand, *Haft Ganj-i Sultani*, Srinagar, 1994.

Mohibbu'l Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans.*

Khwaja Hasan Tamal: He was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He had a deep knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Baba Dawud Mishkati extols his learning and devoutness. Baba Nasib sent him to Ladakh as his *khalifa*. After successfully completing his mission in Ladakh, he returned home.

Hasan and Miskin wrongly give his date of death as 1108/1696-7. Baba Dawud Mishkati who died in 1097/1685-6 refers to Khwaja Hasan as a deceased Sufi. It is therefore certain that the Khwaja died before Mishkati completed his famous hagiography. He lies entombed near a spring at Bota Kadal in Srinagar.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, Urdu tr., p. 339.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 145.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 307.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 240.

Khwaja Hashim: A disciple of Mulla Taiyib, he is entombed in the cemetery of Saiyid Mulla in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Khwaja Hashim Pulloo: He belonged to a rich trading family. Initiated into Sufism by Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi, he was fond of *sama'* and often went into rhapsodies. During the whole night he resorted to the spiritual exercise of *zikr-i chahar zarb* (q.v.), controlling his breath (*habs-i dam*). He gained considerable fame for both his indulgences in severities and in *sama'*. Later he led a married life.

On 27 Ramazan 1105/12 May 1694 he died and is entombed at the *mohalla* of Gojwara in Srinagar near the Jama' mosque.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 286-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 306-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 222.

Khwaja Hayat: He belonged to the tribe of the Mughals. He was initiated as Kubrawiyya by the Kashmiri Sufi, Mirza Akmalu'd-Din, and obtained authorization from him to enrol disciples in the order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 343.

Khwaja Husain: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar. He was advised to travel by his *murshid* and, after carrying on his mission in Surat Bandar, died there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 308.

Khwaja Husain Khatlani: He was a disciple of Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani. Known for his learning and adherence to the *Sunnah* and *tasawwuf*, he reached Kashmir after travelling the Muslim world extensively. Little is known about him except that he is entombed at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 231-2.

Khwaja Husain Nagauri: He was a descendant of Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, and a disciple of one of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din's sons, Shaikh Kabir. 'Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as an embodiment of *Shari'ah*, *Tariqa* and *Haqiqa*. He is famous for re-establishing Nagaur as a centre of Sufism. The Khwaja took pleasure in driving bullocks to till the land; he himself took care of his animals. The money received by him from Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Khalji (1469-1501) was spent on the construction of the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din and the gateway of Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din's tomb. At Nagaur the Khwaja imparted religious and spiritual education. He wrote a detailed commentary on the Qur'an, entitled the *Nuru'n-Nabi*, compiled treatises on Sufism and also wrote a commentary on the biography of Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Ghazali.

A sweeper embraced Islam under his influence. His fondness for *sama'* was abundant. He went into devotional rapture on seeing a relic of the Prophet Muhammad in possession of the Sultan of Mandu.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 324-6.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 131.

Khwaja Ikhtiyaru'd-Din 'Umar: He lived in Iraj. He and his ancestors held high positions in the government. Under a mystic impulse, the Khwaja resigned his government job and became a disciple of Qazi Muhammad Sawi, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud. He died at Iraj on 14 Muharram 809/1 July 1406.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 154-5.

Khwaja Ibrahim Kaul Malarati: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He won the affection of his *pir* for the excellent qualities of his head and heart and lies buried in the cemetery of Saadat-i Andrabia in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 180.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 182-3.

Khwaja Ibrahim Lahut: Nothing is known about him except that he was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki. Diddamari describes him as Hajji Ibrahim.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Khwaja Ibrahim: He was the son and disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. He died very young.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 256.

Khwaja Idris Samani: He was a Qadiriyya Sufi of unbounded spiritual worth who lived like a hermit. Shah Waliu'llah quotes a letter of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi written by the Mujaddid to the asectic on *talwin*.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 42-6.

Khwaja Ishaq Dandar: His spiritual preceptor is not known, though he has been described as a scholar with a perfect knowledge of *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. To him also belongs the credit of reviving *'Ilmu'l-Qira* in Kashmir; he authored the *Tuhfatu'l-Qira* and *Hidayatu'l-Qira* and produced several scholars of spiritual merit.

Khwaja Ishaq died on 12 Safar 1176/5 September 1762.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 351-2.

Khwaja Ishaq Kashmiri: Originally a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri. Having lived as a *qalandar* for some time in the Valley, he ultimately settled and died in Medina.

Waqi'at-i Kashmir, pp. 121-2.

Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Pampuri. He was passionately fond of *sama'* and had the *non de plume* of 'Salik'.

Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu's work is titled *Darajatu's-Saadat*.

He lies buried at the cemetery of Saiyid Amin Uwaisi in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 319.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Khwaja Ishaq Qari: He was the younger brother of Khwaja Hasan Qari. He first sought guidance from Shaikh Ahmad Qalandar, a *majzub*; afterwards Shaikh Hamza Makhdum initiated him in the Suhrawardiyya order. Once even after he had enrolled himself as a disciple of the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Ishaq Qari took an intoxicant in the manner of his erstwhile enraptured guide. He was reprimanded by Shaikh Hamza, and then Ishaq Qari reformed himself. On another occasion, the Shaikh lashed him with a whip over a minor offence. Pleased with the attitude of quiet resignation of his disciple to his severity, Shaikh Hamza gave him the tidings of spiritual bliss.

Ishaq Qari spent twenty-two years meditating in the village of Shaiva in the *pargana* of Zaingir in the company of his brother. Both brothers guided seekers after the truth while living in relative seclusion. Later, Ishaq Qari went to Sialkot following the hostile attitude of Sultan Ya'qub Shah Chak towards the Sunni ulama. From there he moved to Lahore and during his stay there corresponded with Baba 'Ali Raina. Thereafter, he went to Mecca and after performing *Hajj* served as a *mujjawir* of the holy Ka'bah for one and half years. He died in Mecca where he was buried in the Mazar-i Baqi.

Ishaq Qari authored *Chichillalatu'l-'Arifin*. It deals with the life of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum besides describing the main beliefs of Sufism based mainly on the teachings of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi and Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilu'l-'arifin*, RPD No. 500.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 741 and 1108.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 195.

Muhammad Siddique Niyazmand, *Hafi Ganj-i Sultani*, Srinagar, 1994.

Muhibbu'l Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*.

Khwaja Isma'il Kanju: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Isma'il Nadihali: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki in the Suhrawardiyya order. He was a *qazi* but prac- tised Sufism while leading a life of contentment.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Khwaja Kaji Dar: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Kalan: He was one of the prominent Naqshbandiyya Sufis who migrated to India. A descendant of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, Emperor Babur had deep respect for him.

Babur-nama, p. 631.

Khwaja Kalan: He was the son of Khwaja Ju'i Bari. A *dervish* of considerable merit, he left an old mat and a shelter made of broken sun-dried bricks at his death in 992/1584.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 325.

Khwaja Kalan: He was the son of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah. Born on 1 Rabi' 1010/1601, originally he was named Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah. Although he received spiritual training from the Mujaddid, like his younger brother, Khwaja Khwurd, 'Ubaidu'llah was more influenced by the ideas of their guardian, Khwaja Husainu'd-Din on the *Wahdat al- Wujud*.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 249.

Khwaja Kamal: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din Naqshbandi: He was a son of Khwaja Nuru'd-Din Aftab Naqshbandi. His spiritual preceptor was the Naqshbandiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim, popularly known as Shaikh Kaman [see Khwaja Abdu'r-Rahim]. He went to India and satiated his quest for knowledge during the course of his interaction with the venerable Sufis.

After returning to Kashmir, Kamalu'd-Din strove to popularize the Naqshbandiyya order within the framework of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*.

Kamalu'd-Din's murderous action against Hafiz 'Abdu'llah for abusing the three venerable companions of the Prophet later proved to be fatal for him. Soon after taking over as the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Amir Khan, himself a Shia, put the Sufi to death on 30 Rajab 1188/6 October 1774.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 81.

Khwaja Karak: Before his initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order at the hands of Shaikh Isma'il Qureshi Suhrawardi, the Khwaja was devoted to learning. But as he lost himself in divine love, he adopted the life of a *malamatiyya*. He would often drink wine openly in order to avoid contact with the people. Even then devotees would surround him. Occasionally, he indulged in poetry in a state of ecstasy. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti who visited the tomb of Khwaja Karak in 1047/1637-8 collected these verses from the custodians of his shrine in Allahabad.

اندر طلب دوست چو مردانه شدم
اول قدم از وجود بیگانه شدم
او علم نمے شنید لب بر بستم
او عقل نمے خرید دیوانه شدم

کرک نه پوشید گہے خرقه
سر نه تراشید از موے زره
خرقه چه پوشی و تراشی چه سر
هر دوکان است ازیں درگذر

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti refers to the visit of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji to Khwaja Karak before becoming the Sultan.

Khwaja Karak's tomb in Allahabad was a place of popular pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 919-21.

Khwaja Karimu'd-Din Samarqandi: He was a Sufi of Turkish origin who left Samarqand for good. Devoted to Baba Farid, he later received *khilafa* from Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Amir Khusrau, Khwaja Hasan and Ziyau'd-Din Barani held him in high esteem. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed him as Shaikhu'l-Islam and betowed the title of Anwaru'l-Mulki on him.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 77.

Khwaja Khalil Tranboo: He belonged to a noble family of Srinagar. He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadali and appointed as his *khalifa.*

On 25 Jamiu'd-Sani 1242/24 January 1827 the Khwaja died and was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 386.

Khwaja Khanu: He was a disciple of Khwaja Husain Nagauri, an eminent Chistiyya Sufi. Shaikh Isma'il, the son of Shaikh Husain Sarmast of Chanderi, bestowed a *khirqa* on him. The spirit of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti is also reported to have guided him in the Path. Under the influence of Khwaja Khanu, Gwalior became an important Chistiyya centre. His prominent disciples included Shaikh Nizam Narnauli, Shaikh Isma'il and Shaikh Munawwar. He died in 941/1534.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 230.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 211-12.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 300b.

Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi: The son of Khwaja Mir Saiyid Sharif, he is also known as Khwaja Mahmud al-'Attari al-Naqshbandi because of ancestral ties with Khwaja Muhammad 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Attar, a distinguished disciple of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband. Born in 965/1557-8 and educated at Samarqand, Khawand Mahmud had a mystical experience at the age of twenty. This prompted him to make a pilgrimage. He reached Wakhash (near Hisar-shadman) and lived there at the governer's request. Disgusted with government functionaries he later moved to Balkh. He went to Khwaja Ishaq of Dehbed, situated in the vicinity of Balkh, at the age of twenty-three. Thereafter, at his *pir's* bidding, he resorted to ascetic exercises at the tomb of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband in the Qasr-i 'Arifin. Later, Khwaja Ishaq authorized him to popularize the Naqshbandiyya order.

As a Sufi missionary, the Khwaja first travelled through Waksh and Kabul and then joined a caravan on its way to Lahore. However, he was separated from the caravan when he fell into mystical ecstasy somewhere in Gujarat (the Panjab) where routes to Kashmir and Lahore branch out. When the Khwaja regained consciousness, he allowed his unguided horse to take the route to Kashmir under the impulse of divine will.

On reaching Srinagar the Khwaja acquired a reputation for being the leading exponent of Naqshbandiyya order despite initial opposition to his mission by the distinguished Mughal officer, Jamil Beg, who later built a mosque for the Khwaja near his guest-house in Srinagar.

The role of Khawand Mahmud in the spread of Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir was significant for several reasons. He proved the suspicions of the Mughal officer wrong that both Kashmirs and their ulama may not like the missionary zeal of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi. On the contrary, Khawand Mahmud's influence was indelible in that not only the local people flocked to him for guidance but intellectuals too competed with one another in order to become his disciples. Khawand Mahmud's activities prompted several Central Asian Sufis of Naqshbandiyya order to turn the Valley into a centre of their activities. Even in his time Khawaja Muhammad Amin, a nephew of Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi, vied with Khawand Mahmud to enrol disciples into the Naqshbandiyya order. But such was the stature of Khawand Mahmud's spiritual personality that his rival ultimately became his disciple.

Kashmir, under the spiritual leadership of Khawand Mahmud sent ripples to the Mughal court. He visited Agra before Akbar's death and enrolled a number of high dignitaries including Mirza 'Aziz Koka, as his disciples. Even such distinguished ladies of the harem as Sultan Salima Begum and Gurlukh Begum felt elevated in becoming disciples of the Khwaja who was a direct descendant of their ancestral *pirs*, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din and Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. Even Akbar approached the Khwaja to seek his blessings. On his return to Srinagar in 1015/1606-7, the Naqshbandiyya order in the Valley had flourished to such an extent that he deputed his Kashmiri disciples to propagate its teachings in regions as far as Kabul and Tibet. For example, such was the confidence reposed by the Khwaja in his disciples of the Kashmiri origin that he authorized Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hasan, an illiterate Kashmiri, to propagate the message of Sufism in Tibet. Recognizing the importance of Khawand Mahmud's spiritual mission in Kashmir, the Mughal government alloted him the house of the Sultan of Kashmir, Husain Shah Chak (1563-70), which was turned into a *khanqah*, and a small mosque was constructed near it.

From its inception to this day, the Khanqah-i Naqshbandiyya of Srinagar has moulded the sensibilities of Kashmirs in the direction of understanding the *Shari'ah* in all its spiritual and social aspects. This *khanqah* has the unique distinction of being not only the first repository of the Prophet's holy relic (hair), now housed at the famous Hazratbal shrine, but also for being the place where the martyrs of 13 July 1931 were laid to rest. The latter faced the bullets of the Dogra army following the first uprising against the Maharaj's aristocratic rule.

Khawand Mahmud had close ties with top-ranking Mughal nobles, some of whom were his disciples. When involved in a conflict with a Mughal officer during his visit to Agra in 1017/1608, the noble of Iranian origin Abu'l Hasan (later Asaf Khan) wholeheartedly supported him. He politely refused to bless the rebel prince Khusraw on the ground that he would pray only for the one fighting for a "right cause and pious motives". Such was his concern for the needy that he distributed about 23,000 rupees out of his own resources in Agra. Jahangir showed considerable interest in his mission of popularizing the Naqshbandiyya order in the Valley but later banished him to Kabul. Although the Khwaja returned to Kashmir after Jahangir's death, Shahjahan, under the influence of his influential Diwan, 'Allami Afzal Khan, thought it prudent to exile the Khwaja to Lahore where he died on 11 Sha'ban 1052/25 October 1642.

That Khwaja Khawand Mahmud's role in Kashmir was considered a potential threat to the interests of the Mughal empire is a thesis put forth by Rizvi. The reason was his hostility to the Shi'ites.

The Auqaf of the Government of Pakistan renovated his tomb at the *mohalla* of Begumpura Lahore in recent times.

Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi, *Kanzu's-sa'adat*, ff. 248b-250b, 256b-258a.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, *Mir'at-i Taiyibat*, Raza Library, Rampur MS., ff. 67b-69a, 86b-87a, 119a.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, p. 184.

Khwaja Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi: He played a significant role in making Kashmir a springboard for his missionary activities. He had six sons. Of these the most eminent was Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din who authored many works on *Fiqh* and history related to his ancestors. He migrated to Kashmir during his father's time and was allowed to settle there after his father's exile to Lahore. Trained by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi in religious sciences, he was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by his father. He took care of his father's many disciples in Kashmir and did not get into politics. He was one of the most prominent Sufis in Kashmir during the first half of reign of Aurangzeb. He died in Muharram 1085/April 1674.

The Khwaja's major work, *Fatwa-i Naqshbandiyya*, was written in collaboration with some ulama in Kashmir, Lahore and Delhi. In several respects, the work was the forerunner of the *Fatawa al-'Alamigiriyya* compiled by a board of ulama under Aurangzeb's personal supervision. His *Mirat-i Taibiya* and a selection of his *Kanzu's-Saadat* in Persian give biographical details about Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. The rest of the latter work, which analyses the problem of *Fiqh* and the duties of Muslim rulers, bears the influence of Saiyid 'Ali's *Zakhiratu'l-Mulk* and Fazlu'llah Ruzbihan Ishfahani's *Suluku'l-Muluk*.

Several ulama of Kashmir enjoyed the company of Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din. Among them the most prominent included Fazil Mulla Muhammad Tahir, Mulla Abu'l-Fath Kalu, Mulla Yusuf, Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi and Shaikh Ahmad Mufti.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 280-2.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 82-98.

Khwaja Khwurd: Son of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, he was born on 6 Rajab 1010/31December 1601. His original name was Khwaja 'Abdullah but he was popularly known as Khwaja Khwurd (the younger Khwaja) in contrast to his elder half-brother Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah, known as Khwaja-i Kalan (the elder Khwaja). Although he received spiritual training quite early in Sirhind and was initiated by the Mujaddid as a Naqshbandiyya, he could never overcome his attraction for *sama'* and the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. An independent Naqshbandiyya centre at Delhi established by the younger and the elder khwajas was a cause of great concern to the Mujaddid. Although fully aware that *sama'* was not a Naqshbandiyya practice, he did not give it up. Notwithstanding Khwaja Khwurd's violation of certain Naqshbandiyya principles regarding *Shari'ah*, he was not otherwise negligent in his adherence to the law. For him the *Shari'ah* was an "outward impression" of the *Haqiqa* and the question of ignoring it at any state in a meaningful mystical union with the Creator did not arise. A number of short treatises written by him on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* were also aimed at creating inner peace and harmony among his followers.

Shah Waliu'llah gives first hand information about his father's, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, association with Khwaja Khwurd.

Maktubat, I, nos. 266, 267, 273; II, no. 26.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 57-66.

Khwaja Mahdi Pal: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 189.

Khwaja Mahmud Naqshbandi: Son of Khwaja Kalan and a grandson of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, he was held in great esteem by Babur. When the Khwaja was on his way from Kabul to meet Babur, the latter died. He then met Babur's successor, Humayun, though the governer of the Panjab, Mirza Kamran, had first invited him to stay at Lahore. Annoyed with Humayun for his leaning towards the Shattariyya order, the Khwaja returned to Lahore in 943/1536-7 and, after staying with Mirza Kamran for three years, left India for good. Mirza Haidar, a cousin of Babur, calls the Khawaja Makhdum Nura.

Babur-nama, p. 63.

Tarikh-i Rashidi, Eng. tr. E. Denison Ross, London, 1898, pp. 393-401.

Khwaja Mas'ud: Nothing is known about him except that he was famous for his piety as a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri: He was a wealthy trader of Kashmir who suddenly but temporarily gave up his trade to devote himself to God while secluding himself in a cave. He came out of isolation after three months and met with the renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Dawud Khaki, at Srinagar. The latter's disciple, Baba Dawud Mishkati, writes that on seeing Khwaja Mas'ud, Khaki remarked: "So long as you were not commanded by Khizr you did not come of your own." The visitor then responded: "Thanks be to Allah and then, thanks again, I have found you." Subsequently, Khwaja Mas'ud enjoyed the company of Baba Hardi Rishi who urged him to remain steadfast in the Path under the guidance of Baba Dawud Khaki.

Khwaja Mas'ud resumed his ancestral occupation, saffron cultivation, after completing his spiritual training. His residence at Pampur attracted a large number of people, both for spiritual guidance and worldly interests. Whatever was offered to him as *nazrana* was distributed among the poor and he would not use any of the offerings for himself or his family.

Khwaja Mas'ud had a good number of disciples. He died in 1021/1612. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage.

Diddamari (US), pp. 202-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 212-13.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 178.

Khwaja Mir 'Ali Islamabadi: He was an erudite *'alim* and a Sufi of great worth who obtained spiritual guidance from Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. His followers were many. He was always absorbed in remembrance of God.

Mir 'Ali died on 6 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1021/27 April 1612 and is entombed at Islamabad (Anantnag) in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 253.

Khwaja Miram Bazaz: He was a wealthy trader of Srinagar who enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. His life changed completely after his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order. He became a close companion of his *murshid,* spending considerable time on prayer, *zikr,* and *muraqaba.* Miram always accompanied his *murshid* during his various travels across the Valley.

Miram Bazaz authored *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin* and a collection of Persian poems called *Ghazli.* While his *Tazkira,* written in 997/1588-9, is replete with miracles concerning Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and some other contemporary Sufis of his time, his mystic poetry is full of love.

The date of birth and date of death of Miram Bazaz are not given in any source.

Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin, RPD No. 503.

Mulla Ahmad Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin,* RPD No. 230, f. 154b.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam,* pp. 147-8.

Niyazmand, *Haft Ganj-i Sultani,* pp. 247-59.

Khwaja Muhammad: He was the son of Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq. A Sufi of versatile talents, the Khwaja excelled in music and was at home in *tib.* He also performed the duties of *imam* during the prayer offered by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He is reported to have compiled the *malfuzat* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya under the title *Anwaru'l-Majalis.*

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 176-7.

Khwaja Muhammad: He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Muhammad 'Attar Gana'i: He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz: He was a cloth merchant who bade farewell to riches after being initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Shaikh Musa Kubrawi. He succeeded his *murshid* after the latter's death and took charge of his *khanqah* at a locality in Srinagar. Known for his commitment to Sufism, the Khwaja proved to be a great source of inspiration for the seekers. Under his spiritual guidance and care several persons resorted to *chillas* with resoluteness at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Musa Kubrawi.

Muhammad Bazaz died in 1068/1657-8 and lies buried in the vicinity of the tomb of Shaikh Baba Wali at the *Khanqah*-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 279-80.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 258.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 208.

Khwaja Muhammad Hashim Topigaru: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Muhammad Husain: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz. He gained fame for his piety, truthfulness and honesty.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 275.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 372.

Khwaja Muhammad Husain: He was the great grandfather of Khwaja Muhammad A'zam Diddamari. In spite of his illiteracy, Muhammad Husain distinguished himself not only as a trader but, also, as a man of piety, honesty, and integrity. Diddamari recounts a spiritual experience with his ancestor in the form of a dream which testifies to the latter's higher spiritual status.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 280.

Khwaja Muhammad Kakru: A favourite disciple of Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar, he was very fond of *sama'* and remained in a state of ecstasy for several days. Numerous persons are said to have received spiritual guidance from him.

He lies buried in the cemetery of Baha'u'd-Din Ganjbaksh in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 307-8.

Khwaja Muhammad Muhsin: A *khalifa* of Akhwund Mulla Nazuk, he led a secluded life and commanded respect of his contemporaries. He died at the age of 80 and was buried at the compound of his house in Khandabhavan in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 318-19.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 240.

Khwaja Muhammad Muqim: Son of Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar and a *khalifa* of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din, he was a noble soul who imparted lessons on the Qur'an to his *murshid's* grandson, besides acting as the imam of the mosque under the orders of his *pir.*

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 343.

Khwaja Muhammad Parsa: Brother of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri and a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, he led a secluded life and was buried in the cemetery of his brother in Pampur. The title of Parsa was bestowed on him by his *murshid* for his piety.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 216-17.

Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id Naqshbandi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shah Musafir who lived in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Matoo: He was the son of Khwaja Salih ibn Khwaja Muhammad Baqir Naqshbandi and a *khalifa* of Khwaja Mulla Husain Khabaz. Little is known about him save that he was a Kashmiri and played an important role, as an enlightened Sufi, in fighting against reprehensible *bid'a*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 439.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 320.

Khwaja Muhammad Salih *alias* 'Asha'i: He was a *khalifa* of the well-known Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Qasim Haqqani. He was endowed with all the qualities of a Sufi and is said to have cured the blindness of a person who approached him. Towards the end of his life he set out on a pilgrimage in the company of his friends. On the way to Mecca the caravan was looted by Beduin. For some time the Khwaja was a captive of the tribesmen until they were convinced about his spirituality. After performing the *Hajj*, the Khwaja spent some time in the holy land and died there in 1047/1637-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 267.

Khwaja Muhammad Salih *alias* Shala Kak: He was a *qalandar* who had close association with the renowned Kashmiri *qalandar* Shaikh Ibrahim Kak.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 455.

Khwaja Muhammad Shaf'i Kuku Suhrawardi: He was a disciple of Akhwund Mulla Taiyib. He was a Sufi of affable manners and in behaviour conformed to the *Shari'ah*.

He is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar near the cemetery of Khwaja Isma'il Chisti.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 439.

Khwaja Muhammad Shah: He was a son and *khalifa* of Khwaja Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi. Endowed with the excellent qualities of open-handedness and inner contentment, he went to Turkistan twice through Yarqand and enrolled a number of disciples among the dignitaries, the wealthy, and the commoners. When he arrived in Lahore via Kabul, Muhammad Shah was honoured by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He bestowed three villages on him as *jagirs*. On his return home, the Khwaja devoted himself to the mission of guiding people in the Naqshbandiyya *tariqa*.

Muhammad Shah died in Lahore on 19 Jamiu'd-us-Saani 1256/18 August 1840 and was buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 94.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 223.

Khwaja Muhammad Sharif: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Muhammad: He was the son of Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. He received guidance from his father in spiritual matters and died very young.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 256.

Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf Maantji: He belonged to a family of traders in Kashmir. Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi initiated him in the Kubrawiyya order. After gaining spiritual insights under the guidance of his *murshid*, Khwaja Maantji went on *Hajj* and met several Sufis during his travels. On returning to the Valley, he settled in the town of Baramulla, where he is entombed. He died in 1011/1602-3. Hasan's account corroborates Mishkati.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, Urdu tr., Srinagar, 1979, p. 369.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 227.

Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf Maantju Sani: He was a devotee of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. He received spiritual training from Sarfi's several disciples including his noted successor, Mir Muhammad Khalifa. Known for his austerities, Khwaja Yusuf lies buried at Buchhwara in Srinagar near the mausoleum of Saiyid Muhammad (known as Saiyid Ya'qub).

Diddamari (US), p. 210.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti: He was born in Sijistan (Sustan) and brought up in Khurasan. The Khwaja lived on the earnings from a garden and a water mill, inherited from his father. He owed his initiation in Sufism to an ecstatic (*majzub*), Ibrahim Qunduzi, who once passed by his garden. The Khwaja offered him a bunch of grapes and treated him reverentially. He felt a spiritual transmutation when the *majzub* took out some sesame seeds, chewed them, and put them in his mouth. Thereupon the Khwaja disposed of his possessions and distributed the money amongst the local *dervishes.* He studied the Qur'an and theology at Samarqand and Bukhara. He visited Harwan, a suburb of Nishapur, where rigorous austerities were practised by him under the guidance of Shaikh 'Usman Harwani for about two and a half years, and impressed the latter who gave him a *khirqa,* and appointed him his *khalifa.* The Khwaja left for Baghdad and met Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra in Sanjan. Thereafter he reached Jil where he stayed with the illustrious Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, for eight weeks. On reaching Baghdad he enjoyed the company of Sufis like Shaikh Ziya'u'd-Din, the uncle and teacher of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, Shaikh Auhadu'd-Din Kirmani and Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din himself. After reaching Hamadan from Baghdad, the Khwaja met Shaikh Yusuf Hamadani. He then went to Tabriz and saw Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi, the teacher of Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Kharqani. From there he travelled to Astarabad and visited the tomb of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Astarabadi. Later he travelled to Herat where he lived near the tomb of Khwaja 'Abdulllah Ansari. As a Sufi wanderer in Herat, he attracted a large number of people. But he did not like popularity and fame; so he left for Sabzar where the local governor, Muhammad Yadgar, renounced Shi'ite beliefs and joined the Khwaja's fold. In his new disciple's company, the Khwaja reached Hisar Shadman. Leaving Yadgar at Hisar Shadman, he set off for Balkh. There Maulana Ziau'd-Din Hakim , a philosopher, had set up a seminary and was very critical of Sufism. The Khwaja paid a visit to the seminary and was able to convert both the teacher and his followers to Sufism. It is said that the Maulana threw his philosophy books into the river and abandoned his property after spiritual experience. After appointing Ziau'd-Din as his deputy in Balkh, the Khwaja left for Ghazna. He met Shamsu'l-'Arifin 'Adul'l-Wahid, the teacher of Shaikh Nizam'ud-Din Abu'l-Muy'id, in Ghazna. The next place visited by the Khwaja was Lahore, where he stayed near the tombs of Shaikh Husain Zanjani and Shaikh 'Ali Hujwiri. Yusuf Husain writes "From Lahore, Khawaja Mu'inuddin Chisti went to Lahore and then to Ajmer which was ruled by Rai Prithvi Raj. One cannot think without admiration of this man, almost alone, living among people who considered the least contact with a Muslim as defilement. Sometimes he was refused water to drink. In the torrid climate of Rajputana that was the hardest punishement one can imagine." The high-caste priests demanded of the Raja of Ajmer that he should banish the Khwaja, whose influence had begun to make itself felt among the lower classes. The Raja sent the order of expulsion through Ram Deo, head of the priests of Ajmer. Legend relates that as he approached the Khwaja, Ram Deo was so impressed by his personality that he became, from that moment, "a faithful disciple of the Khwaja and spent his life in the service of the helpless and the downtrodden".

However, Rizvi, relying on sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century documents, does not think that the Khwaja entered India before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. He gives the date of his arrival in India and settlement in Ajmer as 1206. As for I.H. Siddiqui, he observes, on the authority of the *Sururu's-Sudur* and the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* that the Khwaja came to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish and moved to Ajmer in the wake of the spread of the frontiers of the Sultanate. Notwithstanding the historicity of the sources quoted by Siddiqui, the popular perception of the Khwaja's settlement in Ajmer dates to the aftermath of Muhammad Ghori's conquest in 1192. It is believed that he was directed in a dream by the Prophet to turn to India.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din was a paragon of piety, devotion, tolerance and compassion. He was affectionate to the poor. In his view the "highest form of devotion is to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfil the needs of the helpless, and feed the hungry". Schimmel observes that his "ideals are the same as those formulated by Bayezid Bistami (d. 874). A Sufi should possess 'generosity like that of the ocean, a mildness like that of the sun, and a modesty like that of the earth'."

The Khwaja's teachings were as follows: One should not (a) earn money or borrow from anyone, (b) reveal to anyone or seek help from anyone if one has been hungry even for a week, (c) store food for the morrow even in affluence, or (d) curse anyone. If deeply hurt, one should pray to God to guide one's enemy towards the right path.

The source of all good deeds in a human being is attributable either to one's *pir's* kindness, to the intercession of the Prophet on one's behalf, or to divine mercy. If one performs an evil deed one should consider one's own evil self-responsible. Fearing God, one should be careful to avoid actions that may involve one in evil again. Regularly fast during the day and prayer at night were important. "The *Shari'ah* makes it unlawful both to talk incessantly and keep totally silent. One should utter only such words as those which please God."

The *dargah* of the Khwaja has played an important role in the evolution of Indo-Muslim culture. Pilgrims to Ajmer included both Muslims and Hindus who visited the shrine, as is the practice now, with varied problems, spiritual, psychological, and personal. Shaikh Jamali in his *Siyaru'l-'Arifin,* written in the first half of the sixteenth century, furnishes an eyewitness account of the veneration of the shrine by Muslims and Hindus alike. His account helps us to understand the dynamic of the shrine in attracting Hindu converts to Islam in social rather than in a strict religious sense.

Isami writes that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1324-51), after having subdued the Kachhwaha rebels in the region now included in Rajasthan, visited the *dargah* of Ajmer. He was the first sultan to do so. It was Shaikh Husain Nagauri, the spiritual descendant of Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Sufi of Nagaur, who raised the tomb over the grave, thanks to the munificence of Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din of Malwa (1469-1500). Interestingly, the importance of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din's *dargah* was revitalized by no less a person than Akbar, who often invoked the blessings of the Khwaja's spirit for his victory against the Rajput rulers. He also constructed a mosque in the *dargah* complex as an acknowledgement of the Khwaja's spiritual help. Akbar's veneration of the Khwaja and his interest in nominating the *sajjada* of his own choice show that the *dargah* had become an important centre of pilgrimage long before the Great Mughal's several visits to it.

Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan visited the *dargah* and added to its importance by raising exquisite buildings. In 1614 Jahangir gifted a cauldron bigger than the one his father had given and ensured that the food cooked in it was served to more than 5000 people. Shah Jahan, besides constructing beautiful mosques, laid out gardens in Ajmer.

Mir Khurd, *Siyaru'l-Auliya,* Delhi, pp. 46-7.

Sururu's-Sudur, MS., Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh, no. 1361, pp. 227-8.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i Muhammadi,* MS., British Library, London, no. Or. 137, f. 140a.

'Abdu'l-Haque, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* (U), pp. 50-4.

Shaikh Jamali, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin,* Delhi, AH 1311.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India.*

Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture,* Bombay, 1959, p. 37.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India,* I, pp. 116-18, 122-3.

Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Subcontinent,* Leiden, 1980, pp. 23-4.

S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Ajmer Through Inscriptions.*

Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* vol. I, English tr. Rogers, ed. Beveridge, rpt., Delhi, 1978, p. 341.

I.H. Siddiqui, "The Early Chisti *Dargas*", in *Muslim Shrines in India,* ed. Troll, pp. 1-10.

P.M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Muin al-din Chisti of Ajmer,* Delhi, 1992.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Khwurd: He was the eldest son of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Sukhta who was the grandson of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. Khwaja Khwurd was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 207-9.

Khwaja Mumin Chahail: His father, Khwaja Abu'l-Qasim Chahail, was a courtier of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak. Being the son of a dignitary, Khwaja Mumin received the best education from his childhood. His teachers included Mulla Jawhar Naant and Khwaja Haidar Charkhi. After completing his education, the Khwaja left for Mecca with the twofold aim: the *Hajj* and spiritual guidance. At the mausoleum of the Prophet in Medina he was directed to seek his *murshid* in Kashmir. On returning to the Valley, Khwaja Mumin gained solace in the company of Seha Rishi Baba until the latter, to the former's amazement, told him that he was not his *murshid.* Seha Rishi advised him to seek the discipleship of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

After being initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order, Khwaja Mumin remained in the service of his *murshid.* After the death of Baba Nasib in 1637, the Khwaja left for Baghdad. He seems to have earned considerable repect there as a spiritual teacher and eventually died in Baghdad in 1643.

Khwaja Mumin's brother, Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Khaliq, on his return from the *Hajj,* made it a point to call on the latter in Baghdad. He stayed there with his brother for some time and then left for home.

Khwaja Mumin was perhaps the only Kashmiri Sufi who sought to enrol disciples in the Arab world. His *nom de plume* as a poet was Ghazi. One of his verses is loaded with spiritual import:

> For long we have been lost in this
> relationship of love.
> We had thought ourselves to become dear,
> but we became rare.
> Scarceness was destined for us, (for) we
> became the sellers of mirrors in the city of
> the blind.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 265-6 and nn 1275 and 1276.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 236-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 196.

Khwaja Mumin Islamabadi: Little is known about him except the information provided by Diddamari that he was a Sufi of great merit. He lived in Kashmir in the first of the eighteenth century.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 366.

Khwaja Musa: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Musa Maantju: He first approached Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf and, later, the latter's *murshid,* Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i, for further guidance. His whole life, as a celibate, was devoted to meditation and the struggle against the baser self. He is buried in the village of Naugam in Kutahar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 255.

Khwaja Muyidu'd-Din Ansari: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya whose remains lie in the compound of his *murshid's* tomb in Delhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 833.

Khwaja Muyidu'd-Din Kuz'ini: He was a disciple of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 76-7.

Khwaja Najibu'd-Din Firdawsi: According to Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, he was a disciple and *khalifa* of Khwaja Badru'd-Din Samarqandi, founder of the Firdawsiyya order in India. But 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes him as a disciple of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Firdawsi. Although Najibu'd-Din led a quiet life as an ascetic, he became famous because of his disciples. One of them was Maulana Faridu'd-Din who compiled a book on Sunni jurisprudence called the *Fatawa-i Tatar Khaniyya*, and the other was the most distinguished Sufi of the Firdawsiyya *silsilah* in India, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Ahmad Yaha' Munyari. Najibu'd-Din lies buried in Hauz-i Shamsi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 211.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 86.

Khwaja Nauroz: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Nur Muhammad: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Nuru'd-Din 'Asha'i: He was initiated in Sufism by his illustrious cousin, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. A wealthy trader, he left no stone unturned to care for the ordinary wants of the servants of the *khanqah* of his cousin. Khwaja Nuru'd-Din wrote a fine exegesis on the 29th part (*'ama*) of the Qur'an. He died on 11 Shawwal 1011/ 14 March 1602 and was buried at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 254.

Khwaja Nuru'd-Din Muhammad Aftab Naqshbandi: Born in 1088/1677, he was the son of Khwaja Nizamu'd-Din who, in turn, was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Ashraf, the son of the illustrious Sufi, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshband. He gained eminence as a Sufi master during the prime of his youth, thanks to the guidance received from Khwaja Ahmad Yassavi in exoteric and esoteric knowledge. Although the Khwaja owned a big *jagir,* he spent its revenues on the maintenance of a *langar* attached to the Khanqah-i Naqshbandiyya in Srinagar. His fame in the Valley rested both on his spiritual attainments and generosity.

Khwaja Nuru'd-Din Aftab died on 6 Sh'aban 1156/14 September 1743 and is entombed at the compound of the Khanqah-i Naqshbandiyya in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 441-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 73-4.

Khwaja Qaim Patloo: He was a disciple of the famous Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Khan Badakshi. By virtue of his sincerity and devotion, he not only obtained *khat-i irshad* from his *murshid*, but the latter further cemented his spiritual bonds with him by giving him his daughter in marriage. He lies buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 341-2.

Khwaja Qasim Tashwani: He was the son of a merchant. Shah Qasim Haqqani initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order. Before his death, Shah Qasim appointed Khwaja Qasim as his *khalifa* and authorized him to enrol disciples. His spiritual status may be gauged from the fact that Shah Qasim Haqqani put his own son, Shah Qutbu'd-Din, under his spiritual guidance. True to the philanthropic traditions of the early Kubrawiyya masters, Khwaja Qasim was a source of comfort for the people during the outbreak of famine. He is buried in Tashwan in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 268-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 268-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 210.

Khwaja Qasim Tirmizi: A Kashmiri who excelled in both exoteric and esoteric knowledge, he performed *hajj* and returned home to join hands with Shaikh Muhsin Faani who gave lessons on the Qur'an at Qutbu'd-Dinpura in Srinagar. Impressed with the Khwaja's lucid explanations of the profundities of the Qur'an, Shaikh Muhsin Fani gave his daughter in marriage to him. After the Shaikh's death, the Khwaja went to Kashgar where he was warmly received. From Kashgar he returned to India and joined the imperial service under Shah Jahan. His death took place during the campaign of Thatta. His friends brought his corpse home where he was buried in the vicinity of Shaikh Muhsin Fani's tomb at Gurgarhi *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 299.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 278.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 215.

Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki: One of the distinguished *khalifas* of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti, he belonged to Aush, situated in Farghana, south-east of Andijan, an important centre of the Sufis of the school of al-Hallaj. His father, Kamalu'd-Din Ahmad Musa, died when he was eighteen months old. However, his mother did not fail to give him education. He learnt the Qur'an under Aba Hafs and committed it to memory at a young age. Although his mother also arranged a marriage for him, he found his wife an impediment to the development of his spiritual personality. So he divorced her, and after his education at Aush, Qutbu'd-Din left for Baghdad where he is said to have met renowned Sufis, like Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, Qazi Hamidu'd-Din, and Shaikh Auhadu'd-Din Kirmani. His meeting with Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti at the mosque of Abu Lais Samarqandi in Baghdad led to his initiation into the Chistiyya order.

Following Mu'inu'-Din Chisti's departure for India, Qutbu'd-Din also left Baghdad and travelled through Khurasan to reach Multan. He reached Delhi some years subsequent to his preceptor's arrival in Ajmer. By that time Delhi had become the rendezevous of Sufis, scholars and theologians of eminence, thanks to the patronage extended to them by Iltutmish. Although Qutbu'd-Din received a warm welcome from the Sultan, he preferred to live in relative seclusion in Kilukhari, near the Jumna, rather than at a place near the royal palace offered to him by Iltutmish.

Qutbu'd-Din wished to visit Ajmer. But Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, who advised him to continue his work in Delhi, did not grant his request. Iltutmish and a good number of his nobles became his disciples. The Sultan offered him the post of Shaikhu'l-Islam, but following his refusal, the office was conferred on Najmu'd-Din Sughra. The latter, though initially enjoyed cordial relationship with Qutbu'd-Din, used the Sufi's practice of gaining spiritual ecstasy through *sama'* as a pretext to rouse the ulama against him. When Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din personally came to Delhi to enquire into the matter, Najmu'd-Din apologized, acknowledging that he had been envious of the people's devotion to Qutbu'd-Din. Subsequently, Mu'inu'd-Din asked his disciple to accompany him to Ajmer. But Iltutmish and the citizens of Delhi were so disturbed at Qutbu'd-Din's departure that they followed him, collecting the dust he left on his way as a relic. Mu'inu'd-Din was moved, and advised his disciple to stay put.

Qutbu'd-Din led a conjugal life in Delhi. There are many stories in the hagiographic literature about the asceticism of the Khwaja and the poverty of his family of nine. He died on the fifth night, 14 Rabi' 1633/27 November 1235 after lapsing into ecstasy on hearing the following verse in a *sama'* performed in the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Ali Sizji:

> To the victims of the dagger of submission.
> There comes a new life at every moment from the Unseen World.

The tomb of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki is situated in Mehrauli, about eleven miles from Delhi.

The *dargah* of Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki seems to have become an important centre of pilgrimage quite early. Ibn Battuta writes that the "power of this tomb is manifest and it enjoys great veneration. The reason why this Shaikh was called *al-Kaki* is that he used to give all those debtors who came to him to complain of need or poverty, or who had daughters and had not the wherewithal to send them with proper outfits to their husbands, a *kaka* (biscuit) of gold or silver." Sultan Bahlul sought his blessings on the eve of the invasion of Delhi by Sultan Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur in 1478. He is said to have spent the whole night at the *dargah* like a common supplicant. That the *dargah* became a nucleus for the growth and development of Sufism in India is evident from the activities of devout Sufis who occupied cells for purposes of prayer, meditation, and other spiritual exercises. Also, from Rizqu'llah Mushtaqi's account, it seems that the *dargah* became a catalyst for the conversion of certain poor and rich Hindu families.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 8-10, 90, 107-8, 149, 163, 180, etc.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 48-57.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, pp. 16-31.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 24-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 31-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 684-95.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab, pp. 142-61.

Rauzah-i Aqtab, pp. 3-30.

Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 109-10.

Jawamiu'l-Kilam, p. 208.

Tabaqat-i Nasiri (Raverty), p. 702.

Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta,* vol. 3, p. 625.

Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi, MS., British Library, London, no. 11633, ff. 6b-7a, 23a-b, 101a-b.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India.*

——*Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture,* 1966, Allahabad, p. 29, n. 62.

Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Sirhindi: His teachers were Shaikh Ilahdad Salih and Maulana Majdu'd-Din Muhammad. Ghausi Shattari admires his knowledge of the exoteric and the esoteric.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 454.

Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i: Little information is available about him except that around 1600 he was a Suhrawardiyya Sufi in Kashmir. His disciples were many, including Shaikh Ahmad Zahid, Shaikh Musa Zahgir, Shaikh Muhammad Sharif, Khwaja Mir 'Ali Islamabadi, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Gana'i, Maulana Hasan Lankar, Khwaja Nuru'd-Din 'Asha'i, Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Kanth, Khwaja Musa Mantju, Khwaja Zainu'd-Din *alias* Zaina Wali, Khwaja 'Attar, Khwaja Muhammad, Shaikh Muhammad Tahir, Shaikh Muhammad Talib, Shaikh Salih, and Khwaja Ibrahim.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 251-2.

Khwaja Rafiu'd-Din Harun: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 99.

Khwaja Rajjab: He was a *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Qasim Haqqani. Known for his self-denial, he was accustomed to having a bath before every prayer. Occasionally, he would resort to breath control for the night, oblivious of his surroundings. Although a man of few words, his speech had the desired effect.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 267-8.

Khwaja Rishi Baba: One day he suddenly turned to God, gave away everything in God's name, and became a disciple of Ludi Gana'i. Having attained *ma'rifah,* he secluded himself in Badrkot in Kashmir.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat,* CA No. 31, pp. 810-11.

Khwaja Sa'du'd-Din Naqshbandi: After the death of his father, Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din Shahid, when he was twelve, he obtained training in spiritual knowledge from Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kamal. In spite of an illness for five years, he remained steadfast in following the Sufi way of life. He died in 1212/1797-8 and was buried near his father's tomb in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 87.

Khwaja Sadiq Maantju: He was the brother of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju and received initiation into the Qadiriyya and Chistiyya orders.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 312-13.

Khwaja Sadru'd-Din Khurasani: He came to Kashmir from Khurasan along with Saiyid Muhammad Luristani and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani. They came with a definiteness of purpose. It was to create a suitable ambience for the dissemination of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order within the ambit of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. The architectural skills of Khwaja Sadru'd-Din and Saiyid Muhammad Luristani were utilized by Sultan Sikandar for the construction of the Jami mosque in Srinagar.

Sadru'd-Din died on 12 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 821/ 19 April, 1418 and lies buried at Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh* (U), p. 16.

Baharistan-i Shahi, RPD No. 491, f. 26b.

Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 29, ff. 94b-96a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 94.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 28-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 35.

Khwaja Salar: He was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who led a life of renunciation and wept himself to ecstasy during the course of *sama'*. He lies buried in the compound of his *murshid's* tomb.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 902-3.

Khwaja Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi: From his father, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Kaman, he took lessons in *tasawwuf*. Miyan Muhammad Amin Dar's grandson, Miyan Ziyau'd-Din, imparted him training in *ma'rifah* and *haqiqa*. Later he went to Bukhara to drink deep at the fountain of Khwaja Musa Khan's son, Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi Mirjanpuri, who granted him a *sanad* in *Hadis*.

Besides being the most venerable Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya *tariqa* of his time in Kashmir, Khwaja Shah Niyaz enjoyed an exalted social position and authority by virtue of his influence and wealth. About three or four times, he headed large groups of his companions and disciples to Turkistan in a grandiose style. There the rulers, grandees and the wealthy sought his blessings and offered him gifts. William Moorcroft who was on a spying mission in Turkistan, owed his release from confinement to his influence. On his recommendation, Maharaja Ranjit Singh restored to Shah Niyaz his ancestral *jagir* of Brain, Nishat.

Such was the influence of the Shah in Turan and China that Muslims there would keep standing in his presence and would not sit unless he asked them to take their seats.

He was also a poet.

Several Sufis including Shaikh Muhammad Na'im Tarabali often kept company with him. Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi died in Kabul in 1245/1829-30.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 83-5.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 218-20.

Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din: He was a nephew of Amir Khusraw and a scholar. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. His grave lies somewhere near the tomb of Amir Khusraw in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 187.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 902.

Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din Dihlawi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, buried in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 100.

Khwaja Sharif Gana'i: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Shihabu'd-Din: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, who spent his life in seclusion and worship.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Taju'd-Din Dawari: He adopted *faqr* while leading an austere life after becoming the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Having a passion for *sama'*, Taju'd-Din would often dance in a state of ecstasy. Like other *masha'ikh* of his time, he had to go to the Deccan under the orders of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. On his return journey to Delhi, he fell ill in Malwa and died. His body was brought to Delhi and laid to rest in the compound of the tomb of his spiritual mentor.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 900.

Khwaja Tahir Buchh: A disciple and the son-in-law of Shah Qasim Haqqani, he shaved his beard after becoming a *majzub*. His tomb is situated at Buchhwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 468-9.

Khwaja Tahir Rafiq 'Asha'i: The son of a cloth merchant, Khwaja Ibrahim 'Asha'i, he often visited Lahore along with his father in connection with business. It was from Shaikh 'Abdu'sh-Shakur, a descendant of Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya Multani, that Tahir received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order. Later he also obtained initiation in the Naqshbandiyya, Kubrawiyya, and Qadiriyya orders.

Tahir did not show any interest in his father's business; instead he took to agriculture by bringing his own land in the village of Wanigam under cultivation. Later he travelled in several parts of the Valley and spent about nine years in seclusion. Many miracles attributed to the Khwaja testify to his exalted spiritual status.

After Khwaja Tahir satiated his wanderlust, he returned to Srinagar. He founded a *khanqah* in the city in 996/1587-8 with a *langar* attached to it.

Khwaja Tahir died in 1001/1592-3 and his tomb at Fateh Kadal in the old city is well known.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 178.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 198-201.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 323.

Khwaja Taqiu'd-Din Nuh: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 98.

Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Balkhi: He was man of Balkh. He travelled the Muslim world extensively, performed *Hajj* seventeen times, and first visited Kashmir towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign. His second visit to the Valley took place during the reign of prince Mu'azzam in 1120/1708-9, the third in 1132/1719-20. During his second visit, he stayed in Kashmir as a recluse for seven or eight years. He would rarely open the door to visitors. It was only during his third visit that he made himself accessible to the seekers and guided many.

Khwaja A'zam Diddamari gives a first hand account of his close association with 'Ubaidu'llah Balkhi. Although he had made up his mind to settle in the Valley, he left for Mecca in 1137/1724-5 after staying there for five years. On 29 Muharram 1139/6 September 1726 after taking bath and finishing with the prescribed prayers, he breathed his last and was buried in Medina.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 195-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 402-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 299-300.

Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Bukhari: Born in 1078/1667-8, he was the son of Shaikh Ilyas Bukhari and traced his genealogy to the Caliph 'Umar through the line of Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Ahmad Kubra. After obtaining knowledge of esoteric and exoteric sciences at an early age, he went to Rum via Russia and thence to Egypt, Medina, and Mecca. At Mecca he received initiation from Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum's *khalifa*, Shaikh Ahmad Makki. After succeeding his *murshid* and at the latter's residence guiding the seekers in Mecca for eight years, Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah left for Bukhara via Sirhind in order to meet his mother. Along with his mother, the Khwaja returned to Mecca and stayed there for ten years. After going twenty-one times on *Hajj*, he left Mecca and returned to Kashmir in Ziq'ad 1138/June 1726.

Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Bukhari settled in the Valley with a definiteness of purpose and mission. Although self-denial was the distinctive characteristic of his personality, he played a significant role in the social and religious life of the Kashmiris. His emphasis was always on strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* and he often referred to authorities on issues concerning the *Shari'ah*. His respect for the *ulama-i Haqq* was immense. He evinced great interest in the welfare of the commoners and expended money for charitable purposes. His mission was to make the exoteric and esoteric dimensions of Islam intelligible to the Kashmiris not merely by way of dialogue, but through personal example. He stressed the importance of *zikr* and popularized the *zikr* and *awrad* of the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Kubrawiyya orders. He advised people to recite the *Aurad-i Fathiyya* regularly in the morning.

Throughout his life Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah remained celibate and, in spite of his active role in Srinagar, was an ascetic to the core. After completing his mission in the city, he secluded himself at the village of Rivan in the *pargana* of Vihi, and died there in 1141/1728-9.

Khwaja A'zam Diddamari composed a long elegy on the death of his *pir*, Shaikh 'Ubaidu'llah Bukhari.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 410-13.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 300-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 239.

Khwaja 'Usman Kaul: He was a wealthy and respectable trader of Kashmir who was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He renounced the world, performed *Hajj*, and died in Mecca.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 182.

Khwaja Wahid: Grandson of Khwaja Mu'inud-Din Chisti, he came to Ajodhan and requested Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar to enlist him among his disciples. The Sufi remarked in humility: "I have picked up the crumbs of your family as a beggar.

How can I initiate you against my sense of respect?" However, on Khwaja's Wahid's insistence, Baba Farid admitted him into the Chistiyya order.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 209-10.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, p. 238.

Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar: Of the family of Malik Regi Dhar, he was an eminent dignitary of the time of the sultans of Kashmir. His *khanqah* on the bank of the river Jhelum was famous. Khwaja Ya'qub received initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from Shah Qasim Haqqani. His exalted spiritual status has been eulogized in the sources. When Shah Qasim Haqqani left for *Hajj*, he appointed the Khwaja as his deputy in Srinagar.

Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar died on 11 Safar 1030/26 December 1620 and his remains lie near the mausoleum of Saiyid Husain Biladuri at Sazgari *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 209.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 263-4.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 211-12.

Khwaja Ya'qub Majzub: He was a *qalandar*, a contemporary of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Mishkati.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 452.

Khwaja Ya'qub Mattu: He was a *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Qasim Haqqani. Once during his visit to the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, he was overcome with ecstasy on hearing a song.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 264.

Khwaja Ya'qub Pakhli: A disciple of Shah Gada and initiated as Suhrawardiyya, he had an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences.

He died in 1094/1683 and is entombed in the cemetery of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din (Bulbul Shah) in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 290.

Khwaja Yusuf: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Khwaja Habibu'llah 'Attar, he is entombed in the cemetery of his *murshid* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 309.

Khwaja Yusuf Dar: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Khwaja Yusuf Zargar: He was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Mir 'Ali Qadiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 278.

Khwaja Zahid Lari: He was a disciple of the renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki. He renounced all the pleasures of the world in order to devote himself to God. Throughout his life he spent sleepless nights and observed continual fasts.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Khwaja Zain 'Ali Dhar: Son of a trader called Khwaja 'Abdu'llah and a *khalifa* of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i, he was quite young when he met with Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, the well-known Kubrawiyya Sufi, who had a passion for *sama'*. Under the influence of the latter, Zain 'Ali became enraptured by the *sama'* assemblies frequently organized at his *khanqah*. At such gatherings several musical instruments including *rabab* were played.

It was customary for Zain 'Ali to bring a jug of water from the river Jhelum during the midnight in order to enable Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri to perform ablution for the *tahajjud* prayers.

On 24 Shawwal 1042/24 April 1633 Khwaja Zain 'Ali Dhar died and was buried at the locality, now known as Zaindar *mohalla*, near Habba Kadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 235.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 270-1.

Khwaja Zainu'd-Din *alias* **Zaina Wali**: He was a disciple of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. Known for his piety and the nobility of character, he served his *pir* by way of maintaining the *langar* of his *khanqah*. His tomb is situated at Rainawari, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 255.

Khwaja Zainu'd-Din: Little is known about him except that he lived in Kashmir and was the son of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din. He achieved excellence in *suluk*, *zuhud*, and *taqwa*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 19.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Khwaja Zaman Dar: A grandson of Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar, he resigned the imperial service as *mansabdar*, to become a disciple of the Kashmiri Kubrawiyya Sufi, Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Gani Lankar. After crossing various stages in *suluk*, he received authorization. He remained in ecstasy for most of the time and was very fond of Sufi music.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 360.

Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din Amjad: He traced his ancestry from the Khwajas of Bukhara. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, the Khwaja left the court and attained an exalted position in *faqr* and *suluk*.

Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din was also a poet, and won the approbation and love of his *pir*. He lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 58-9.

Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif, who succeeded his father, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya. He compiled the *malfuzat* of his teacher under the title *Kunuzu'l-Fawa'id*. Although the work is not extant, excerpts in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* indicate that, like all treatises on Sufism, it was on themes such as God, *zikr*, and the transience of the world. Khwaja Ziya'u'd-Din's focus was on God and he urged the Sufis not to long for heaven or fear hell. According to him constant *zikr* was a divine light and, therefore no breath should be inhaled or exhaled without *zikr* to remove every kind of darkness.

He died on 23 Zu'lhijja 684/19 February 1286.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 122-6.

Khwaja Ziya' Nakhshabi: He was a noted disciple of Shaikh Farid who, strangely enough, has not been mentioned by Nizami (see *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century and Life and Times of Baba Faridu'd-Din . . .*). His ancestors seem to have come from Nakhshab in the Sughd province following the Mongol invasion of that area. His fame rests on his scholarly work, *Silku's-Suluk*, or Strings of Sufism, which describes the fundamental principles of the movement in 151 short chapters. To him the ulama and *faqirs* were overcome by intellect and love respectively; hence the opposition or conflict of opinion. Prophets alone could dominate both reason and love. He, therefore, urges ulama and the Sufis to imbibe each other's qualities and virtues and keep to the *Shari'ah* ' and *Tawhid*. He talks about four categories of men: the worldly who, though ostensibly pious, were inwardly unworthy; *majzubs*, who looked bad outwardly but were inwardly effulgent; commoners whose inward condition was as evil as the outward one; and the Sufis, who excelled both inwardly and outwardly. Nakhshabi also wrote the *'Ashra-i Mubasshshara*, *Kulliyyat-wa Juziyyat*, and *Tuti Nama*. Of these, the last, Stories of a Parrot, is of special importance as it reflects the influence of Sanskrit literature on his mind. True, his *Tuti Nama* is the Persian version of *Suka-Saptai* by Chintamani Bhatta. But Nakhshabi's importance lies not merely in his elegant style but also in the substitution of new stories in place of the old. What is more, he dubs the characters with Arabic names, adding a Persian background thereby and often changing the ending. Nạkshabi concludes his preface to the *Tuti Nama* with the verse:

> Oh Nakhshabi! Adopt the religion of those who follow a middle course.
> The Prophet himself has ordained so.
> The middle of the road policy is praiseworthy.
> The commandment of Islam is moderation.

Nakshabi secluded himself in Bada'un because of his belief in the virtue of waging *jihad* against his own self. According to him, if a *faqir* busied himself in a fight against his own *nafs* from morning to evening, he was sure to have peace of mind, soul, and body, together with salvation on the Day of Judgement.

Nakhshabi died in 751/1350-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 190-8.

Silku's-Suluk, MS., Ethe, 1839, ff. 18b, 23a, 26b, 55a, 104a.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 836.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 131-3.

Khweshgi Qasuri, Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: He was a Khweshgi Afghan who belonged to an eminent Chistiyya family of Qasur (near Lahore). His grandfather was a close friend of the Mujaddid, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, and of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif of Burhanpur. He seems to have inherited a rich collection of religious and Sufi literature including private letters and documents. He served under various Mughal nobles. He travelled from Qasur to Bengal and then to the Deccan. There he authored one of the most authentic biographies of the Sufis of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. See *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat* (R).

***Kifayat-i Musallin*:** Written by Saiyid Murtaza, it is based on the *Tuhfatu'n-Nasha'ih*, a didactic poem composed by the Sufi, Yusuf Gada in 795/1393. The latter was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. The poetic composition of Yusuf Gada was popular among Sufis as well as ulama and was thus a prudent choice for a Bengali translation.

Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, pp. 53-60, 62-5; Ethe, nos. 1276-7.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 372.

Al-Kimiya: Amongst the Sufis, the term means being satisfied with what one has and not yearning for what we do not possess. Kimiya'ul-'Awam, the alchemy of the ordinary people, is an exchange of spiritual things that perish. Kimya'ul-Khawass, the alchemy of special people, is an emptying of the heart of everything except God. *Kimiyau's-Sa'adah*, the alchemy of felicity, is the purification of one's heart from all things that are evil.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Kitab al-makatib wa'r-rasa'il: This is a collection of 68 letters of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi. Each letter is like a treatise. Among some prominent addressees are his spiritual preceptors, Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and Shah 'Abdu'l-Ma'ali, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Niyazi, a former Mahdawi, Shaikh Faizi and his younger brother Shaikh 'Abu'l-Khair Mubarak, and a number of Mughal nobles. The latter were urged to persuade Emperor Jahangir to reverse Akbar's policies in accordance with the laws of the *Shari'ah*. The letters are marked by a sobriety of views and judgement. The aim is not merely to "reconcile" the controversies between the ulama and the Sufis but to emphasize strict obedience to the *Shari'ah* in the Path. The Shaikh is critcial of charlatans masquerading as Sufis. The letters also acquaint the reader with some popular Sufi practices and the Sufi orders in Mecca and Medina. To Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq, such of the elite and commoners including artisans, as combined their worship with a conscientious performance of their professional obligations were Sufis. However, the most significant letter of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq addressed to the Mujaddid just before 1031/1621-2 is not included in the *Kitab al-makatib*. This important letter is, instead found in 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi Qasuri's *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat* (R). Copies of it are preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur, and in the Kutubkhana-i Anwariyya Kakori (Lucknow). In this letter, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq criticized the Mujaddid's mystical revelations contained in the latter's letter No. 87 addressed to Maulana Salih Kaulabi.

Kitab Khulasatu'l-ma'arif fi Asraru'l-'aqa'id: Written by Shaikh Adam bin Isma'il bin Buhwa bin Hajji Yusuf bin Ya'qub Daulat of Banur, near Sirhind, in 1037/1627-8, this describes the real nature of spiritual experiences as against the false ones of innovators. Its author belongs to Mujaddidi School. The manuscript in the author's own handwriting is preserved in the Indian Office Library.

Kitabu'l-mubin: Written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, this treatise deals with *Wahdat al-Wujud*. MS, Raza Library, Rampur.

Kufr: According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini, *kufr* in its common form contradicts the *Shari'ah* but in its most significant aspect it is the worship of the carnal soul. All externalists, observed he, were involved in this kind of infidelity. "Unless a true perception of *kufr* was gained, a realistic understanding of Satan was impossible. Disputes relating to *kufr* and *iman* (faith) were merely related to two veils. As long as a seeker remained involved in wranglings over the two, he was unable to understand God. The seeker should be neither a *kafir* (infidel) nor a Muslim, but a lover, the axis around which both *kufr* and *iman* revolved."

Bahru'l-Ma'ani, Ethe, ff. 37a, 109b.

Khyar al-Majalis: Authored by Hamid Qalandar, it contains the discourses of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. The author, a disiciple of the Shaikh, was encouraged by his preceptor to write an account of his discourses. K.A. Nizami's introduction to this work is quite useful. See Hamid Qalandar, *Khair al-majalis* (K.A. Nizami, ed.), Aligarh, 1959, pp. 70-1.

Kulliyat-i Baqi Bi'llah: This contains the *masnavis* of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah. [See *Ruba'iyat-i Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah.*] Kulliyat, Lahore, n.d.

Kulliyat-i Bullhe Shah: Published by the Panjabi Academy, Lahore, this tract contains poems by the greatest Panjabi Sufi poet, Bullhe Shah (d. 1181/1767-8).

L l

la makam: To go beyond the limits of space.

La'l Shah: He was a *khalifa* of Shah Sanau'llah Qalandar who died in the early nineteenth century. After passing through various stages in the Path, he became an ecstatic and wandered through the jungles and across the mountains of the valley of Kashmir. It was only after a certain period of wandering that he settled in one place and began to guide seekers.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 476-7.

Lachham Nanat: A disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makdhum, he was held in high esteem for his piety. His tomb lies in the compound of the shrine of his *murshid* at Koh-i Maran (Hariparbat Hillock) in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 190-1.

Lachham Rishi: A disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din Rishi, he became the latter's *khalifa* after his death in the village of Pushkar in Kashmir. His abode was the place of refuge for the poor and the needy. He himself distributed food among them.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 39b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 181a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 318-19.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 816-17.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 128-9.

Lachham Rishi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, known for his austerities, he lies buried at Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir near his *pir's* tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 134.

Ladi Katur: A disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din known for his penance and piety, he settled at a village in the *pargana* of Zaingir in Kashmir under the orders of his *pir*. Notwithstanding his usual habit of eating ashes with water, he was punctilious about the performance of the *tahajjud* prayers. He is reported to have stressed that service to the needy and the poor bring men closer to God.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 94a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 807, ff. 160b-161a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 180ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 117.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 112a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 3115-18.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 812-15.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 126-7.

lahut: The world of Godhead; indescribable world of unity, though erroneously defined as a stage in which human identity (*nasut*) is absorbed in "timeless unicity".

Lal Ded: She was also known as Lalla. A great deal of legend has gathered round the story of her life and it is difficult to disentangle the historical element in it. The chronology in particular offers great difficulties. Early Sanskrit sources do not mention her. The first Sufi to mention her in his oral verse is her spiritual offspring, the founder of the indigenous Sufi order of the Muslim Rishis in Kashmir, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Significantly, the Shaikh describes Lal Ded as an *avatara* of Kashmiris. The first hagiographer to mention her is the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Mulla 'Ali Raina, and the first Brahman chronicler to describe her in some detail is Pandit Birbal Kachru in the early nineteenth century. Despite the preponderance of legendary details about Lal Ded, it is certain that she was a contemporary of Saiyid Husain Simnani and his illustrious cousin, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani (d. 1384-5). The tradition of Lal Ded's association with both these Sufis of the Kubrawiyya order is so strong that not only has she always been remembered as a Muslim saint but even as a great apostle of Islam in Kashmir.

It is important to note that the Suhrawardiyya Sufis of Kashmir played an important part in the glorification of Lal Ded as a woman Sufi of intrinsic merit. 'Ali Raina refers to her meetings with Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht (1308-83) and Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. He was the first to euologize her as Maryam-i Makani and Rabi'a Sani. Both he and his contemporary, Haidar Tulmuli, also talk about Lalla's association with Saiyid Husain Simnani and her spiritual guidance to Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Baba Dawud Khaki extols her passion for God in terms of the Covenant (q.v.) between Allah and human souls (*ahd-i alast*). Baba Nasib describes her as a sister of Mansur Hallaj in respect of her absorption in divine love. Baba Dawud Mishkati, Aba Rafi'iu'd-Din, Muhammad A'zam Diddamari, Abdu'l Wahhab Nuri, Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, Baba Kamal, and Baba Khalil have all extolled her spirituality.

The impact of Lalla's eulogization as an *avatar* of Kashmiris in the Hindu-Buddhist environment of the fifteenth century Valley, and, of course, later, her eulogization in the Kubrawiyya and Suhrawardiyya circles contributed a great deal to her romanticization—so much so that her revolt against caste was translated into action by the socially underprivileged people who gradually assimilated in Islam.

Even though the "legendization" of Lal Ded as a renegade against Brahmanism accelerated the process of Islamic acculturation in the Valley, it is difficult to say whether she formally accepted Islam. Had it been so, her tomb would have been venerated by the folk. That there does not exist either a tomb or a cremation place (*samadhi*) of Lal Ded anywhere in the Valley points to the fact that she was wandering ascetic engrossed in God-consciousness, yearning to see God everywhere. Although originally a Brahman with Shaivite beliefs, her poetry gives ample proof of her revolt against idol worship, ritualistic practices, hypocrisy, and the ethnocentricism of the Brahmans. While the Brahmans ostracized her, the people undergoing the process of Islamic acculturation owned her. Lal Ded, indeed, did not live in a historical vacuum, isolated from the lower strata of society of the time or of succeeding generations. It is reasonable to assert that the hagiographers' euoligization of her spiritual attainments must contain a kernel of truth about her association with Sufism.

Baba Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 188ab-189a.

Baba 'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin* RPD No. 592, ff. 37ab-38a.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 126, ff. 97b-101a.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503, ff. 30b-31ab.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 83ab-84ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5, ff. 320ab-324a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 170-1.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 151b, 164b-166a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, ff. 90ab.

Birbal Kachru, *Majmu'au't-Tawarikh*, RPD No. 935, ff. 73b, 74b-76ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 348-59.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 832-46.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 134.

George Grierson and L.D. Barnett, *Lalla-Vakyani, or, the Wise Sayings of Lal Ded: A Mystic Poetess of Kashmir*, London, 1920.

R.C. Temple, *The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*, Cambridge 1924.

B.N. Parimoo, *The Ascent of Self*, Delhi, 1978.

Jayalal Kaul, *Lad Ded*, Delhi, 1973.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

——"The Impact of Islam on Kashmir in the Sultantate Period, 1320-1586", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23, 2 (1986).

Lala Baiyu Hamadani: Initiated by Zahid Baba-i Nagami, he is said to have attainted *baqa* after experiencing *fana*. Being gifted with sober and affable manners, he was a source of comfort and help to many people.

He died in 1122/1710 and was buried near his house at the village of Chandahara in the *pargana* Vihi of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 345-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 295.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 227.

Lala Maantju: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyyah Sufi, Shah Qasim Haqqani. After his initiation into Sufim, he remained steadfast in the principles of the *tariqa* within the bounds of the *Shari'ah* for a greater part of his life. However, he could not restrain himself after experiencing the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and started roaming about in deserted places. Several anecdotes exist regarding the positive outcome of his blessings to the childless parents.

Lala Maantju died on 17 Muharram 1062/ 20 December 1651 and lies buried in Shoragari *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 469.

Lala Rishi *alias* Thag: He was a resident of the village of Khunamoh in Kashmir. After being initiated into the Rishi order, he took up his residence near a place in Pampur now called Frestabal. There he spent the remainder of his life in seclusion. He had very little interaction with the people because of his abstinence. He observed fasts continually, did not eat meat, and practised celibacy. His tomb lies at Gailandar in Pampur.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 170-1.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 342.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 147.

Lala Rishi: He was the newphew and *khalifa* of Baba Naji (Najmu'd-Din) Rishi. After gaining knowledge of the essentials of Sufism from his uncle, Lala Rishi attained great spiritual heights. Often he spent a night in the remembrance of Allah and observed continual fasts.

Lala Rishi planted fruit trees and himself cultivated land. Whatever money he earned out of his labour was spent on the poor. He showed exemplary hospitality to visitors.

He died on 8 Ziq'ad 1105/21 June 1694 and lies entombed at the village of Zakura in the *pargana* of Phag in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 146.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 310.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 135.

Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Shaikh: His real name was Mir Saiyid 'Usman and he belonged to Sehwan in the Sindh. Like the *malamtis*, he indulged in ecstatic dancing. He earned his popular name, Lal, for often wearing red clothes. Although a *qalandar*, he was enrolled as a disciple by Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, much against his dislike for *qalandars*. The latter gave him the title 'Shahbaz', the noblest species of falcon. Many miracles are attributed to him during his lifetime and even after death. He is entombed in Sindh.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 542.

Inam Mohammad, *Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz of Sehwan-Sharif*, Karachi, 1978.

lam: Letter of the Arabic alphabet; numerical value forty; a mystical symbol.

Lama'at al-tanqih: Completed in 1025/1616 by Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq in the Khanqah-i Qadiriyya, it is the Arabic commentary on certain subtle points of the *Mishkat al-Masabih* that were not found appropriate to expound to the less educated Muslims. The aim was to reconcile the Hanafi *Fiqh* with *Hadis*. "Colophon of the Lama'at al-tanqih in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, V, no. 361" R, ii, 89n. See *Ashi'at al-lama'at*.

Lama't: This work of 'Iraqi has been widely referred to in the South Asian Sufi literature. While most Sufis studied it, others wrote commentaries on it. Among them must be mentioned the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Samau'd-Din (d. 901/1496) who influenced the policies of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. See also *Miftahu'l-Asrar*.

Lata'if-i Ghaibiyya: Authored by Shah 'Abdu'llah, it is dedicated to his patron Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din (873/1469–906/1501). The author summarizes the main teachings and practices of the Shattariyya order. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus made full use of the ideas in the *Lata'if-i Ghaibiyya* for the reconstruction of the tenets of the Shattariyya *silsilah*.

Latifah: A term used by Sufis for any sign or influence in the soul, derived from God, which has such a mysterious effect on the heart that mortal man cannot express it in language, just as a delicious taste in the mouth cannot be exactly expressed by the tongue.

Lata'if-i Ashrafi: Authored by Nizamu'd-Din Yamani, it is the *malfuzat* of Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani of Kichaucha. The author, who was a disciple of the Sufi, describes at length the elegant sayings of his spiritual preceptor. Besides briefly dwelling on the Saiyid's travels, he discusses almost all the themes generally related to Sufism. The book has been translated into Urdu by Maulana 'Abdu'l-Haqq and published by Danish Book Depot, Tanda, in seven volumes.

Lauhi Mahfuz: According to the Qur'an, it denotes the Qur'an itself:

"Nay, this is a glorious Qur'an, (inscribed) in a Tablet Preserved." (85/21-2). In *Hadis* and the theological works, the term is used in the sense of the tablets on which the decrees of God, with reference to mankind, were recorded.

'Allama Yusuf Husain significantly observes that "inscribed in a Tablet preserved" signifies the eternity of Allah's Message, and that the Tablet is preserved or guarded from corruption . . . for Allah's Message must endure for ever.

There are numerous references to *Lauhi Mahfuz* in Sufi literature.

The Holy Qur'an, 'Allama Yusuf 'Ali's English tr., n. 6066.

lobh: Lust; cupidity; greed; according to the Saivite philosophy, *lobh* is the chief of the six enemies or sins which create impediments in uniting the individual self with the Supreme. The six are sexual desire (*kama*), wrath (*krodh*), desire (*lobh*), arrogance (*mada*), delusion of mind (*moha*) and jealousy (*matsara*). Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri repeatedly uses these words in order to impart

Islamic teaching to the folk. See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Loli Baiyu: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi Khushhal Mir. After leading a secluded life in piety and meditation, and was buried in Devasar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Luda Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Hardi Rishi. Throughout his long life, he lived near the spring of Sundabrari in the *pargana* of Brang as a recluse of unlimited piety. His tomb is in the village of Toragam in the *pargana* of Vular in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 143-4.

Ludarman Rishi: One of the legendary Rishis of Kashmir, he is said to have embraced Islam at the hands of Rum Rishi along with his brother Pilasman Rishi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Ludi Rishi: He belonged to the village of Yur in the *pargana* of Devsar. He was an Uwaisi Rishi whose entire life was devoted to God. He lies buried at Yur in Kashmir.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 369.

Lutfu'llah, Shah: He lived in Anbala and was initiated as a Chistiyya by Miran Shah Bhikh (d. 1131/1718-19). His work titled *Samratu'l-Fu'ad* described the miracles of his *pir*. He died on 20 Zu'lqa'da 1186/12 February, 1773.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, p. 498.

M m

Ma'danu'l-Ma'ani: Being the most significant *malfuzat* of the Firdausiyya order, it contains the discourses of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Ahmad bin Yahya Munyari or Maneri, a Sufi of deep piety and scholarship. His *malfuzat* were collected by a disciple called Zain Badr 'Arabi. The work contains discourses delivered by the Shaikh between 15 Sha'ban 749/8 November 1348 and the end of Shawwal 751/December 1350. Like the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad*, the sermons in the *Ma'danu'l-Ma'ani* are related with profound mystical insight.

Ma'asiru'l-Kiram Tarikh-i Bilgaram: Written by Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (b. 1116/1704, d. 1200/1786) in 1166/1753, it describes the life of about eighty Sufis of Bilgram (near Lucknow) and its neighbourhood. Some other Indian Sufis have also been dealt with in this work published in Hyderabad.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 31.

Mahda Nawab: A disciple of Sarfaraz Shah, he roamed about in Srinagar and would not rest until he beat a *majzub*. His encounter with a *majzub*, Jamal Shah Sag Nawaz, during the reign of the Dogra ruler of Kashmir, Gulab Singh (1846-58) is well-known. Mahda Shah fatally struck the *majzub* on his head for his spiritual backing to the Dogra ruler.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 477.

Mahda Shah Jam:'i A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Akbar Hadi. He dedicated his whole life to *mujahada*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Mahdi Baba: Nothing is known about him save that he was the brother of Hafiz 'Abdu'llah (d. 1105/1694). Praised for his piety, he lies entombed at the cemetery of his brother in Fateh Kadal, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Mahdi Rishi Kakapuri: He was a *khalifa* of Mir Muhammad Baqir Naqshbandi. After obtaining *khat-i irshad* from him, he secluded himself in a mosque at the village of Kakapura in Kashmir. True to the cherished traditions of the Rishi order, Mahdi Rishi did not eat meat, and always observed fasts. Described as a man with empathy, mercy, and a noble heart, Mahdi Rishi would spend the day and night in remembrance of Allah with great humbleness of mind and heart.

Khwaja Muhammad Murad Tang, himself a Naqshbandiyya Sufi, writes that when he heard Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar showering praise on Mahdi Rishi's spirituality, he called on the latter in the capacity of a seeker of knowledge. The Rishi sought the opinion of the visitor on seventeen issues related to *fiqh*. On another occasion when Muhammad Murad paid a visit to the Rishi's abode along with Mir Hasan Qadiri and his son, Mir 'Abdu'l-Mumin Qadiri, the Rishi expounded meaning of a *Hadis* in such lucid terms that Bad'i Hafiz, his disciple, was overcome with ecstasy. The latter remained in such state for some time and, consequently, breathed his last.

Mahdi Rishi died in 1090/1679.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 122-5.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 309.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 146.

Mahmud Baiyu: He belonged to the *pargana* of Vihi. He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Pampuri. Known for his simplicity, rectitude, self-denial, and aversion for riches, he did not grant interview to the tyrannical Afghan governor of Kashmir, Azad Khan, in spite of the latter's best efforts. Throughout his life he lived at his village mosque.

Mahmud Baiyu died on 14 Rabiu'l-Awwal 1230/24 February 1815.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 365.

Makhdum 'Abdu'r-Rashid: The son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Makhdum Shaikh 'Abbas, for many years he acted as the *khatib* of the Jama' mosque in Srinagar. Once after leading the *istisqa* prayers, he recited the *Qasida-i Burda* with such devotional fervour that several of his followers fell into rhapsody. His prayers are said to have had the desired effect. He lies buried at the cemetery of his ancestors at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 251.

Makhdum Abdu's-Samad: The son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Makhdum Hajji Musa, he received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from his father and devoted his life to the spiritual uplift of the seekers after the Truth. His resting place is at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar near his father's tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Makhdum Baha'u'd-Din Safapuri: He was a grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Sharif. He was a well read Sufi who was fond of reciting *Wirdu'l-Muridin.* Such was his spiritual status, that once Shaikh Akbar Hadi directed one of his disciples to Makhdum Baha'u'd-Din for the redressal of his worldly problem. However, on becoming the disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadali, Makhdum Baha'u'd-Din did not merely indulge in *zikr* but devoted himself wholeheartedly to following the light of *ma'rifah.* Thereafter he chose an embankment of the Manasbal Lake as his abode. Although he remained absorbed in meditation, people flocked to him for guidance. He was buried near the place of his worship.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 385-6.

Makhdum Hajji Musa: He was the son of Hajji Ahmad Qari. Probably he received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from his father, Hajji Ahmad Qari (d. 969/1561-2). And, not unlike him, Hajji Musa wore a black blanket and often remained in a state of ecstasy. Sometimes he secluded himself in forests and, also, now and then in a *khanqah.* It was his habit to lift the bread from bakers and distribute it to the poor while walking. However, his devotees who accompanied him would then pay the bakers. He was buried near his father's tomb at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura near Nau Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 232.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 197.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Makhdum Hamza: A grandson of Hajji Musa Qari and a disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar, he could recite the Qur'an in seven different tunes and strove to invite people to goodness with a certain degree of thoughtfulness and helpfulness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 331.

Makhdum Husain: He was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid. Having obtained knowledge of the exoteric and esoteric sciences, Makhdum Husain travelled several countries and met with the eminent Sufis and *masha'ikh* of his time. Although his date of death is not known, he lived in the seventeenth century.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 251.

Makhdum Jeev Qadiri: He lived in Bedar in the Deccan. A Qadiriyya Sufi of great merit, Makhdum Jeev would give wide berth to the rich but was kind to the commoners. 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes the eulogies of his *pir*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, concerning Makhdum Jeev's profundity of knowledge, piety, and adherence to the Islamic injunctions. He died in 1000/1688-9.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 467.

Makhdum Muhammad Fasih: He was the son and *khalifa* of Makhdum Muhammad Sharif Safapuri. A Sufi of inherent qualities, he lies buried in the cemetery of Hajji Ahmad Qari near Nau Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 348.

Makhdum Muhammad Hamid: Little is known about him except that he was the son of Makhdum Muhammad Sa'id and did not lag behind his father in piety. He belonged to the Suhrawardiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 376.

Makhdum Muhammad Latif: He was a grandson of Makhum Muhammad Makki. He led a quiet life near the spring of Witargang at the village of Maigam in the *pargana* of L'al in Kashmir. On 11 Zilhaj 1114/17 April 1703 he died and was buried near the abode of his worship.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 283.

Makhdum Muhammad Sa'id: He was the son and *khalifa* of Makhdum Muhammad Fasih (d. 1094/1683). He travelled through India and Khurasan, and met Sufis of high spiritual calibre. Nothing else is known about him except that he lies buried at his ancestral graveyard in Safapur, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 352.

Makhdum Muhammad Salih: He was the son of Makhdum Muhammad Sa'id. Little is known about him except that he was a pious Sufi belonging to the Suhrawardiyya order. It was customary for him to make copies of the Qur'an and donate them to the *khanqah* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 376.

Makhdum Nuh Sindhi: A venerable Sufi of Sindh who interpreted the Qur'an lucidly, his influence on seekers after the Truth was considerable.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 362.

Makhdum Shaikh 'Abbas: He was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Hajji Ahmad Qari (d.969/1561-2). Known for his spiritual attainments and knowledge of Sufism, he also won approbation for his excellent way of reciting the Qur'an.

Shaikh 'Abbas lies buried near his father's tomb at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura near Nau Masjid in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 207.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 232.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'llah: The son and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Hajji Ahmad Qari (d. 969/1561-2). Like his father and brother, Makhdum Hajji Musa, he was drunk with love for the divine and often remained in a state of rapture. In spite of being an enraptured soul, Makhdum 'Abdu'llah gained eminence for reading and reciting the Qur'an correctly in a pleasing manner. He is entombed near his father's mausoleum at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura near Nau Masjid in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 207.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 232.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid: He was the fourth son of Hajji Ahmad Qari (d. 969/1561-2). As a Suhrawardiyya Sufi, he earned a good name for his knowledge of esoteric sciences as well for his indulgence in austerities. He is buried near his father's grave at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura near Nau Masjid in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 207.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 232-3.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Makhdum Shaikh Hamid: The son of Makhdum Shaikh 'Abbas, he received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from his father. His resting place lies at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 251.

Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum: The son of the Kashmiri Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid, he was gifted with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 251.

Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad Sharif: The son and *khalifa* of Hajji Husain Qari, for the twelve years he secluded himself at Rishwani in a mountain village, Safapur, in the Kashmir valley. Later, he chose the bank of the lake of Manasbal as his abode and guided people on the Path. Once a *yogi* met with him and was so impressed by his spirituality that he embraced Islam along with 900 followers. He died in 1094/1683 and lies entombed at Gratabal on the bank of the Manasbal Lake.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 282-3.

Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad: He was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Makhdum Hajji Musa. He was at home in all branches of religious sciences and endeared himself to his contemporaries by virtue of his disposition. Since he was born in Mecca, he was also called Shaikh-i Makki. He was buried near his father's tomb at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Mala Baba: He was one of the chosen and respected *khalifas* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Malik Aalpal: He was a brother of Malik Jalal Thakur. Like his six brothers, he seems to have turned a Sufi thanks to the association of Jalal Thakur with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh, and Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri. He is entombed at the village of Aramu'lla in the *pargana* of Shawara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Malik Ahmad Yatu: He was the prime minister during the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah. Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi initiated him to Sufism. In spite of his worldly preoccupations, he remained steadfast in the Path. However, his strained relations with Tazi Bhat as a result of political differences led to his arrest. Malik Ahmad died in prison and was buried at Chhattabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 156-7.

Malik Argosh: He was a brother of Malik Jalal who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. He earned a good name for his piety and is entombed in the village of Laasipura in the *pargana* of Shawara in the Valley. Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and the Kubrawiyya Sufis exercised an indelible influence on all the Malik brothers.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Malik Buland: After settling down in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, Malik Buland, brother of Malik Mas'ud Thakur and Malik Jalal Thakur, spent his entire life in meditation at the village of Achhan in the *pargana* of Shawara and is entombed there. Considering his brother's association with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and the Kubrawiyya Sufis, Malik Buland must have come under their spiritual influence.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 139.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 766.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Malik Dawaru'l-Mulk: He served Sultan Mahmud I Begarh (1459-1511) of Gujarat as an important official. Such was his popularlity as a benevolent administrator that cultivators preferred to migrate to his *iqta* and even the most barren land showed signs of prosperity under his humane administration. As the most prominent disciple of Shah-i 'Alam, a famous Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Gujarat, the Malik would accept only such taxes in his *iqta'* as were permissible under the *Shari'ah*. Notwithstanding his fame and official position, Dawaru'l-Malik would occasionally perform the service of pouring water on the hands of his *pir* at the time of ablution (*wuzu*). He died on 13 Zu'lqa'da 915/ 22 February 1510 while fighting the rebels led by Hindu chiefs of Kach. For a long time after his death, the people of Gujarat and the Deccan remembered Dawaru'l-Muluk and continued to seek his blessings.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, pp. 126-7.

Malik Gadda: A brother of Malik Jalal Thakur, he came to Kashmir along with his six brothers during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin who endowed them with the title of Malik and granted several villages as *jagirs* to them in the *pargana* of Shawara. Most likely, like Malik Thakur and his other brothers, Malik Gadda took to Sufism under the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and the Kubrawiyya Sufis. He is entombed at the village of Seeran in the *pargana* of Shawara.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Malik Hasan: He belonged to Shupian. Described as a Sufi of intrinsic worth, nothing is known about his *murshid*. It is, however, certain that he was a Kubrawiyya and lies buried at the cemetery of Hakim Nuru'd-Din in Saiyidpura near Hasanabad, Srinagar

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 389-90.

Malik Isma'il: He was the brother of Malik Jalal Thakur; he dedicated himself to Sufism under the influence of his brother who had close association with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh, and Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri. He is entombed at the village of Chhatragam in the *pargana* of Shawara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 766.

Malik Jahangir: A dignitary from Adavin in Kashmir, he received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Later in life, Khwaja'Abdu'r-Razzaq Naqshbandi, a noble of Shah Jahan who was a Sufi to the core, initiated him in the Naqshbandiyya order. Malik Jahangir was authorized to enrol disciples. He lies buried in the cemetery of Bahau'd-Din Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 110.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 243.

Malik Jalal Thakur: The son of Malik Firuz who is said to have been a descendant of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din Ghori, he came to Kashmir along with his six brothers including the well-known Malik Mas'ud Thakur during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. The Sultan granted several villages of the *pargana* of Shawara to them as *jagirs* and bestowed on them the title of Malik. Following internecine feuds among the sons of Zainu'l-'Abidin after his death, Malik Jalal Thakur was disgusted and seems to have given up government service. Having already come under the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Sultan Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh and, Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri, he committed himself to the spiritual and social mission of guiding the people in the Path. He built a *khanqah* at the *mohalla* of Gojwara in Srinagar, now in ruins. His wife, Lachama Khatun, had a canal dug from Harwan to Naushahr for the benefit of the citizens of Srinagar. The canal is still known as the Lachhmi Kul.

Malik Jalal Thakur is entombed in Gojwara.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 157-8.

Malik Jogi Raina: Belonging to an aristocratic family, he joined the brotherhood of the Rishis during the time of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Such was the affection of Nuru'd-Din Rishi for him that he advised Jogi Raina's *pir* and his own *khalifa*, Shaikh Nasru'd-Din, to appoint him as his *khalifa*. After Nasru'd-Din's death, Jogi Raina himself took to cultivation and urged the Rishis to combine asceticism with labour to bring more and more land under cultivation in accordance with the teachings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din.

Jogi Raina is entombed at Chrar-i Sharif near the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 129-30.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 182b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 334-5.

Malik Ludi Magray: He was a rich and influential person who embraced Islam at the hands of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani; obtained *khat-i irshad* from his *pir* after perfecting his knowledge of Sufism under his guidance. He accompanied the Saiyid up to Pakhli on the eve of his departure from Kashmir. His tomb is a popular place of pilgrimage at the village of Ahmadpura in the *pargana* of Bangil.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 156.

Malik Mas'ud Thakur: He was the son of Malik Firuz who is said to have been a descendant of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din Ghori. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin along with his six brothers. The king granted several villages of the *pargana* of Shawara as *jagir* to them and granted them the title of Malik. Pandit Jonaraja describes him as an important dignitary. However, following the death of the Sultan, he retired to the cave and while practising austerities became a source of spiritual inspiration for many people. Although the sources do not mention his *pir*, it is certain that he came under the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh, and Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri. Hasan describes him as a perfect Sufi gifted with scholarship, an illuminated heart and soul, and an inspiring personality. He died in 910/1503-4 and lies buried in Gojwara.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 157-8.

Malik Muhammad: He was an important noble and a favourite of Sultan Mahmud Begarh of Gujarat. After becoming a disciple of the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Siraju'd-Din, Malik Muhammad resigned his official position and moved along with his wife to his *pir's* hermitage. Described by the Shaikh as the Ibrahim bin Adham of his age, the Malik showed extreme humility of mind, walking through the *bazaar* with a pot of water on his head for his *pir*. Impressed by the exemplary behaviour of the official turned Sufi, a large number of people began to visit the *khanqah* of Shaikh Siraju'd-Din, much to the annoyance of the latter. In order to turn public attention away from him, the Malik then distributed large amounts of money recklessly and demanded the same from his followers. This device worked well and he and his *pir* no longer continued to be disturbed by the people around. Malik Muhammad's spiritual excellence impressed even Shah 'Alam who exchanged his *khirqa* with him.

Mira't-i Sikandari, pp. 121-7.

Malik Muhammad Piyaro: The son of a *wazir* of Khandesh, he was learned and had committed the Qur'an to memory. Once he met Shah Mansur, who advised him to read the *masnavi* of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din in order to be able to understand the deeper spiritual dimensions of the Holy Book. Under his influence, the Malik also sought the spiritual guidance of Saiyid 'Arab Shah Bukhari, a descendant of and the custodian of the shrine of Qutb-i 'Alam Bukhari in Ahmedabad. After his initiation into Sufism, he performed *hajj* and later made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti Ajmeri. Affiliated to the order of the Maghribiyya, he lies buried in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 364-5.

Malik Nasir: He was the youngest brother of Malik Jalal Thakur. Like his brothers, he devoted himself to the spiritual and moral uplift of his people. He seems to have come under the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and the Kubrawi Sufis, thanks to Jalal Thakur's association with them. Malik Nasir is buried in the village of Wahapora in the *pargana* of Shawara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 158.

Malik Panji Mir: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Malik Regi Dar: He was a diginitary of the sultans of Kashmir who resigned a government job to become a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Known for his generosity, Malik Regi established his own *khanqah* and while living like an ascetic did an immense deal of good to the needy and the poor. His tomb lies near the temple of Pravarasen at Soura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 189.

Malik Sher Khalwai: A disciple of Saiyid Mustafa Chisti. Born in Ahmedabad, he also learnt from other *masha'ikh* including particularly Shaikh

Budh Chisti. In 982/1574-5, he came to Khandesh from Gujarat where he died in 1005/1596-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 378-9.

Malik 'Usman Raina: He was a grandson of Jahangir Raina and the father of the most celebrated Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Belonging to a wealthy and influential family, 'Usman Raina spent his whole life in meditation and relative seclusion after having obtained initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi. The latter's famous *khanqah* on the slope of the Hariparbat hillock in Srinagar was financially supported by 'Usman Raina. However, being a protagonist of the ideas that ran counter to those of Mir Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi, the Chak rulers seized most of his *jagir*. Consequently, 'Usman Raina himself took to cultivation in order to earn his livelihood.

'Usman Raina lies buried in the village of Tujjar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 156.

Malik Yar Parran: Originally known as Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, he was popularly called by the title "Malik Yar Parran." As a prominent disciple of Shaikh Daniyal of the Silsilah-i Ishaqia, he reached Delhi during the reign of Balban. No sooner had he taken up his residence in the vicinity of Saiyid Abu Bakr's *takia* than the latter, a *qalandar* of the highest order, raised an objection over what he considered an intrusion into his spiritual territory. However, the matter was peacefully settled when Malik Yar Parran obtained permission from the reigning sultan to settle in the area that Saiyid Abu Bakr regarded as his spiritual domain.

Malik Yar Parran was a *qalandar* and wore purple clothes. He also carried purple banners. He was buried on the banks of the Jumna River near the *khanqah* of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, p. 68.

Akhbaru'l Akhyar (U), pp. 139-40.

Malik Yusuf: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, he lies entombed at the cemetery of Malik Saif Dar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 157.

Malik Zainu'd-Din: His ancestors were in the service of the sultans of Delhi and he himself was the *vakil* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's cousin, Khan-i Jahan. His munificence attracted many a Sufi and the ulama to Delhi. Although Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq does not refer to his *pir*, he describes the piety and generosity of Malik in glowing terms. Behind the philanthropy of the Malik was no less a person than Sultan Sikandar Lodi, a great patron of ulama, Sufis, and *masha'ikh*. Malik Zainu'd-Din is also reputed for having taken special interest in the maintenance of the tombs and the shrines of the Sufis in and around Delhi.

Malik Zainu'd-Din lies buried in Hauz-i Shamsi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 389-92.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat: Completed by Shaikh Ghulam Mu'inu'd-Din 'Abdu'llah, known as al-Khalifa al-Khweshgi al-Chisti (better known as Abdu'llah Khweshgi Qasuri) in 1094/1700, it provides useful biographical information regarding the Chistiyya Sufis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Besides containing several short treatises of the Sufis of the time, it also includes letters from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi to the Mujaddid, the *Tuhfa* of Shaikh Fazu'llah Burhanpuri and Aurangzeb's order dated 1 December 1679, banning the study of the *Maktubat* of the Mujaddid, and *fatwas* issued by Indian Sufis and ulama against the Mujaddid. MS. Panjab University Library; Shirani Collection (Panjab University, Lahore, Library no. 7765).

Mabda'-o Ma'ad: Completed by Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Badakshi under the supervision of the Mujaddid in Ramazan 1019/December 1610, it is based on the notes and letters of the Mujaddid, and assiduously compiled in book form. The work is important for understanding the Mujaddid's views on the "respective merits" of the *Haqiqat-i Ahmadia*. See *Mabda'-o Ma'ad* in the *Kulliyat*, Kanpur, 1309/1891-2, published with Urdu translation, Karachi, 1968.

mabna tasawwuf: The Foundation of Sufism. A term used by the Sufis to embrace the three principles of their system (1) The choice of the ascetic life; (2) The intention to bestow freely upon others; (3) The giving of one's own will and desires, and desiring only the will of God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Madariju'n-Nubuwwa: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muahddis in Persian, the work seeks to prove the authenticity of some miracles performed by the Prophet.

Madho, Shaikh: Originally a Brahman, he embraced Islam under the influence of the most colourful

Panjabi Sufi of the Qadiriyya order, Shaikh Husain Lahori (d.1008/1599). The latter enjoyed such Hindu festivals as Holi and Basant because of his favourite disciple's association with Hinduism. Shaikh Madho wrote *kafis* (q.v.), giving emotional expression to the suffering of the soul due to its separation from the source. He used the romantic figure of a popular Panjabi poem, *Qissa-i Sohni Mahwal*, as well as the Panjabi lovers Hir–Ranjha as symbols of mystical love.

Madho died in 1056/1646-7.

Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poetry, A.D. 1460-1900*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 42-4.

Madhu-malati: Authored by Shah Manjhan Shattari (d. 1001/1592-3), the work ingeniously and artistically restates the Sufi and medieval Bhakti theory of the self-manifestation of the Absolute. It greatly influenced both Hindi poetry and the Sufi traditions. See Manjhan Shattari, Shah.

Mataprasad Gupta, ed., *Madhumalti*, Allahabad, 1961.

maet: Wandering *faqirs* of the Kashmir valley; religious mendicants.

magfirat: Pardon for sins on the part of Allah. "Satan enjoins upon you the works of shame and sin. Allah promises you His mercy, forgiveness and bounty," *Qur'an*, 2/268. Several Sufis in their invocatory prayers have beseeched the pardon of Allah fervently.

Mahbubiyya: Compiled by Najmu'd-Din Yusuf bin Ruknu'd-Din Muhammad Niʻamu'llah Gardizi, it contains stories related to the travels of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari, Makhdum Jahaniyan, called the Jahangasht (World Traveller). Although for the most part legendary and of a later date, the stories are full of information about the Saiyid's gifts to *qalandars*, conversion of several people including the Hindu *yogis* at his hands, and, above all, concern for the poor.

India Office, D.P. MS.

Mahmud Bahri: He was a son of Qazi Bahru'd-Din who had migrated to Bijapur from Madras in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II. After becoming a disciple of Burhanu'd-Din Janam, the Qazi moved to Gogi, a famous town located about seventy miles east of the capital. Mahmud Bahri grew up in Gogi and lived throughout the reign of ʻAli II (1656-72). In 1683-4, however, he moved to Bijapur. When the Mughals laid siege to Bijapur, Mahmud Gogi was in the capital. Consequent upon the Mughal conquest, he moved to Hyderabad, and in 1688-9 he eventually reached Gogi where he spent the rest of his life.

Mahmud Bahri was devoted to worldly affairs during the first half of his life, but simultaneously studied with a certain Shah Baqar. The latter was also Bahri's spiritual mentor and was affiliated to the Chistiyya order. Bahri had read all the works of Burhanu'd-Din Janam, and was acquainted with the teachings of Aminu'd-Din Aʻla. After his return to Gogi, Bahri lived like a recluse for the remaining thirty years of his life.

Bahri authored the *Bangab-nama* and the *Man Lagan*. While the former, composed in Dakhni, is a "poetic panegyric" of *bhangab*, a greenish drink prepared by mixing powdered *bhang* with water or milk, the latter is his long Dakhni poem in criticism of the worldly ulama and the *inʻamdars* or *pirzadas* masquerading as Sufis. *Man Lagan* was translated into Persian under the title *ʻArusu'l-ʻIrfan* by the author himself. Bahri was all praise for *bhang*, a narcotic prepared from the leaves of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), which was either eaten, smoked, or drunk. But, not unlike ʻAttar, Rumi, or Jami, his reference to the use of an intoxicant had literal as well as allegorical meanings.

Muhammad Sakhawat Mirza, ed., Introduction to *Man Lagan* by Mahmud Bahri, Urdu, Karachi, 1955, pp. 15 sqq.

Basatin, pp. 546 sqq.

Mahmud Bahri, *ʻArus-i ʻIrfan*, Persian MS (Hyderabad, Tasawwuf no. 114), fols. 5b-6a 28a, 44b, 46b, 132a.

Mahmud Bahri, *Bangab-nama*, in M. Hafiz Syed, ed., *Kulliyat-i Bahri Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 256-64.

Mahmud Muyina-Duz, Khwaja: A tailor of fur and thus called Muyina-Duz, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, the Khwaja. Like his spiritual mentor, he enjoyed close companionship with Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He was buried near the latter's tomb.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 101.

Kalimatu's-Sadiqin, pp. 42-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 830.

Mahmud Nasiru'd-Din, Saiyid: Son of the distinguished Suhrawardi Sufi, Makhdum Jahaniyan, Nasiru'd-Din had a large number of disciples. His whole life was spent in Uch for the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order. He died in 847/1443-4.

Mahbubiyya, ff. 87a-89b.

Majalisu'l-ʻushshaq: Completed in 909/1504 by Sultan Husain Bayqari, it is a general biographical dictionary dealing with the life of seventy-six great Sufis beginning with Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq and ending with the author himself. It has been printed in India and Iran, and the copy of the Bodleian manuscript (No. 1271 959/1552) contains beautiful miniatures.

Majm'au'l-Akhbar: According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, it contained the conversations and letters of the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Abul Fath (d. 1335). This work is extinct. Nevertheless, 'Abdu'l-Haqq's description enables us to understand the significance of the ethical teachings of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din. In one of his letters to a disciple, the Shaikh opined that man was the compendium of his outward appearance and inner characteristics. While attaching no importance to the appearance, the Shaikh emphasized the supreme importance of purifying one's self by cultivating Allah's characteristics (*takhallafu bi akhlaqillah*). Condemning tyranny, anger, pride, stinginess and greed in the context of the Qur'an, Ruknu'd-Din urged his followers to develop the qualities of compassion, maturity, humility, generosity, and sacrifice: "I have covenanted not to call anyone a friend except Thee, I have affirmed that I shall not desire anyone except Thee."

In another letter, he reiterated the Sufi's faith in the effectiveness of reforming human behaviour by way of moral force: *Salah een kas salah u bas ast*.

This text testifes to Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din's unbounded faith in the supremacy of *Shari'ah* as a moral force for building up a stable social order. The progressive development of the social order was integrally bound with the actions of each individual. "You know! As you sow so shall you reap. So in every (social) environment it is good to sow the seeds of good." The Shaikh advised Maulana Zahiru'd-Din Lang to shun a superficial approach to religion by remaining enmeshed in the exoteric knowledge.

The conversations of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh also testify to the immense popularity enjoyed by Shaikh Rukun'd-Din among the poor and needy. Once innumerable *qalandars* and beggars surrounded him during his visit to Delhi from Multan, soliciting him to give them something for the ordinary expenses. After fulfilling their needs, the Shaikh remarked, "The leader of a community must have three things: First, wealth, so that whatever people ask for is given to them. The *qalandars* of this age demand *sharbat*. If a *dervish* has no money wherefrom will he give. The condition of these needy people is such that they start speaking ill (of one who does not give) and on account of this sin shall be doomed on the Day of Judgement. Second, a *dervish* should be full of knowledge so that he is able to converse in the company of the learned. The third thing for a *dervish* is his spiritual state (*hal*) necessary for orienting the 'hal' of other *dervishes*."

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 126-7.

Majma'u'l-Auliya: Compiled by Shaikh Badru'd-Din Sirhindi in 1044/1634-5, it contained accounts of 1,500 Sufis. But the *Majma'u'l-auliya* now extant in the India Office Library comprises 1,400 biographical notices. The latter work was completed by Mir 'Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani in 1043/1633-4, and dedicated to Shah Jahan. According to Rizvi, Shaikh Badru'd-Din's *Majma'u'l-auliya'* seems to have contained more biographies but "did not become famous". Manuscripts of Ardistani's work are available in the India Office Library, the Raza Library Rampur, the Oriental Institute in Tashkent, and the Asiatic Society, Calcutta collection.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 13; II, p. 30.

Majma'u'l-Suluk: Authored by Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, it contains the conversations of his *murshid* Shaikh Mina. Urdu translation under the title *Fawa'id-i Sa'diyya* done by Qazi Irtaza 'Ali Khan (Delhi, 2002) is available. [See also Sa'ud-Din Khairabadi.]

Majnun Qadiri Majzub: He was a *majzub* belonging to Gogi. He died in 1650-1.

Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-iBijapur, III, pp. 367-4.

Majzub: An ecstatic who apparently ignored all religious and social restrictions, wandered in the streets of town or in the wilderness. While generally most Sufis could not regain mental stability after becoming *majzub*, there were exceptions to the rule. Both Muslims and non-Muslims had a very high opinion about the supernatural ability of *majzubs* to work miracles. The latter gave a wide berth to their visitors, scolded, abused or, sometimes, hurled stones and dust at them, but their devotees preferred their company. Significantly, the noted Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi, Shah Kalimu'llah (d. 1142/1729) undertook a visit to Medina on the advice of a *majzub*. [See Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi, Shah.]

Makatib-i Shaikh Muhibbu'llah: A Chistiyya Sufi of Ahmedabad, he attempted to dispel certain misconceptions about his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. In all he wrote 18 letters to his contemporaries, mostly Sufis. Rizvi rightly observes that the collection of the Shaikh's letters in the Delhi Persian manuscripts in the India Office, London, is wrongly named the *Maktubat-i Mulla Mahmud*. A facsimile of the work is also accessible at Aligarh. [See Muhibu'llah Mubariz, Shaikh.]

Makhazinu'l-Qadiriyya: Written by Shamsu'd-Din Abdu'l-Fath Muhammad Multani in the second half of the sixteenth century, the author seeks to establish the superiority of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani over all other Sufis besides discussing his *zikr*, contemplation (*muraqabat*), prayers, invocation, *sama'*, visions and teachings on *Tawhid*. The author quotes *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*. British Museum MS.

Makhdum Khairu'd-Din Ansari: A descendant of Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari, Khairu'd-Din's grandfather came to India from Herat and settled in the town of Sadhur. Khairu'd-Din was an erudite scholar. Once he met with Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din in order to resolve some issues concerning *Fiqh*. After receiving convincing answers from the Sufi, he enrolled as his disciple. Thereafter, he subjected himself to rigorous spiritual excercises under the guidance of his *murshid* and then was appointed *khalifa* in Sadhur by Ashraf Jahangir. His tomb lies in the aforesaid town.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1182.

Makhdum Khwajagi: The son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Ali bin Khairu'd-Din, he lost his father while out of home during the days of his studentship. However, he did not rest content on the spiritual legacy of his father. He moved to Jaunpur to seek further knowledge at the feet of Makhdum Sadha, a *khalifa* of Makhdum Shamsu'd-Din Awadhi. Having obtained education as well as *khilafat* from Makhdum Sadha, Makhdum Khwajagi returned to Sadhur. His popularity rose high in his home town where his tomb became an abode of veneration for the people.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1182-3.

Makhdum Qazi Ishaq: He was a Chistiyya Sufi. Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Mahmud Mandawi of Malwa was his disciple. He is entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 115-16.

Makhdum Shaikh Bheek: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. A Sufi of excellent merit, he meditated in the lair of a fox for some years in a state of ecstasy. After experiencing *fana*, he guided many people in the Path. His disciples included Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din, entombed in Jaunpur, and Shaikh Rajab, buried in a village situated in the vicinity of the shrine of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1230.

Makhdum Shaikh Khasa: He was the son-in-law and *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi of Sadhur, Makhdum Khwajagi and a descendant of Shaikh Salah Qureshi Dihlawi. After the death of his *murshid*, he moved to Amethi and dedicated himself to the mission of spreading the teachings of the Chistiyya order. He appointed his son Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq as his successor. Shaikh Khasa's spirituality has been highly extolled by his grandson, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti. He died in 920/1514-15 and lies buried in Amethi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1183-4.

Makhdum Siraj: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Ali Khatib who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din Gujarati (*alias* Qutb-i 'Alam). The ruler of Gujarat, Sultan Mahmud, was his disciple. His tomb in Gujarat was a place of popular reverence.

Mir'at-i Sikandari as quoted in the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), pp. 1208-10.

makhfi chahar zarb: a particular method of glorifying God by the constant repetition of His Names, by rhythmic breathing either mentally (*zikr-i khafi*) or aloud (*zikr-i jali or jahri*). This practice that was specially adopted by the Suhrawardiyyas also seems to have been popularized by Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

Makhzan-i Ahmadi: Written in 1261/1845 by Muhammad 'Ali, it deals with the life of his *pir*, Sayyid Ahmed Shahid of Rae-Bareli.

Makhzan-i Da'wat: Written in 1037/1627-8 by Isma'il bin Mahmud Sindhi Shattari of Burhanpur, a disciple of Shaikh 'Isa Sindhi, it deals comprehensively with various mystical dimensions of the *zikr* and esoteric practices related to the Shattariya order.

Makhzanu'l-Amin: Authored by Aminu'd-Din A'la II, it contains the biography of the renowned

Chistiyya Sufi of Bijapur, Aminu'd-Din A'la. The author was the son of one of the Sufi's closest *khalifas*. Persian MS is in Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad (Tasawwuf no. 1722).

Makhzanu'l-Salasilu'l-Hasaniya: See Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri II.

Maktubat: Written by Shah Faqiru'llah Alwi Naqshbandi Shikarpuri (d. 1195/1780-1) and published by Islamia Steam Press, Lahore.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., pp. 32-3.

Maktubat: MS. copies of the letters of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani are preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar. MS. Nos. 1600, 1966, 1979, 2490.

Maktubat-i Adam Banuri: It is by Shaikh Adam Banuri to Hafiz 'Abdu'llah. Shah Waliu'llah quotes two letters; one of these describes historical time as fleeting.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 47-8.

Maktubat-i Ashrafi: It is compilation of the letters of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

MS. History Department, AMU, Aligarh; British Museum, Or 267.

Maktubat-i Ghausiyya: This is a Persian translation of eighteen letters of Shaikh Abdu'l Qadir Jilani. The translator, Shaikh 'Ali bin Husamu'd-Din bin 'Abdu'l-Malik bin Qazi Muttaqi, was affiliated to the Qadiriyya, Shaziliyya, and Chistiyya orders. The importance of the letters lies not merely in providing information regarding the practices of the Qadiriyyas but also its lucid explanations of several dimensions of Sufism. Ms. Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i Sani: This contains letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi written during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. Addressed to Sufis and nobles, the letters totalling 313, were arranged and numbered by the Mujaddid himself. None of these letters are dated, but the manner in which they have been arranged in three different volumes under the Mujaddid's personal supervision itself establishes broad sequence. The letters throw a flood of light on the concepts of *Wahdat al-Wujud*, *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, *tajdid* (renewal) and several other issues related to Sufism and Islam. The strict adherence to the Qur'an and the *Shari'ah* are emphasized by the Mujaddid, nothwithstanding his personal mystical revelations which were debated in contemporary Sufi circles. A fine Urdu translation of the Mujaddid's letters, by Maulana Muhammad Saiyid Ahmad Naqshbandi, was published by Faisal Publishing House, Deoband, in 1988.

Maktubat-i Kalimi: This contains 132 letters of Shah Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi and his *khalifa's* disciple, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aurangabadi. While most of the letters are addressed to the latter, others are addressed to various people including Khwaja Daya Rama, a Hindu entrant to Islam. The letters help us understand the attitude of the Chistiyyas towards the Hindus and Naqshbandiyyas. The work was published by the Mujtaba'i Press, Delhi in 1315/1897-8.

Maktubat-i Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah: This contains 78 letters addressed to several Sufis and dignitaries, the most prominent being Shaikh Taju'd-Din, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Shaikh Ilahdad, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Sadr-i Jahan, Khan-i Khanan Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahim, Muhammad Sadiq, Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari, and Maulana Muhammad Sufi. These letters of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah are important for understanding the teachings of Naqshbandiyya-Ahrariyya order in India with special reference to his interpretation of *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Maktubat-i Khwaja Khwurud: Containing fifty-six letters of Khwaja Khwurud (b. 1010/1601), the *Maktubat* deals with important aspects of Sufism such as the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, self-manifestation of the Absolute, theophany (*tajalli-Ilahi*), repentance, gnosis, the soul, the heart, the ego, meditation, acesticism, *sama'* and the dialectic of love. Delhi Persian Collection, India Office.

Maktubat-i Ma'sumiyya: The letters of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum (d.1072/1661-2), the third son and successor of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, are divided into three volumes. The first was compiled in 1063/1652-3; several scholars completed the second and the third volume in 1073/1662-3. Strict conformity to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* is stressed. One of these letters is addressed to Aurangzeb as prince; some are addressed to him as Emperor. It appears from the Shaikh's correspondence with his son, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, who lived at Aurangzeb 's court, that both father and son were convinced of the exalted spiritual status of the Emperor in the Sufi hierarchy. Published in Karachi, 1976.

Maktubat-i Quddusiyya: This contains 189 letters of the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus, collected by Buddhan, the son of Rukn Siddiqi of Jaunpur. Dealing with more or less every important theme related to Sufism, the work also includes several Hindi verses.

Ethe, 1873; Delhi, 1871.

Maktubat-i Sa'idiyya: It contains letters of Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id, the elder son of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Out of 100 letters, nine were addressed to Aurangzeb.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* II, p. 5.

Maktubat-i Saifiyya: These are letters of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din Sirhindi, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. Published in Hyderabad, Sindh, n.d.

malakut: The invisible, spiritual or angelic world.

malang: A wandering *dervish* who cares little for the *Shari'ah* on account of his ecstasy. The enraptured dance of the *malangs* in Sehwan in Pakistan still continues.

Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* pp. 128, 136.

malch: Derivative of *mleccha*. The earliest colony of Muslims in the Valley was in Srinagar, and this place is still known as Malchmar. Several Sufi shrines around the area continue to be pilgrimage sites for the Kashmiris.

Ishaq Khan, "The Impact of Islam on Kashmir in the Sultanate Period, 1320-1586", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* 23, 2 (1986), p. 187n.

malamati: See Qalandariyya Traditions.

malfuzat: Conversations or discourses. Such discourses, delivered by a recognized Sufi to a select gathering of disciples and visitors, contributed a great deal to the enrichment of Persian literature. The talks are generally replete with didactic poetry, anecdotes, and aphorisms and are of two kinds: first, there were discourses recorded and compiled by a disciple in the lifetime of the *pir*. In several cases, Sufi masters revised the drafts themselves or checked the veracity of the statements attributed to them. The second category was discourses collected by a descendant or disciple of the Sufi long after his death. Such works, based on anecdotes related by this Sufi's disciples and the members of his family, contained information on the main teachings and miracles of the Shaikh in addition to various other aspects of his mystical career.

The earliest known work in the second category is the *Halat wa Sukhanan-i Shaikh Abu Sa'id bin Abu'l Khair of Mayhana* (Mehna or Meana). Written by Jamalu'd-Din Abu Ruh, the author was a great-grandson of Shaikh Abu Sa'id. The author's cousin, Muhammad bin Munawwar bin Abi (Abu) Sa'id bin Abi Tahir bin Abi Sa'id, wrote *Asraru'l-Tawhid fi Maqamat-i Shaikh Abi Sa'id.* Based substantially on Abu Ruh's work, it was written around 570/1174-5 and dedicated to the Ghurid Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din (1163-1203).

Malfuzat: The author Shaikh Wajiu'd-Din Gujarati stresses the importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud.* MS. available in Rampur, Aligarh and the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office.

Malfuzat: Compiled by Qazi Bashiru'd-Din, it deals with the discussions of Shah 'Abdu'l 'Aziz. It is also important for understanding the social and religious life of eighteenth-century India.

Malfuzat: Compiled by Saiyid 'Azmat 'Ali Siddiqi of Ghazipur, it deals with the sayings of Sayid Sikandar 'Ali of Allahabad.

Malfuzat: Compiled by Saiyid Nuru'd-Din Husaini Fakhri and dealing with the teachings of Shah Fakru'd-Din, it provides important glimpses of social and religious life of eighteenth-century India.

Malfuzat-i Ashrafi: Authored by Nizam Hajji, it is largely based on the *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*. Some additional information on Sufis can be found in it.

Malfuzat-i Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah: Collected by Mir Muhammad Jan, it describes the main teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order.

Malfuzat-i Maulana Saiyid Sikandar 'Ali: Written by Azmat 'Ali Siddiqi, it deals with the life of Saiyid Sikandar Sultan (d.14 Rabi' I 1297/25 February 1880) who was the Chistiyya Sufi of Allahabad.

Malfuz-i Razzaqi: Compiled by Muhammad Khan Razzaqi, a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaqi (d. 6 Shawal 1136/28 June 1724) of Bansa in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, the work deals with the life and teachings of the Sufi of Qadiriyya order popular among both Shi'ites and Hindus. See 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Shah Bansa.

Malfuz-i Safar: This comprises the discourses of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din. It was produced in 762/1360-1.

Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz: This was written by Qazi Bashiru'd-Din.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina: It is by Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, and contains the discourses of the well-known Suhrawardiyya/Chistiyya Sufi of Lucknow, Shaikh Muhammad Shah Mina. The author also refers to the sayings of Qiwamu'd-Din and Shaikh Sarang, the spiritual preceptors of Shaikh Mina. The marked feature of this important work is the emphasis on the spiritual and ethical transformation of one's personality through adherence to the teachings of the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Interestingly, the work gives us a glimpse of Shaikh Mina's friendliness towards the Hindus and refers to the *Hindawi* verses that captivated him.

Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina* (U), Lahore, 1994.

Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah: Compiled by a prominent *khalifa* of Shah Sibghatu'llah, Habibu'llah 'Abdu'l-Fattah, after his *pir's* death (d. AD 1606), it furnishes an eyewitness account of the discourses of the latter. The work frequently refers to Sibghatu'llah's anti-Shia feelings. Persian MS (Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, Taswwuf no. 1420).

Malfuzat-i Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi: Compiled by Muhammad bin Abu'l-Qasim, a disciple of the noted Gujarati Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu.

Nizami, "Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a Great Historical Personality of Medieval Gujarat", *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, vol. 3, Aligarh, 1975, pp. 234-59.

Malik Chand: Born in Ahmedabad, he followed the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa* with dedication.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 219-20.

Ma'mulat-i Mazhariyya: Compiled by Muhammad Na'imu'llah Bahraichi Hanafi Naqshbandi (b. 1153/1740 d. 1218/1803-4), a *khalifa* of Mirza Jan-i Janan, it deals with the biography of the latter besides describing his teachings and containing copies of charms and amulets (*ta'wiz*) for the treatment of various diseases.

Manaqib al-Razzaqiyya: Written by Mulla Nizamu'd-Din of Farangi Mahall, it deals with the *Wahdat al-Wujud* in laudatory terms. However, the author stresses strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* while being appreciative of the Unity of Being.

Manaqib-i Fakhriyya: Written by Mir Shihabu'd-Din Nizam, whose title was 'Imadu'l-Mulk Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Firuz Jang, it contains a biography of Maulana Fakru'd-Din, the son of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din (b.1126/1714, d.1215/1800). The author (d.1215/1800) also gives useful information about the *sama'* gatherings at his *pir's* seminary in Delhi. The work was published in Delhi 1315/1897.

Manaqib-i Hafiziya: Written by Ghulam Muhammad Hadi 'Ali Khan Chisti Kashmiri (Kanpur, 1305/1887-8), it deals with the Chistiyya order.

Manaqib-i Hazrat Shah Ni'matu'llah Wali: Authored by 'Abdu'l-Aziz bin Sher Malik bin Muhammad Wa'izi, this short tract on Shah Ni'matu'llah Wali of Mahan was dedicated to the Bahmani Sultan, 'Alau'd-Din Ahmad Shah II (839/1436–862/1458) because of his devotion to the Sufi.

Manaqib-i Sharifa: Written by Yar Muhammad bin Taj Muhammad, it is an abridged edition of the biography of Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa in Dera Ghazi Khan district, originally written by Hafiz Ahmad Yar of Pakpattan. The author, an associate of the Khwaja, added some discourses by Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman. The publisher of this work printed the title of the work as the *Intikhab-i Manaqib-i Sulaimaniyya.*

Manaqib-i Sulaimani: Written by Ghulam Muhammad Khan Jhajjari in 1255/1839-40, it deals with the life of Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa in Dera Ghazi Khan district. The work was published in Delhi and Jhajjar.

Manaqibu'l-'Arifin: Written by Shaikh Yasin (b.1022/1613-14) of Banaras, it deals with the biographies of Sufis. See Yasin, Shaikh.

Manaqibu'l-Siddiqin: Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Dihlawi refers to it as a compilation of one of the disciples of Qazi''Abdu'l-Muqtadir (d. 791/1388-9), a prominent disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh.

Akhbaru'l Akhyar (U), pp. 269-70.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain: Written by Hajji Najmu'd-Din Nagauri, a descendant of Shaikh Hamiu'd-Din Nagauri, it provides biographical information about Shah Muhammad Sulaiman Taunsawi, his *pir* Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharawi, and some other eminent Chistiyya Sufis. The work was published in Rampur and Lahore.

Manazir-i Akhassu'l-Khawass: Taking a cue from the *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi, the author of the work, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah Ilahabadi, provides useful insights into the knowledge gained from theological reasoning and the Sufic intuition. Besides highlighting the importance of divine mercy and the usefulness of inculcating love for all creation, Muhibbu'llah also throws light on various categories of the Sufi elite. The tract was completed on 13 Ramazan 1050/27 December 1640.

Manba'al-Khairat: Written by Maulana Sulaiman Kurd, a disciple of Shaikh 'Abd'ul-Haqq Muhaddis, it is a *masnavi* eulogizing Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. See Sulaiman Kurd, Maulana.

Manba'al-'ilm fi Sharh Sahih Muslim: Shaikh Muhibu'llah wrote a Persian commentary on the *Sahih* of Muslim which was later edited and added to by his eldest son, Hafiz Muhamamd Fakhru'd-Din.

Manjhan Shattari, Shah: Born in 921/1515-16, he was the son of 'Abdu'llah Qazi Khairu'd-Din Sharif and a grandson of Qazi Taju'd-Din Nahwai. The latter's *khanqah* in Balkh was famous, but he migrated to India during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur (804/1401–844/1440). Qazi Taju'd-Din settled in Lakhnauti in Bengal notwithstanding liberal patronage extended to scholars, Sufis and men of talent from distant lands by the ruler of Jaunpur. He founded a seminary in Lakhnauti that shot into prominence in no time so that many able scholars studied there. Manjhan's father, 'Abdullah Qazi, was wedded to the daughter of Qazi Samau'd-Din of Delhi, a dignitary of the Delhi court where he enjoyed the title of Qutlugh Khan.

Manjhan received his early education in his grandfather's seminary. Subsequently Taju'l 'Urafa Saiyid Taju'd-Din of Bukhara trained Manjhan both as *'alim* and a Sufi. It was in India that Saiyid Taju'd-Din became the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and also introduced Shah Manjhan to his spiritual preceptor. After his initiation in the Shattariyya order, Manjhan studied the *Jawhar-i Khamsa* under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, who bestowed on his disciple the same *khirqa* which he himself was accustomed to wear during his long ascetic exercises in the Chunar hills and forests.

Manjhan was offered the post of Shaikhu'l-Islam after the conquest of Raisen by Sher Shah in 1543, and built a *khanqah* there. When the Rajputs reconquered Raisen, he migrated to Sarangpur. The seminary founded by him in Sarangpur attracted innumerable scholars and the town began to vie with Shiraz as a centre of learning.

When Akbar visited Malwa in 986/1578, Shah Manjhan called on the Emperor in the company of other *'alims*. On this occasion Ghausi Shattari sat at Shah Manjhan's feet and became his life-long admirer.

Shah Manjhan died in 1001/1592-3. Before his death he had organized a party of *zikr-i jahr*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 340-2.

Mankay Rishi: A disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din, he became a Rishi at a very young age after secluding himself at Lolipura in the *pargana* of Biru. Despite his renunciation of worldly pleasures, he used to plant fruit-bearing trees for the common good. He lies buried at Lolipura.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 321.

Man Lagan: This is a Sanskritized Dakhni poem composed by Mahmud Bahri which was later rendered into Persian by the author in his *'Arus-i 'Irfan*. [See Mahmud Bahri.]

Hafiz Sayed, ed., *Kulliyat-i Bahri*, Lucknow, AH 1339, p. 50.

manqabat: Anything in which a man glories or which confers on him prominence; glory; ability; accomplishment.

Manaqib al-Razzaqiyya: This is a biographical and anecdotal description of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, a popular Qadiriyya Sufi (d. 6 Shawwal 1136/28 June 1724) of Bansa in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh. The work compiled by his disciple Mulla Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad Sihalawi (d. 1161/1748) describes the Shah as friendly both to Hindus and Shi'ites, besides exercising a sobering influence on several sections of the Hindu-Muslim society. It is also useful for understanding Qadiriyya practices in eighteenth-century Awadh.

Manqibu'l-Hazarat: Written by Hajji Muhammad Amin Badakshi, it is replete with the life, teachings, and miracles of his *pir*, Shaikh Adam Banuri. It also provides biographical information about the Mujaddid and his sons.

Mansab-i Imamat: It was written by Shah Isma'il.

Manwa Majzub: He lived in Sonepat. Shah Waliu'llah records the visit of his father, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, to the *majzub*. He used to roam about naked. On seeing the distinguished Sufi, however, the *majzub* covered himself. To the Shah's question as to why he had lost reason while following the Path, the *majzub* replied that it was God's will.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 83-4.

maqamat: pl. of *maqam* or stage.

Maqamat-i Hariri: A well-known book on Arabic literature written by 'Allama Hariri (1054-1122).

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya studied this work along with two other favourites, Qazi Fakhru'd-Din Naqila and Maulana Burhanu'd-Din, under the guidance of the distinguished scholar of Delhi, Khwaja Shamsu'l-Muluk. If any pupil remained absent or came late, the Khwaja would politely ask: "What wrong have I done to you that you do not come regularly?"

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 171-3, 205n, 220.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 148.

Maqamat-i Khwaja Naqshband: Compiled by Salah bin Mubarak al-Bukhari, a disciple of the founder of the Naqshbandiyya order, Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshbandi (d. 3 Rabi'I 791/1 March 1389), the work contains the discourses and teachings of the great spiritual leader besides narrating tales concerning his miracles.

Maqamat-i Mazhari: This is by Shah Abdullah of Batala in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjab who was also known as Shah Ghulam 'Ali (b.1158/1745, d.1240/1824). The author, the successor of Mirza Jan-i Janan Mazhar gives biographical information about his *pir* besides describing his teachings, discourses and invocations. In addition to being an important source for the Mirza's twenty-three letters and biographical notes of his disciples, it also contains copies of his charms and amulets (*ta'wiz*). Mujtaba'i Press Delhi published

[redacted]

its importance can be recognized by the long passage quoted from it by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Muhaddis. The author's description of *nafs* and *qalb* is excellent.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 430-5.

Ma'rifahtu'l-Haqqani: Authored by Shah Ya'qub Haqqani, it deals with the life of the noted Kashmiri Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order, Shah Qasim Haqqani.

Ma'rifahtu'l-Suluk: authored by Shaikh Mahmud Khush Dahan. Sakhawat Mirza describes this work as a summary of the whole teachings of the Chistiyya Sufis of Bijapur. Several treatises produced in later times were, indeed, based on this work.

Persian lithograph, Lucknow, 1898.

Persian MS Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, Tasawwuf no. 185.

Sakhawat Mirza, Shaikh Mahmud Chisti al-Mulaqqab ba Khush Dahan Bijapuri', *Urdu-nama* (January-March 1962).

Marj al-Bahrain fi'l-jama' bain al-Tariqain: This treatise was written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis with the main aim of expounding the *Tariqa* within the framework of the *Shari'ah*. Ms. Rampur.

martazan goshgir wa wasilan faqir: Hermits in communion with God. The Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, describes the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir as *mart*

[illegible]

Mas‘udi, on the authority of an early and now extinct work related to Ghaznawid history, certainly describes Salar Mas‘ud as a prince among martyrs. He claimed that the the spirit of the prince had appeared to him in a vision and that his work was an authentic history of Salar Mas‘ud. Rizvi has described at some length the most colourful legend of Ghazi Miyan developed by Shaikh ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Chisti.

Undoubtedly, Salar Mas‘ud occupies a unique place in the folk consciousness. People continue to remember him with such names as Bale Miyan, Bale Pir, and Hateli Pir (obstinate saint). Significantly, though credited with having killed a number of Hindus, the latter continue to regard him as a performer of miracles.

The *‘urs* celebrations at the tomb of Salar Mas‘ud on 12, 13, and 14 Rajab are worthy of description. People flock to the tomb with flags on the first Sunday of the month of Jaith (May-June). The leisure of the peasants in June is devoted to celebrations marking the Ghazi Miyan festival. A number of symbolic graves scattered between western UP and eastern Bengal represent events in Salar Mas‘ud’s life and are worshipped with fervour. Those not able to travel to the town celebrate festivals at these substitute graves. Both Hindus and Muslims in many villages in eastern UP come to the grave. Neither Muslim nor Hindu "puritanical" and revivalist movements have undermined their popularity. Tahir Mahmud gives an eloquent account of the *dargah* complex, festivities at the *dargah*, administration of the *dargah* and its cultural importance. Iqtidar Husain’s brief note stresses the role of the *dargah* in imparting religious instruction to the children of the lower sections of the Muslim community. The affairs of the *dargah* are managed by the Sunni Central Waqf Board of UP.

Amir Khusrau, *I‘jaz-i Khusravi*, vol. 2, Lucknow, 1867, p. 155.

Zia’u’d-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta, 1862, p. 491.

Ibn Battuta, *‘Aja’ib al-Afsar*, vol. 2, Urdu tr. Maulavi Muhammad Husain, reprinted by National Institute for Historical and Cultural Research, 1983, p. 190.

Shams Siraj ‘Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 372-3.

Anonymous, *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, MS., Patna, ff. 15a, 17b.

Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqi‘at-i Mushtaqi*, MS., London, no. Add. 11633, f. 8a.

‘Abdu’llah, *Tarikh-i Da‘udi*, Aligarh, 1969, p. 38.

Abu’l-Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1894, p. 145.

Badauni, *Muntakhabu’t-Tawarikh*, vol. 3, English tr. Wolsely Haig, rpt. Delhi, 1973, pp. 46-7.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, I, pp. 312-14.

Tahir Mahmood, "The *Dargah* of Sayyid Salar Mas‘ud Ghazi in Bahraich: Legend, Tradition and Reality", in Christian W. Troll, ed., *Muslim Shrines in India*, Delhi, pp. 24-43.

Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, "A Note on the *Dargah* of Salar Mas‘ud in Bahraich in the Light of the Standard Historical Sources", in Christian Troll, ibid, pp. 44-7.

Mas‘ud-i Bak: Originally named Sher Khan, his ancestors came to Delhi from Bukahra. He was related to Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq and held a high position in his government for many years. Notwithstanding his affluence, he turned to Sufism after a mystical experience. He entered the discipleship of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu’d-Din, son of Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din. The latter who was the favourite of Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya was assigned the duty of leading the daily congregational prayers in the mosque adjacent to his *khanqah*. Mas‘ud Bak was an ardent exponent of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* in both his prose and poetry. In his *Munajat* he sang:

> Oh God, thou pervadeth the soul of every human being,
> The blackness of *kufr* doth emanate from Thee and
> Thou art the light of every faith.
> Thou maketh the Ka‘ba an idol temple and converteth
> a tavern into a mosque. Thou art the faith of believers
> and the
> infidelity of a fire-worshipper.
> Idol worship, prayer, Ka‘ba and fire-worshipper’s temple,
> To me art identical for the essence of each faith art
> Thou,
> How long should I say I am Thou, for only
> Thou existeth and not Mas‘ud.
> In Reality I do not recite these verses,
> Thou reciteth them.
>
> *Nuru’l-Yaqin*, II, Rieu, 632, f. 4a (R, I, pp. 243-4)

According to *Kalimat*, f. 156b, he was beheaded on a *fatwa* from the ulama, though contemporary sources as well as Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis maintain silence on this issue.

Mas‘ud-i Bak wrote the *Tamhidat*. Based on the *Tamhidat* of the Sufi martyr, ‘Ainu’l-Quzat of Hamadan (492/1098–525/1131), his work is not extant. Among Mas‘ud Bak’s other works must be mentioned the *Diwan* and the *Mir’atu’l-‘Arifin*. The *Diwan* was a chosen text in Chistiyya *khanqahs* between the fourtheenth and sixteenth centuries and later Sufis, both followers and opponents of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, drew on it thoughtfully.

The *Mir'atu'l-'Arifin*, also known as the *Nuru'l-Yaqin*, is divided into fourteen chapters called *Kashfs* or Revelations. Not unlike many a work on the same theme, it contains a useful discussion on the *Shari'ah*, *Tariqa*, and *Haqiqa*. Besides discussing the importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, it throws enough light on such much-debated issues as sobriety (*sahw*), mystic intoxication (*sukr*), beginning (*mabda'*), resurrection (*ma'ad*), sainthood (*wilaya*), and prophethood (*nubuwa*). As the author writes, "The laws of *Shari'ah* are based on *'ilm al-Yaqin* (knowledge through inference); the struggles of the *Tariqa* depend upon *'ain al-Yaqin* (knowledge through perception), and the acquisition of *Haqiqa* is a matter of *haqq al-Yaqin* (knowledge through intuition). The traveller on the path of *Shari'ah* is the knower, the traveller on the path of the *Tariqa* is the perceiver and traveller on the path of the *Haqiqa* is the taster. Thus *Shari'ah* is learning, the *Tariqa* is burning and the *Haqiqa* is illumination. The devotee should firstly acquire the knowledge of the *Shari'ah* and then burn himself on the path of the *Tariqa* and ultimately kindle the lamp of *Haqiqa*" (*Mir'atu'l-'Arifin*, Ethe, 1854, f. 2b).

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq is all praise for Mas'ud-i Bak for the excellence of his essays in *Mira't-u'l-'Arifin*. He even goes to the extent of saying that no other work on Sufism contains such *'awarif* and essays of high standard as comprise Mas'ud's work. He gives enough space in his well-known work to acquaint his reader with the Sufi's explanation of *ruh*. The secret of *ruh* is totally hidden from the entire universe. Reason and consciousness or an eye cannot comprehend *ruh*. Although *ruh* is manifest by way of its signs, nevertheless, *aql*, being unaware of its essence, is keen to know it. The essence and state (*kaifiyat*) of *ruh* cannot be described in words. Those who recognize Reality say that *ruh* alone recognizes *ruh*. The Reality of *ruh* becomes known only when Allah lifts a veil over His *jamal* and then the candle of *aql* thus benefits from the *ruh's* light of knowledge (*nur-i ma'rifah*). He quotes a *Hadis*: *in'allah khalaqa adama ala suratihee*. In other words, *ruh*, though outwardly human, is in Reality the form of Rahman and therefore not part of one's body. Notwithstanding Mas'ud-i Bak's advice to *saliks* not to conduct an enquiry into the nature and essence of *ruh*, he goes on to explain *ruh* through a vocabulary of the Qur'anic and Sufic terms. Significantly, he urges seekers to establish Allah's sovereignty and *khilafat* in the domain of one's heart in order to arrive at the approximation of the truth concerning *ruh*. According to him, as Allah is Hidden by way of His *zat* so is He Manifest by virtue of His *siffat*. In the same way *ruh* is concealed from us in terms of its *zat* but in terms of its signs, its influence on our physical existence is quite discernible. *Ruh*, in fact, reveals itself particularly after it departs from human body or earthly kinds. The *ma'rifa* of Allah would have been impossible, therefore, remarks Mas'ud-i Bak, had not Allah entrusted His command or in other words, *ruh*, to the human body. He first revealed His *siffat* in the creation of Adam. The essence of *ruh* therefore lies in the supernal nature of relationship existing between the Creator and the created. The spirit of enquiry that characterizes a seeker after the Truth is, however, dependent on Allah's knowledge and will. So long as Allah wills and so long as He provides the means of existence, a human being is able to strive in His direction. Man's ability to hear, speak, see, and touch emanate from Allah's knowledge and ceaseless activity. This also explains the truth that one who recognizes oneself recognizes Allah. And that because of this *zouq*, man is manifest in the form of Rahman, therefore, it is necessary to seek profound explanation of *ma'rifa*. The emerging point of Mas'ud-i Bak's explanation of *ruh* is centred round the Qur'anic verse: Allah is Light of the sky and the earth. But again this light is explained in the Qur'anic terms of the illumined Moon (*Sirajjan Munira*). That is, the moon has no existence or light of its own. It derives light from the sun. Moon is thus comparable to the human body; likewise its light is *ruh*, no less and no more. In the ultimate analysis, all that exists in this mortal world owes its existence and light to Allah's Light.

Mas'ud-i Bak believed in the superiority of the prophets over the saints in that the latter obtained their progress in the Path only through obedience to the former. According to him, the Sufis themselves did not possess intrinsic spiritual eminence. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Mas'ud Bak was put to death in the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah after a unanimous decision given by the ulama for revealing divine secrets in his mystical poetry.

Kalimat, f. 156b.

Mas'ud-i Bak, *Mir'atu'l-'Arifin*, Ethe, 1854, ff. 2b, 192a.

Nuru'l-Yaqin, II, Rieu, 632, f. 4a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 243-4).

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 299-306.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1018-24.

Mas'ud Nakhasi: He belonged to Bada'un where he earned fame as an intoxicated soul. Once he advised Khwaja Zainu'd-Din to cultivate five habits: 1. Always keep your door open for all visitors; 2. Be cheerful, broadminded, and happy; 3. Whatever little is available, give in charity; 4. Never transfer your burden to another; and 5. Bear the burden of others with happiness.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 481.

Ma'sum, Shaikh Muhammad: He was the third son of the Mujaddid, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Since the Mujaddid's contact with Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah took place a few months after the birth of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum on 11 Shawwal 1007/7 May 1599, his birth was considered to be auspicious. When Muhammad Ma'sum was just fourteen years old, the Mujaddid prophesied that he would be a future *Qutb* (q.v.). Before Zu'lqa'da 1032/September 1623, the Mujaddid made him his successor and informed him that he had been appointed *Qaiyum* (q.v.) by God. Muhammad Ma'sum received the robe of this exalted position in the spiritual domain from his father during his meeting with him at Ajmer in Zu'lhijja 1032/October 1623.

Being trained by his father in spiritual knowledge, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum regarded Sufism as incomplete without strict adherence to the *Shari'ah*. Likewise, he preached against *bid'a*. *Pirs*, he believed were vital to the Sufic path, but *pirs* overlooking the *Shari'ah* were "robbers of the faith". Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum's teachings are contained in his letters addressed to his father's disciples. Aurangzeb invoked his blessing before leaving on his Qandahar campaign in 1652.

Muhammad Ma'sum left for Mecca in 1067/1656-7 along with his elder brother, Muhammad Sa'id, his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Yahya, and about one hundred *dervishes*. After returning to India, the Shaikh spent most of his time in Sirhind. He wrote several letters to Aurangzeb and paid occasional visits to the court.

Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum held a high opinion about the spiritual attainments of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

He died on 9 Rabi' I 1079/17 August 1668.

Maktubat-i Sa'idiyya, Lahore, 1365/1965, no. 37, p. 91.

Maktubat-i Ma'sumiyya, Karachi, 1976, III, nos. 122, 221, 227.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 315-26.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 262-95.

Matlubu't-Tabin: Based for the most part on the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, it is a detailed biography of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, his disciples, and their spiritual descendants. Its author, Muhammad Bulaq bin Muhammad Khalidi Dihlawi, completed it in 1111/1699-1700.

ma'u'l-quds: Water of holiness. A term used by the Sufis for such holy influences on the soul of man as enable him to overcome the lust of the flesh, and to become holy.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Maulana 'Abdu'l-Jalil Jaunpuri: He was *khalifa* of 'Azizu'l-Haqq. He was a learned Sufi who would impart lessons on well-known books with useful insights. He was killed by a rogue in 982/1574-5 at the *khanqah* of his *murshid* on the point of departure for Mecca. He was laid to rest at the same *khanqah*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 324.

Maulana Abu'l-Fath *alias* Pandit: He belonged to a noble Kashmiri family. After being initiated by Muhammad Amin Dhar, he attained to such spiritual heights that he did not feel shy of cleaning his *murshid's* toilet during the latter's illness. Hasan quotes Shaikh Akbar Tarabali to prove the spiritual excellence of the Maulana. Praised for his humility, generosity, and the practice of reciting *zikr-i chahar zarb*, Maulana Abdu'l-Fath died on 1 Zilhaj 1147/13 April 1735 and was buried at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 329-31.

Maulana Abu'l-Fath Gaani: He was the son of Maulana Ahmad Gaani's son, 'Arif. Initially, he obtained spiritual guidance from the Kashmiri Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Chisti, and, later, from Shaikh Muhammad Murad Matoo. He became famous not only for his asceticism but, also, for his firm obedience to the *Sunnah*. Diddamari gives his date of death as 6 Muharram 1149/6 May 1736 whereas Hasan and Miskin as 1140/1727-8.

Waqi'at-i Kashmir (US), p. 439.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 320.

Tarikh-i Kabir, p. 238.

Maulana 'Abdu'r-Rahman: A venerable intellectual of Lahore who was devoted to Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Haqq Ahrari. He died in 950/1543-4 and is entombed in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 452.

Maulana Ahmad: Son of Maulana Sulaiman Kurd of the Qadiriyya order, he was an eminent scholar and teacher. He died in Ahmadabad in 1112/1700 where his father, a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, had founded a seminary in the wake of his migration from Delhi.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, II, 67.

Maulana Ahmad Katib: A disciple of Maulana Kamalu'd-Din Mahmud, he was a Sufi of spiritual attainments and is said to have authored several works in prose and verse. His tomb is in the cemetery of Shah Bad'iu'd-Din *alias* Badi Shah.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 202.

Maulana Ahmad Thaneswari: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. During Timur's invasion of Delhi, he was arrested along with his family and brought before the invader's court where the latter's Shaikhu'l-Islam, Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Marghaniyani's grandson, was also present. Maulana Ahmad alleged that Marghniyani had committed several obvious errors in his book, the *Hidaya*, and therefore felt no surprise for being treated in such a manner. Nothwithstanding the Shaikhu'l-Islam's challenge to the Maulana to prove his allegations, Timur resolved the matter by dismissing the court. Subsequently Maulana Ahmad was released and he migrated to Kalpi where he died in 820/1417. During the time of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Dihlawi the tomb of Maulana Ahmad was, in the words of the renowned Muhaddis, a popular site of pilgrimage for high and low. He reproduces a *n'at* written by the Maulana in Arabic in praise of the Prophet.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 260-1.

Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya immersed in divine love and settled in Ghiyaspur after leaving Delhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 903.

Maulana 'Ali Bihari: He was one of those three beloved disciples of Baba Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar who were sent to a graveyard to pray for his health.

Fawai'd-u'l-Fu'ad, pp. 52-9.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), vol. I, p. 257 as quoted in Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 68n.

Maulana Amanu'llah' *alias* Kanu: The Mughal ruler, Muhammad Shah, appointed him, the son of Khwaja Abu'l-Khair Kanu, the Shaikhu'l-Islam because of his deep knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Before joining the Mughal service, the Maulana achieved considerable fame in Kashmir as an excellent teacher and produced quite a good number of students and *khalifas*. He died on the battlefield during the third battle of Panipat fought between Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah.

Hasan. *Tazkira* (U), pp. 432-3.

Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din Nili: He came to Delhi from Awadh to become a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He made his mark as a fluent speaker and an impressive reciter of the Qur'an. But, towards the end of his life, finding the responsibilities associated with the practice of enrolling disciples in the Chistiyya order somewhat demanding, he devoted himself to the reading of his own transcript of the *Fawai'du'l-Fu'ad*.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 275-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 170-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 75.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 880-1.

Maulana Amanu'llah: Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya. He was by nature an ascetic who did not accept money and food from any one including even his friends. He left India in 1031/1621-2 to perform *hajj*. It is not known whether he returned to India after travelling to Syria and Egypt from Mecca and Medina.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat , pp. 388-9.

Maulana Bada'uni: He led an ascetic life as a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Such was his passion for *sama'* that he would come out in a state of ecstasy.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq: He was one of Baba Farid's distinguished *khalifas*. Born and educated in Delhi, his quest for knowledge drove him to Ajodhan along with a great number of books. There he entered the discipleship of Baba Farid and discharged the duties of the steward of his *jama'at-khana*. He was deeply immersed in Sufism and would often cry while reciting a mystical verse.

After the death of his mentor, the Maulana taught the Qur'an in the *Jami'* mosque at Ajodhan. Among his students were some prominent Sufis including Amir Khwurd's father. He was a close friend of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who took care of his family after his death. Unfortunately, an Arabic grammar authored by him is not extant.

He died in 1291.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr., pp. 11, 30, 31, 33, 34, 160, 181, 296, 363, 432.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 132-3.

Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq: A treasure of intellect and embodiment of piety, he owed affiliation to *silsilah-i Ahrariyya*. He was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 452.

Maulana Bahasi: His name was Muhammad and Bahasi his *nom de plume*. Mirza Muhammad 'Aziz, a luminary, built a *khanqah* for him in Delhi near Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's tomb. The hallmark of his spiritual life was the continual observance of fast by him for thirty years. He died in 901/1495-6.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 478.

Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Gharib: He was a *khalifa* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. His invention of an unusual style of dancing, performed during the ritual of *sama'*, was known as Burhani. Like other Sufis of Delhi, he too was forced to move to Daulatabad under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq. There he became so popular that later Sultan Nasir Khan Faruqi (1399-1437), the ruler of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh (1382-1601), founded a town, and, on the advice of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, a *khalifa* of Burhanu'd-Din, called it Burhanpur. The king made the new town his capital in no time.

Burhanu'd-Din died on 12 Safar 732/14 Novemer 1331.

Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 461-2.

Gulshan-i Ibrahmi, p. 279.

Siyaru'l-Aulia, pp. 278-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 79.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 882-5.

Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Sawi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya known for his learning, self-denial, righteousness and fondness for *sama'*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 905.

Maulana Daniyal 'Ud: A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti traces his genealogy to the fourth caliph, 'Ali with considerable care. His father, Mir Badru'd-Din, came to India from Khurasan during the time of Balban. Although Badru'd-Din led a luxurious life, he finally secluded himself in the town of Satrikh in order to satiate his quest for the Truth. He lies buried there.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1011.

Maulana Dawud: Popularly known as Mulla Dawud, he belonged to Dalmau in the Rae Bareli district, near Lucknow and was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din. The latter was the son of the sister of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli and his uncle's *khalifa*. Mulla Dawud authored the earliest known *masnawi* written in Hindi, *Chanda'in*. In all probability, the work seems to have been started in 772/1370-1 and completed in 781/1379-80. According to Mulla 'Abdu'd-Qadir Bada'uni, Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir*, died in 772 H/1370 and his son Juna obtained the title. Maulana Dawud, wrote in his honour *Chanda'in*, a *masnawi* in Hindawi, relating the story of the love of Lorik and Chanda. It is a very touching piece, too well-known to need praise. Even Maulana Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din, a godly preacher (*wa'iz-i rabbani*) used to recite its verses from the pulpit. It had an indescribable effect on its audience. When certain learned men asked the Shaikh why he chose that *masnawi* for his discourses, he replied, "the whole of it is divine truth and is not only agreeable to the taste of people who are interested in divine Love, but it is compatible with the interpretation of some verses of the Qur'an. Even now sweet-singers of India captivate the heart by reciting it."

Mutakhabu't-Tawarikh, I, p. 250.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, 364 sqq.

Maulana Dawud Palahi: As a famous disciple of Baba Farid, his piousness and commitment to Sufism has been praised in several hagiographical works.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 118-19.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 70.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (MS), vol. I, p. 259 as quoted in Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 67n.

Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi: He came from Samana and studied the *Hidaya*, a work on Sunni jurisprudence, under the guidance of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din of Hansi in Delhi. He had little faith in Sufism. But persuaded by Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din to visit the *jama'at-khana* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he not only changed his view of Sufism but shaved his head and adopted celibacy (in spite of his being engaged) after becoming his disciple. What brought about a profound change in the Maulana's attitude towards Sufism and life was the ability and ease with which the Shaikh answered the questions concerning the *Hidaya* that his teacher, Maulana Fakru'd-Din had not been able to clarify.

The Maulana used to live in a rented house near the *jama'at-khana*. Although he was devoted to prayer, his fame as a scholar spread to Baghadad. After his *murshid's* death, he remained mostly preoccupied with visiting the tombs of his spiritual ancestors in Ajmer and Ajodhan.

Maulana Zarradi was a Sufi of impeccable integrity. When Muhammad bin Tughluq summoned him to his court, he boldly counselled the Sultan to suppress his bestial anger. So great was his influence on his disciple, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Dabir, that the latter did not hesitate to carry the Maulana's shoes on his head in the royal court despite the warning of the Sultan. Notwithstanding the latter's anger over what he described as blasphemous reverence, he offered the Sufis present at the court under his orders a woollen garment and a purse of tankas each. Qutbu'd-Din, however, kept the gift meant for his preceptor for himself thinking that he would not accept it.

The Maulana moved to Daulatabad in 1327 under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq who wanted all prominent Sufis and ulama to remain there. However, determined to serve the Lord rather than the interests of his temporal ruler, he finally decided to perform *hajj*. He remained in Mecca for some years and, continuing the study of *Hadis*, distinguished himself as an authority in the field. On his way home, he died in a shipwreck.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 262-75.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 97-8.

Maulana Fouq: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who was known for his learning and piety.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 903.

Maulana Ghulamu'd-Din: A noted Kashmiri *'alim* of his time, he was known for his truthfulness and goodness. He was a disciple of Shaikh Akbar Hadi and dedicated himself to teaching. On 17 Zilhaj 1258/19 January 1243 he died and was buried in the cemetery of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 444.

Maulana Hafiz Basir *alias* Mal Baba: Although blind, early in his childhood, Mal Baba came to Srinagar from a village in Kashmir in pursuit of knowledge. After committing the Holy Book to memory, he studied *Fiqh*, *Hadis*, mathematics, philosophy and logic. His spiritual preceptor is not known, though the sources refer to his association with the Sufis of his time and his spiritual experience with Khizr.

Mal Baba lived at a time when Kashmir was torn by the Shia-Sunni conflict. He did not allow himself or his students to be influenced by any kind of prejudice against the Shias. His prominent pupils were such personalities as Baba Dawud Khaki, Ya'qub Sarfi, and Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Pal. However, his latitudinarian outlook later led Baba Dawud Khaki and Shamsu'd-Din Pal to learn at the feet of Mulla Raziu'd-Din.

He died in 946/1539. His tomb is at Khandabhavan in Srinagar. Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi paid glowing tributes to the scholarship of Mala Baba in this dirge: *Aan Hafiz 'ilmou adab buda Basir az fazl-i Rabb, Tarikh foutash* (Hasan writes *khweesh*) *zan sabab shuda 'alam Tafsirdan.*

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 137.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 172.

Maulana Hamidu'd-Din: A disciple of Baba Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar, according to Nizami, he also seems to have received *khilafat* from the Shaikh.

Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, p. 205.

Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 68n.

Maulana Hasan Afaqi: An *'alim* and *fazil*, he hailed from the *pargana* of Phag in Kashmir. The circumstances leading to his initation in the Kubrawiyya order are somewhat inexplicable. He is said to have been admonished by the Prophet Muhammad in a vision for confining himself to the literal meaning of the words rather than reflecting deeply on their meaning. Subsequently, when he revealed the dream to his pupil, Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, both realized the need for the guidance of a Sufi master. Their meeting with Maulana Manak Shah, a *majzub*, turned to be an embarrassment, for he offered them wine which they refused to drink. Thereupon the *majzub* administered them the stick and asked them to leave. Out of sheer frustration, they rushed to the *khanqah* of Mir Muhammad Khalifa where a *sama'* assembly was at its climax. On seeing both the seekers, the Mir signalled to a *qawwal* to recites: *Bakuja rawam zi dardat chi dawa kunam chi charah, ki hazar bar khun shud jigar hazar para.* No sooner had the *qawwal* recited the verse than both Maulana Hasan Afaqi and Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri became esctatic. As the meeting ended, both seekers obtained initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from Mir Muhammad Khalifa.

Later, they also benefitted from Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi.

Maulana Hasan Afaqi died in 1010/1601-2 and is entombed at Naushahr in Srinagar near the grave of Mulla Kabir.

Tazkira (U), pp. 227-8.

Maulana Hasan Kashmiri: To him goes the credit of introducing Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi to Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah during his stay in Delhi. The Mujaddid wrote four letters to him.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr.

Maulana Hasan Lankar: A *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. Little is known about him except that he had a good knowledge of the exoteric and esoteric sciences and that he stood unparalleled in meditation and the struggle against the self.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 254.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din: He came from Multan. He had a deep knowledge of the *Hidaya*, the *Ihya'al-'Ulum* of Imam Ghazali, and the *Qutu'l-Qulub* of Abu Talib Makki. His meeting with Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca led him to visit Medina immediately. What prompted him to visit Medina for the second time was Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's remark that it was worthwhile to make two pilgrimages, one for the *hajj* and the other to tomb of the Prophet, rather than combining the two.

Husamu'd-Din Multani dwelled in a thatched hut along with his family. He did not take pride in his learning, but considered himself to be an ordinary individual. He regarded himself as unworthy of using the title of Shaikh even after his initiation in the Chistiyya order. Shaikh Nizamuddin's response to his inquisitive questions enables us to understand the former's aversion to begging from door to door and withdrawal from the world. When Husamu'd-Din enquired whether he could accept loans while waiting for *futuhs*, the Shaikh advised that one could accept loans with the intention of maintaining one's family or entertaining travellers. Advising his disciples to desist from the practice, the Shaikh remarked that such a practice was bound to undermine the spirituality of a *dervish*.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din died in AD 1327 in Gujarat, following Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's order to shift his second capital.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 257-62.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 68-9.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 166.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 91.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 118b-120a.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, pp. 180-1.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din, who migrated to Bada'un, lived there until his death. He does not seem to have had many disciples, notwithstanding the fact that he became so popular in Bada'un that its inhabitants gave him the title of the Maulana of Multan.

Jamali, pp. 137-8.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din: He was a nephew and disciple of 'Allama Shahid. After completing his education, he came to Kashmir. Initially, during his stay in the Valley, he taught exoteric sciences. He then went to Delhi and obtained spiritual guidance from Shah Kalimu'llah. After the death of Mulla Akbaryar Khan (q.v.), he was appointed the *darogah* of Kahsmir.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din also composed poetry. He died in 1197/1782-3.

Tazkira (U), p. 439.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din Sabz: A paragon of moral excellence, he was affiliated to the Naqshbandiyya order. He died in 970/1562-3 and is entombed in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 452.

Maulana Husamu'd-Din Surkh: A contemporary of Maulana Husamu'd-Din Sabz who owed affiliation to the Naqshbandiyya order. A gifted individual endowed with moral virtues, he lies entombed in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 452.

Maulana Ilahdad: Known as Sharih (Commentator), Ilahdad was a disciple of Mulla 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Adil of Jaunpur. Like the latter's teacher, Qazi Shihab'd-Din Daulatabadi (848/1444-5), he wrote commentaries on works of theological importance. However, being rooted in theology like his friend, Shaikh Hasan Tahir, he was aghast when the latter turned a Sufi. Although Ilahdad criticised his friend for undermining the importance of religious learning, Hasan succeeded in persuading him to visit Shaikh Raji Hamid Shah. Impressed by the ability of Raji Hamid to expound the profundities of the *Hidaya*, Maulana Ilahdad entered his discipleship. His most distinguished disciple was Shaikh Ma'ruf.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 347.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 298a.

Maulana Ilahdad Multani: A contemporary of Ghausi Shattari, he received education from Saiyid Sharif Jurjani in Shiraz. He was the embodiment of intlellect, honesty, and *dervishi*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 454.

Maulana 'Ilmu'd-Din Sharafjahan: Being well-versed in exoteric knowledge, he performed *hajj*, and then studied *Hadis* under the *masha'ikh* of the Holy land. On his return to India, he settled in Mandu. He became a disciple of Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din Deccani and thus devoted himself to Sufism for the remainder of his life.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 118.

Maulana 'Imadu'd-Din Ghori, Makhdum: He was one of the famous *masha'ikh* of Narnaul. His ancestors, who were originally from Arabia, accompanied Sultan Muhammad Gori to India. He died in AD 1341.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 353-4.

Maulana Isma'il: This man took lessons on the books related to the *Sunnah*, *Hadis* and *fiqh* from Shaikhu'l-Islam Maulana Saifu'd-Din Ahmad Shahid Harwi and Amir Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din 'Attau'llah Muhaddis. Affiliated to the Naqshbandiyya order, he died in 980/1572-3 and lies buried in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 454.

Maulana Isma'il Sindhi: This was an eminent Sufi who belonged to Sindh. His *khanqah* served the subsistence needs of the poor. He died in 998/1589-90.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 357.

Maulana Ja'far: A *khushnavis* by profession who enrolled himself as a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He transcribed most of the books belonging to the Shaikh and was very fond of *sama'*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 903.

Maulana Ja'far: Born and entombed in Sehwan, he was known for his learning.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 343.

Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Awadhi: A contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he was held in high esteem for his *zuhd*, *taqwa*, *tajjarud* and seclusion. Once some companions of the great Chistiyya Shaikh desired the Maulana to quench their thirst for gaining more and more knowledge. Since they could not express their desire in this respect to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, they requested the Maulana to seek the permission of their *pir* on their behalf which was happily granted.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 198.

Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Manikpuri: He belonged to Manikpur, near Allahabad, in the modern district of Pratabgarh. A disciple of one of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's disciples, Shaikh Muhammad, Maulana Jalalu'd-Din, distinguished himself both as an *'abid* and teacher. Until morning he would spend most part of the night in prayers and recitation of the *surah* Yasin forty-one times. He derived sustenance only from the sale of the copies of the Qur'an personally transcribed by him. His grandson Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri distinguished himself as a Chistiyya Sufi of great merit. He died in AD 1325.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 316-17.

Maulana Jamal: A disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya whose inner piety often evoked his *murshid's* praise.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 76.

Maulana Jamalu'd-Din Awadhi: He came from Khurasan. After entering into a discussion with some companions of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he finally enrolled himself as a disciple of the prominent Chistiyya Shaikh of Delhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 905.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 76.

Maulana Kasa Girani: Son of Amir Amiru'd-Din Khurasani and a disciple of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din 'Ali Wa'iz, he was endowed with exoteric and esoteric knowledge, and died in 994/1585-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 343.

Maulana Khaki: A disciple of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Baghdadi (q.v.), he was responsible for the maintenance of the kitchen opened by Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din with the support of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. His tomb is situated near that of his *murshid* at Zainpur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 155.

Maulana Khird Diwana: Initiated by Maulana Khwajgi, he was directed by the latter to disseminate the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order in Balkh. He died in 992/1584 and is entombed in Balkh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 344-5.

Maulana Khwaja: The son of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din and the father of Husamu'd-Din Manakpuri, he was initiated into the Chistiyya order by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and was one of his numerous *khulafa*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 94.

Maulana Khwaja: The son of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din of Manikpur, near Allahabad, in the modern district of Pratabgarh, he was affiliated to the Chistiyya order, and would often fast for three days and always declined to eat anything acquired through unlawful means. He died in AD 1409.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 317.

Maulana Khwajgi: A disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli but his teacher, Maulana Mu'inu'd-Din 'Umarani, who taught him Arabic grammar and *Fiqh*, was opposed to Sufism. Being simultaneously devoted to both the Sufi and the *'alim*, the latter's enmity to the former often disturbed the young Khwajgi. However, Khwajgi's distress was over when Maulana Mu'inu'd-Din 'Umrani was compelled to seek the blessings of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din as a result of severe attacks of asthma. On being cured, the Maulana became a disciple of the famous Chistiyya Sufi.

Maulana Khwajgi migrated to Kalpi where he died in 819/1416. According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, his tomb was a popular site of pilgrimage.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 258-9.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 997-9.

Maulana Khwajgi Ahmad, Makhdum: The ancestors of this son of Jalalu'd-Din were from Kashan. He was a *murid* of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Maulana Muhammad Qazi who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. Endowed with spiritual qualities, Khwajgi Ahmad was a contemporary of Zahiru'd-Din Muhammad Babur, the Mughal emperor. He died in 949/1537-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 23-37.

Maulana Kishtawari: He was a trusted companion of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who was gifted with exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He mostly remained absorbed in *zikr*. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh granted him *khilafa*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 903.

Maulana Lutfu'llah: He was a *murid* of Maulana Khwajgi Kashani.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 251.

Maulana Mahjub *alias* Shukr Khan: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who came from Thaneswar.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Maulana Mahmud: An *'alim* and *fazil*, he was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Under his guidance, the chidren of Shaikh's disciples committed the whole of the Qur'an to memory.

Mir'atu'l-Auliya (U), p. 903.

Maulana Mahmud Balkhi: He was a pupil of Mulla Hajji Muhammad and Shaikh Rahmatu'llah. Little is known about him except that, after obtaining spiritual guidance from several Sufis, he himself became a perfect *wali*. He is entombed at the cemetery of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 355.

Maulana Majdu'd-Din Hajji: He was a disciple of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi who came to India during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish. The Sultan offered him the post of *sadr*, which he accepted. However, after performing his duties conscientiously for two years, he resigned and devoted the rest of his life to meditation. He performed *hajj* twelve times.

'Abdu'l-Haqq writes about the assembly of people of Delhi at the tomb of the Hajji on the eve of Idu'l-Zuha, where special prayers, called the *khatm* of Maulana Majdu'd-Din, were offered. He died in 623/1226.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 101-2

Maulana Mir Mufti: He descended from the Saadat-i Jamali Harawi. Although he obtained a high *sanad* in *Hadis and Fiqh*, he was saturated with *'ishq* and *'irfan*. He died in 992/1584-5 and is entombed in Kalpi.

His *khalifa* was his son, Maulana Mir.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 290-1.

Maulana Muhammad Majd: When he came to Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Mahmud bin Muzaffar bin Mahmud, he was affiliated to the order of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 237-8.

Maulana Manak Rishi: Well versed in theology. Once he called on Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi at Rupavan in the Kashmir valley along with his followers in order to test his knowledge. After a great deal of discussion on issues related to *tariqa*, *ma'rifah*, and *haqiqa*, the Maulana's pride was humbled. He became the diciple of the Shaikh and spent the rest of his life as a Rishi.

Remarkably, the stone on which both the Shaikh and the Maulana were seated during the course of their dialogue has been preserved as a relic in Rupavan. Baba Nasib and, later, Baba Khalil, give a detailed account of the Maulana's conversations with the Shaikh.

Nasib, *Nurnama,* RPD No. 795, ff. 48b-50a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin,* RPD No. 230, f. 36a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama,* CA No. 24, pp. 176-9.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat,* CA No. 31, pp. 540-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 135-6.

Maulana Minhaj: He belonged to Lahore and came to Delhi in search of knowledge. Sultan Bahlul Lodi appointed him *mufti* of Delhi. In spite of his learning, acquired in abject poverty, Maulana Minhaj led an austere life. His son, Maulana Shu'aib, dedicated himself to learning and teaching in spite of poverty.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 389.

Maulana Mir Muhammad Afzal: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He was a teacher of Baba Dawud Khaki. Mishkati eulogises Mir Afzal as the core of *'ilmu'l-yaqin* and describes him as the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah* and the *tariqa*. No sooner had he the vision of the Prophet Muhammad than he left for Mecca. He performed *hajj* and died in Mecca.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 194.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 183.

Maulana Mughisu'd-Din Dihlawi: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who is entombed in Ujjain.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 100.

Maulana Muhammad Amin: He was a disciple of Zainu'd-Din Khwafi. He studied the book of *Hadis*, the *Mishkat*, with Jalalu'd-Din Qa'ini.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 116.

Maulana Muhammad Amin Gaani Baldimari: An excellent Kashmiri teacher, he lived on *qana't* and *tawwakul*. He died in Ramazan 1109/1697-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 323-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 428.

Maulana Muhammad Aslam Topigaru: He was the son of Khwaja Muhammad A'zam Topigaru. In his quest for Truth, he first secluded himself in the mosque of 'Ali Masjid and subjected himself to severe ascetic exercises. Under the guidance of another spiritual preceptor, he subsequently resorted to *chilla* at the *khanqah* of Shah Badi'u'd-Din. Thereafter, he concentrated on teaching in a *madrasa* until noon. Later in the day he would go to Idgah to earn his livelihood. In due course he became the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri and, after receiving initiation, worked for the dissemination of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order. He died on 19 Rajab 1181/11 December 1767 in Shahabad in Kashmir and was buried near his father's mausoleum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 372.

Maulana Muhammad Kamaraji: A disciple of the renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, he was initiated as Suhrawardiyya and led an austere life.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 191.

Maulana Muhammad Multani: Although the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* refers to this disciple of Baba Farid as a casual visitor to the *Jama'at Khana* of the Shaikh, a later source wrongly describes him as a *khalifa* of the great Chistiyya Sufi.

Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, p. 55.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), vol. I, p. 257 as quoted in Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar,* p. 68n.

Maulana Multani: As a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya he versified the genealogical table of the Sufis of the Chistiyya order in Arabic with commendable lucidity and learning.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 903.

Maulana Mu'inu'd-Din, Imrani: He was opposed to Sufism notwithstanding the fact that most of his students whom he taught Arabic grammar and *Fiqh* were devoted to the Sufis. One of his students, Maulana Khwajgi, who was also the disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh, often found himself in an awkward predicament and tension because of the former's hostility to Sufism. However, his tension eased when Maulana Mu'inu'd-Din suffered frequent and severe attacks of asthma, and went to seek the blessings of the Chistiyya Sufi. Cured, he joined the circle of the disciples of Chiragh-i Dihli. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq credits him with having written *Hashia Kanzu'daqa'iq Hasami* and *Miftah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 258-9.

Maulana Nuni Gana'i *alias* Mulla Malihi: He was the grandson of Baba 'Usman Ucchap Gana'i of Kashmir. An excellent teacher, he served the cause of both *Shari'ah* and *tasawwuf*. His tomb is in Qalashpura. Diddamari regarded his *khanqah* as an abode of bliss.

Diddamari, *Waqi 'at* (US), p. 136.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 416.

Maulana Nuru'd-Din Ja'far: This son of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq (perhaps Muhammad Sadiq Maantju who had performed *hajj*) was a Chistiyya and a pupil of Shaikh Rahmatu'llah and Mir Muhammad Muqim. He was a deeply learned scholar and joined the brotherhood of Sufis after being initiated by his father's *khalifa*, Mulla Muhammad Balkhi.

He is entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 375.

Maulana Pa'inda Qalbi: He was a disciple of Maulana Khwajgi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 285-6.

Maulana Qazi Shah Lahori: A contemporary of Ghausi Shattari, the latter describes him as a *salik* in the Path of *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. A Sufi of exalted spiritual status, he elicits the praise of the Shattariyya hagiographer.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 454.

Maulana Qazi Shapa'ili: He was a learned disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who was infatutated with *sama'*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Maulana Qwamu'd-Din Yakdana: He belonged to Awadh. He sang the praise of his *murshid*, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, for the nobility of his culture and steadfastness in the Sufi path.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 905.

Maulana Sa'id: He was a *khalifa* of Mir Muhammad Hamadani who, on the advice of his *pir*, stationed himself at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar and lies buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 151-2.

Maulana Sa'id Kanu: Whatever little is known about him relates to his adherence to the *Sunnah* in treading the Path. The distinguishing trait of his spiritual personality was the extreme humility in which he offered the prescribed prayers in congregation as *imam* of the faithful. Tears always came trickling from his eyes in the state of prayer. He lies buried at Jamalata in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 340.

Maulana Shah Daulat: Most of his time as a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki was spent in the company of Baba Hardi Rishi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 197.

Maulana Shah Gada: He was a villager from Sopur who was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Hajji Ahmad Qari. Later he received guidance in Sufism from his *murshid's* son, Makhdum Hajji Musa. After being authorized to enrol disciples, the Maulana made his mark as a Sufi. His fame spread far and wide so much so that people flocked to him. Tang describes him as a friend of Akhwund Mulla Shah.

Once Khwaja Dawud Majzub visited the *khanqah* of Maulana Shah Gada in Srinagar. On seeing a large number of the Shah's devotees in the *khanqah*, Dawud Majzub rebuked him: "Why don't you wear the dress of madness like me? How do you go along with this crowd?" The Maulana responded: "What have you seen now? Tomorrow the market will be more crowded than today." Maulana Shah Gada then advised one of his devotees to raise a cell in the corner of his *khanqah* saying that it may be of some use. After a week or so, the Maulana spent the whole night with his friends, disciples, and devotees trying to bring home to them matters related to *ma'rifah*, *tariqa* and *haqiqa*. As dawn approached, he washed and shut himself in the newly constructed small room. His followers waited till afternoon and were caught unawares by his death. This happened in 1024/1615. He was buried at the cemetery of Mir Mirak Andrabi at Malarata in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 89.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 205.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 233.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 180.

Maulana Shaikh Ya'qub: Baba Farid's fifth son was a *malamati* and his death is shrouded in obscurity. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya took care of his two sons; one of them, 'Azizu'd-Din, extended the influence of the Chistiyya order to Deogir long before Muhammad bin Tughluq turned it into his second capital.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 191-8.

Maulana Shaikhan: After committing the Qur'an to memory, he secluded himself in Manikpur as a Chistiyya Sufi. A contemporary of Shaikh Husmau'd-Din Manikpuri, the Maulana was of the view that peasants had nothing to do with either *'ilm* or *suluk*; he would , therefore, address himself to their mundane concerns. He died in AD 1442.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 318.

Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Gana'i: He was a cousin of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi who was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. Many people received spiritual guidance from him and he is said to have been popular among the folk. He died on 20 Muharram 1050/26 April 1640 and is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 254.

Maulana Shamsu'd-Din bin Yahya: One of the most aged *khalifa*s of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he came from Awadh, migrating to Delhi in pursuit of knowledge. He studied *Usul al-Bazdawi*, a work on *Fiqh*, under Maulana Zahiru'd-Din, an *'alim* from Bhakkar. Having no interest in Sufism, he visited the *jama'at-khana* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din in order to test his knowledge. So impressed was he by the Shaikh's scholarship that he became his disciple. On entering the Path the Maulana gave up worldly pursuits and taught at the *jama'at-khana*. His scholarship was recognized by Delhi's ulama; and it was also because of this fact that Muhammad bin Tughluq ordered him to go to Kashmir to preach in the temples there. The Maulana refused; a possible confrontation was avoided following the former's death a few days later after refusal.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 222-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 178-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 97.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 129b-130a.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 866-9.

Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Multani Sultanpuri: Ghausi Shattari showers encomium on him for his qualities of honesty, integrity, and intellect, together with his style of living like a *dervish*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 454.

Maulana Sharif Khadim: He belonged to a tribe of fishermen in the town of Sopur in Kashmir. After being initiated in the Kubrawiyya order by Mir Muhammad Khalifa, he distinguished himself as a Sufi of great merit. Notwithstanding his humble social background, he was held in high esteem because of his piety and spiritual wisdom. He earned the title of Maulana for his esoteric learning.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 231.

Maulana Siraju'd-Din Hafiz Bada'uni: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who was a man of fine qualities.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Maulana Shu'aib: His father, Maulana Minhaj, was the *mufti* of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq-Muhaddis, closely related to the family of the Maulana, describes him as *'alim ba 'amal* with angelic qualities. The eloquence of Maulana Shu'aib's speech attracted the great ulama and *masha'ikh* of his time to his assemblies. His students included many common Muslims. He died in 936/1529-30 and is entombed near the *khanqah* of Malik Zainu'd-Din in Hauz-i Shamsi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U). pp. 388-9.

Maulana Sufi 'Ali: A learned disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he was responsible for the maintenance of the kitchen of his illustrious *murshid*. He renounced his family and wealth in order to humble his pride and took the responsibility of cleaning the eating vessels of his *murshid* and other companions.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 187.

Maulana Taju'd-Din: See *Risalah Hal Khanwadah-i Chist*.

Maulana Taqiu'd-Din: Mu'inu'd-Din 'Abdu'llah describes him as a brother of Maulana Dawud Palhi and a disciple of Baba Farid. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti describes his visit to the tomb of the Maulana in Awadh in the late seventeenth century.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat, vol. I, p. 268 as quoted in Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 68n.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 807-9.

Maulana Wajihu'd-Din Yusuf: One of the senior *khalifas* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he was devoted to his *pir*. Whenever the great Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi granted *khilafatnama* to his disciples, he would simultaneously renew that of his favourite, Wajihu'd-Din Yusuf. The latter, who settled in Chanderi under the orders of his *pir*, enrolled many inhabitants of the area as his disciples. Wajihu'd-Din Yusuf is entombed in Chanderi and, according to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, his tomb was a place of veneration in the seventeenth century.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 282-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 181.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 885-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 90.

Maulana Wali Miyan Kalpi: He was a disciple of Maulana Khwajgi Kashani. His spirituality was praised by Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 252.

Maulana Ya'qub Nath: This son of Maulana Jawhar Nath was a man of learning and was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Shah Qasim Haqqani. Among the *khalifas* of his *murshid*, the Maulana enjoyed a prominent position. Numerous people flocked to his house for guidance in esoteric and exoteric sciences. He is entombed in the cemetery of his ancestors at Sha'irwari near the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 284.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 270.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 211.

Maulana Yusuf Bada'uni: A pious and respectable disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he was a skilled orator.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 904.

Maulana Yusuf Turki: As a disciple of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi he was known for his austerities and help to the poor and often spent nights on the hillock of Koh-i Maran. It was not unusual for him to cry his heart out there. He lies entombed at the *mohalla* of Diddamar on the bank of the *nalla* Mar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 243.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 257-8.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 208.

Maulana Zain 'Ali: A student of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi scholar, Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Pal, and the renowned Kubrawiyya Sufi *'alim*, Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi, he also sought the guidance of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum on matters related to Sufism. After the latter's death, Zain 'Ali left for Mecca, performed pilgrimage, obtained *sanad* in *Hadis* from Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makki and, on his return home, dedicated himself to the spread of esoteric and exoteric teachings in Kashmir. His tomb lies in Rainawari in Srinagar.

Mulla 'Ali Raina calls him Khwaja Zain 'Ali 'Asha'i and remarks that whatever profit he earned as a wealthy trader was given away in charity.

Zain 'Ali is entombed at Rainawari in Srinagar.

'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 592, ff. 410ab-411a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

Maulana Zainu'd-Din: He was the son of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Latif and was known for his aceticism and learning. He wrote in both prose and poetry. Such was his popularity as a recognized Sufi scholar of his time that about 20,000 people are said to have participated in his funeral prayers in 1125/1713. He is entombed at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

Maulana Zia'u'd-Din: He was a disciple of Siddiq Shah Akangami, known for his piety and self-denial. He lived a secluded life in a village in Kashmir all his life, nothwithstanding the fact that people flocked to him for guidance and help. He lies buried in the town of Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Maulavi: From maula, lord or master. A term generally used for a learned man.

Maulavi 'Abdu'l-Gani: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. He led an autere life.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 188.

Maulavi Firuz Sani: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Nothing is known about him except that he was saturated with the burning love for God.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 184-5.

Maulavi Ghulamu'd-Din Jam'i: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi, he spent his whole life in meditation and an inner struggle against the snares of the self.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Maulavi Hajji Muhammad Asha'i: He was a cousin of the renowned Persian poet of Kashmir, Mulla Tahir Ghani (d. 1080/1669-70) and the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang. A venerable Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order, Hajji Ahmad imparted knowledge of *'aqli* and *naqli 'ulum*. He died in 1154/1741. Hasan wrongly calls him Hajji Ahmad.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 445.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Maulavi Ja'far: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. Described as a practical scholar with an enlightened soul, Maulavi Ja'far is said to have authored *Ramuzu't-Talibin*. The ninth chapter of this work dealt with the question of music from the standpoint of the *Shari'ah*. So averse was Shaikh Hamza to music as the standard-bearer of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, that he did not even approve of the Maulavi's explanation of music as an action which a person may do or let alone, being attended with neither praise nor blame (*mubah*). He therefore asked him to delete the chapter.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 188.

Maulavi Mahmud Misri: Hasan casually refers to him as the grandfather of Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi Mirjanpuri of Kashmir. He initiated his grandson into the Naqshbandiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 377.

Maulavi Namak: He was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi of Kashmir. He was endowed with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. His whole life was devoted to *mujahada*. He is entombed at Bijbehara.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Maulavi Nasiru'd-Din: He was the son and pupil of Maulana Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad. He also obtained education from Mulla Ghulamu'd-Din Mufti. Baba Muhiu'd-Din Pandani was his spiritual preceptor in Sufism. During the reigns of Maharaja Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh he held the post of *qazi*. However, owing to his alleged involvement in the Shia-Sunni riots, he was forced to pay a fine of two thousand rupees and resigned. Thereafter he led the life of self-denial in seclusion. Maulavi Nasiru'd-Din died on 20 Safar 1293/17 March 1876.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 446.

Maulavi Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad: Son of Mulla Qawamu'd-Din. He was a noted *'alim* who held the positions of *qazi* and *amin* of *'adalat* during Afghan rule in Kashmir. Notwithstanding his preoccupations with the affairs of the court, he obtained spiritual guidance from Baba Muhiu'd-Din Pandani and several others. He authored *Tarikh-i Waqa'ia-Nizamiyya* and *Zamima Tarikh-i Khwaja*. He died in 1240/1824-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 444.

Maulavi Shaikh Daulat: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, he was noted for his learning, scholarship, and *mujahada*. He also performed the duties of *azaan*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Maulavi Yusuf: A *khalifa* of Baba Nasib, he was a learned person, and is said to have authored books.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 238.

Maulid: Birthday, especially of a prophet or saint. The birthday of Muhammad, which is known as Maulidu'n-Nabi, is celebrated on the 12th of Rabi'u'l-Awwal. It is a day observed in many parts of the subcontinent with fervour. In Kashmir celebrations connected with the birthday of the Prophet continue for twelve days in the famous shrine of Hazratbal and several other shrines. The 12th of Rab'iu'l-Awwal and the Friday following it are public holidays in the Valley. About two lakh of devotees flock to Hazratbal for having a glimpse of the relic of the Prophet.

Mawahib Laduniya: Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, a renowned Indian Sufi of the Chistiyya order who finally settled in Mecca, bought it from a Meccan *Faqih*. He had several copies made and sent one to Gujarat. In India some more copies were made from this, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the work became popular in the subcontinent.

Zadu'l-Muttaqin, ff. 14b-16a (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 321-2).

Mazhab: Legal school. Four schools of Islamic thought of the Sunnis. The Sufis of the main orders were affiliated to either of the schools.

Mazhar, Mirza Jan-i Janan: His ancestors were members of the Qaqshal tribe of Turkistan who served Akbar during the early years of his reign. Mirza Mazhar's father, Mirza Jan, served Aurangzeb for some time in a minor capacity and accompanied him to the Deccan. After his father's death in 1130/1718, Mazhar continued his religious and literary education and was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Saiyid Nur Muhhammad Bada'uni (d. 1135/1723), a *khalifa* of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din. His friendship with the Naqshbandiyya Sufi and poet, Shah Gulshan, inspired his taste for poetry. He also took lessons from Hafiz Sa'du'llah (d. 1152/1739-40), a prominent *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammud Siddiq, for about twelve years. After the Hafiz's death, he entered the discipleship of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid Sunnami, a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad. After the death of Shaikh 'Abid in 1747, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan himself began to enrol disciples and, in the best tradition of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order, wrote letters to his disciples stressing the importance of adhering to the *Shari'ah*. His illustrious contemporary and friend, Shah Waliu'llah, styles the Mirza as the "*qaiyum* of the path of Ahmad [Sirhindi], the caller to the Prophetic *Sunnah* . . . the one illuminated by various virtues . . . who opened various doors of blessings for the community of mankind. . . ."

Although Mazhar Jan-i Janan was inclined to music concerts during the early phase of his spiritual career, he forsook all that he considered contrary to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* on assuming the role of a Sufi master. He enrolled a good number of Ruhellas as his disciples and had not less than 49 *khalifas.* His illustrious disciple was Sanau'llah Panipati, who composed a voluminous exegesis of the Qur'an, called *Tafsir-i Mazhari* after his spiritual preceptor.

Mazhar was not interested in debating questions of a metaphysical nature. For him there was no fundamental difference between the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* and the controversy that raged around these two concepts was the result of a misapprehension of Sufi terminology. Considering the issues related to the *Wahdat al-Wujud* to be rooted in the basic beliefs of Islam, he argued that true Sufis did not regard their own mystical revelations and inspirations to be imperative. From that standpoint, Mahzar stressed that the spiritual experiences and gnosis of the Mujaddid were in consonance with the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. He cautioned the externalists not to question the proteges of Allah. According to him, the Naqshbandiyya order did not attach so much importance to the institution of *piri-muridi, ba'ya* and the offering to the disciple of spiritual genealogy and cap as it did to the attainment of tranquillity of heart through *zikr* in the "journey towards God" while under the influence of the *pir's* personality. Annemarie Schimmel rightly points out: "Patience and constant worship was his way of life, and he laid particular stress upon the ritual prayer, which, as he thought, 'embraces all the various particular modes of other religious works'". He used to pray more or less 60 *rak'a* every 24 hours.

Mazhar, not unlike Shah Waliu'llah, was fond of an Arabic classic, al-Shadhili's famous protective prayer, *Hizb al-Bahr.*

Mazhar did not regard Hindus as polytheists. According to him, they were monotheists, notwithstanding his firm view expressed in the *Kalimat-i Taiyibat* about the abrogation of Hinduism following the advent of the Prophet Muhammad.

Schimmel observes: "This man who reached the 'greatest saintship', *al-wilayat al-kubra* and whose goal in life was nothing but to make the Divine Law and the mystical path blossom, who was styled by his contemporaries as *sunnitrash,* 'Sunnicizer', and praised by the Urdu poet Mir as 'saintly, purified, *dervish*, scholar, perfect, incomparably renowned in the world, honoured and respected' had yet enemies against whom he fought relentlessly. These were the Shi'ites. Mazhar went so far as to write a defence of Mu'awiya, most hated by the Shia, because he revered him as a companion of the Prophet."

However, Mirza Jan-i Janan did not consider the Shi'i-Sunni disputes to be germane to the fundamental Islamic beliefs. He was mortally wounded by an Irani and two of his accomplices on 7 Muharram 1195/3 January 1781 because of his criticism of certain un-Islamic practices followed by the Shi'te in connection with the Muharram celebrations. He died three days later without disclosing the name of his murderer.

Shah Ghulam 'Ali,'*Maqamat-i Mazhari*, Delhi, 1892, pp. 6-27.

Na'imu'llah Bahra'ichi, *Ma'mulat-i Mazhariyya*, Kanpur, 1271/1854-5, pp. 15-17.

A.Q. Qureshi, *Mazhar Janjanan aur unka Urdu kalam,* Bombay, 1961, p. 165.

Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, pp. 160-1.

Miftahu'l-'Ashiqin: The alleged conversations of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli; the authorship is attributed to Muhibbu'llah. For a detailed discussion on spurious *malfuzat*, see M. Habib, "Chisti mystic records of the Sultanate period", *Medieval India Quarterly*, 1, Aligarh, October 1950, no. 2, pp. 1-42.

Miftahu'l-Asrar: Key to the Divine Secret. Written by the famous Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Samau'd-Din (d. 901/1496), wielding considerable influence with Sultan Sikandar Lodi, the work was based on the writings of Shaikh 'Azizu'd-Din Nasafi (d. 661/1263). According to its author, followers of Ibn al-'Arabi's *Wahdat al-Wujud* rightly believed men to be the highest level of creation because of their spiritual potential which knows no bounds.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 212.

Miftahu'l-Faiz: Written by Shaikh Hasan Tahir (909/1503), a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah, it answers questions related to *suluk, tazkia-i qalb wa nafs, takhlia-i sir, tajjali-i ruh, manzil, maqsad, jazbah, wusul, Shari'ah, tariqa,* and *Haqiqa*. The manuscript is not extant but 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes it.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 344-7.

Mihr 'Ali Qadiri: Born in Madnapur in Bengal, he founded a *madrasa* and *khanqah* in his home town. More often than not he travelled around Burdwan, Murshidabad, Hugli, etc., in order to disseminate the teachings of the Qadiriyya order. He died in AD 1868.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d., p. 515.

Mihr wa Mah: Composed by the celebrated Indian poet and Sufi, Jamali, it is a *masnavi* containing a love story with a traditionally romantic Persian mystic theme. [See Hamid bin Fazlu'llah.]

mim: Letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value forty, symbol of Muhammad. A popular tradition makes God say: "*ana Ahmad bila mim*, I am Ahmad (honorific name of Muhammad) without an m" meaning thereby *'Ahad*, "One". In the Sufi literature allusions to this well-known tradition are actually made to emphasize the Creator's love for the most perfect of human beings, i.e. the Prophet. Hence, one who strictly adheres to the *Sunnah* of Muhammad endears oneself to God.

Minhaju'd-Din 'Usman bin Siraju'd-Din Muhammad Juzani: He wrote the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. Although essentially an *'alim* and *qazi*, he kept the company of Sufis and was fond of *qawwali*. It was because of him and Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri that *sama'* gained a good deal of popularity in the circles of the Sufis in Delhi during the early phase of the Delhi Sultanate and, in the words of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, became the fashion of the day. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya praises Minhaju'd-Din for his versatility. It is recorded in the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad* that once at the *sama'* assembly held in the residence of Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi, Minhaju'd-Din was so overcome that he tore his turban and upper garment to pieces. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya attended his sermons every Monday and he once lost control of himself on listening to the following quatrain recited by Minhaju'd-Din:

> To kiss the moon-like heart-ravishing beauties,
> And to sing the praises of their ruffled lock,
> May be good and delightful today,
> But tomorrow this will not be so.
> This is just to make oneself,
> Fodder for the Fire.

According to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, Minhaj's sermon and the recitation of the Qur'an by his *muqris* used to be so stimulating that all those who attended would spontaneously feel touched and exclaim,

> You opened your lips to speak;
> And people found themselves dumb.
> You walked gracefully on the way;
> And all eyes longingly glided into your steps.

Although Minhaj's work largely deals with political history, he does not fail to record the spiritual environment with which the early Delhi Sultanate was suffused. He attributes the succession of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish to the blessings of a *dervish*. It is, indeed, hard to contest the view of K.A. Nizami that Iltutmish was a Sufi.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, English tr. Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp. 351-2, 417, 426, 446.

Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Allahabad, 1966, pp. 24-40.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 151.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 843.

Minhaju'r-Rishiyya: This is a treatise in Arabic on the meanings of the word Rishi. See Dawud Mishkati.

Mir: A title of respect used for the descendants of celebrated Muslim saints. More generally used for Saiyids, or descendants of Fatimah, the prophet's daughter.

Mir Abu'l-'Ala Akbarabadi: He was a Husaini Saiyid whose ancestors descended from the family of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar from both the father's and mother's side. Born in India, he was brought up by Khwaja Faizi following his father's death. After the latter's death, Abu'l-'Ala joined the sevice of Raja Man Singh. However, in the wake of a spiritual experience, he tendered resignation which was not accepted by Man Singh.

Mir Abu'l-'Ala's spiritual yearnings first led him to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din and subsequently that of Saiyid Ja'far. Shah Waliu'llah describes him as an Uwaisi and a true follower of the *tariqa* of Muhammad. Occasionally he participated in *sama'*. Some of his companions were such revered figures as Mulla Muhammad Wali, Mulla Lutfu'llah, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, and Khalifa Abu'l-Qasim.

No information is available about the date of death of Abu'l-'Ala.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 68-74.

Mir 'Abdu'l-Gani: He was a descendant of Mir Andrabi and the disciple of Nunda Sahib Pampuri. The hallmarks of his personality were piety and strict adherence to the *Shari'ah*. He died on 5 Jamiu'du's-Sani 1262/2 June 1846.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 96.

Mir 'Abdu'l-Mumin: Son of Mir Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, he was an artisan by profession, and received initiation from his father. He subsequently perfected his knowledge of Sufism under the spiritual guidance of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. On 11 Rajab 1112/11 December 1700 he died and is entombed at the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 99.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 290.

Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahhab: This scholar was the son of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Mir Muhammad Hashim and a close relative of the Naqshbandiyya scholar and Sufi, Muhammad Murad Tang. His antecedents as a scholar and pious man with affiliation to the Naqshbandiyya order are well established. He died in 1153/1740 at the age of 80 and was buried near his father's tomb at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 446-7.

Mir 'Abdu'sh-Shahid: He was the son of Mir 'Abdu'l-Mumin and was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his father. On 9 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1139/24 October 1726 he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 3914.

Mir 'Adil: Baba Kamal describes him as a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Baba Shamsu'd-Din. He did not eat meat and lies buried at the village of Aanada in the Valley.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 254-5.

Mir 'Ali Sani: He was the second son of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mir 'Abdu'l-Mumin. He seems to have been initiated by his brother, Mir 'Abdu's-Shahid, whom he succeeded in the Qadiriyya order after his death. A Sufi of desirable quality, Mir 'Ali Sani died on 6 Rajab 1155/26 August 1742.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 325-6.

Mir 'Atau'llah: This son of Mir Muhammad Murad Qadiri was known for his piety and, after his death in 1153/1740-1, was buried at the cemetery of Qazi Musa Shahid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

Mir 'Azizu'llah: He belonged to the family of Andrabi Saiyids in Kashmir. In the prime of his youth, he went to Ludhiana and became a disciple of Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhiliwal. After being authorized by the *murshid* to enrol disciples, he came to Kashmir and took up residence at the village of Yarigam. He died in 1208/1793-4 and was buried in the village.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 99.

Mir Abdu'r-Rashid Baihaqi: He was a son of Saiyid Ahmad Baihaqi, son of Saiyid Muhammad. The latter, son of Saiyid Ibrahim Mubarak Khan Baihaqi, was a descendant of Saiyid Taju'd-Din Baihaqi. On his mother's side, Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid traced his ancestry from the Saiyids of Dwar.

'Abdu'r-Rashid excelled in exoteric and esoteric learning. Known for his gift of the gab and his gentleness, he was originally initiated as Suhrawardiyya by his father. In that capacity, he secluded himself in a cave at the foot of a hill situated in a place in Chrar-i Sharif for twelve years. After long years of meditation and experiences of conversing with the spirits of the venerable Sufis, he returned to Srinagar. Thereafter, he received guidance in the Qadiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders from Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang. His association with Shaikh Ahmad Sabur was also close.

Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid earned a good reputation not only for the patronage extended by him to the ulama, but, also, for his abstemiousness, simplicity, moderation, and fearlessness. His contemporaries held him in so much esteem that he was believed to be the *qutb* (q.v.) of his times. Such a perception of the Sufi was also based on his exemplary courage in disapproving the tyrannical acts of the Afghan governor, 'Abdu'llah Khan Ishaq Aqasi, who ruled Kashmir for a brief period in 1753. Although the governor in a meeting with the Sufi expressed regret for the oppressive behaviour of his officers and soldiers, he later continued to perpetrate wrongs on the citizens. This enraged Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid, who refused to grant him an interview when he visited for the second time. The subsequent removal of the tyrannical governor and his replacement by Sukh Jeevanmal (1753-62) was attributed by the people to the Sufi.

Although Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid was affiliated to several orders, he strove to popularize the Qadiriyya order in the Valley. Later in life, Shaikh Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi initiated him into the Kubrawiyya and the Suhrawardiyya orders.

Hasan rightly describes Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid's date of death as 5 Muharram 1180/13 June 1766. He lies buried at Khanyar, Srinagar, near his house.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 74-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 189.

Mir 'Abdu'llah Mantaqi: This son of Mir Asadu'llah Mantaqi and son-in-law and *khalifa* of Baba

Mahmud Qadiri belonged to the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir. He earned his living copying the Qur'an. Having spent his whole life in seclusion, he died on 4 Rabiu's-Sani 1215/25 August 1800 and was buried in the graveyard of Hafiz Mulla Basir at the *mohalla* of Khandabavan in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 89

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 206

Mir Abu'l Qasim: He was a Kashmiri Sufi. A grandson of Mir Ahmad Qadiri, he is described as a man of noble disposition. He died in 1137/1724-5.

Diddamari, *Waqi 'at* (US), p. 414.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 323-4.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 237.

Mir Abu'l-Fath: Little is known about him except that he was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi. His death took place in Poonch on 17 Rajab 941/22 January 1535.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 63.

Mir Abu'l-Fath Qadiri: This grandson of Mir 'Ali Muhammad Qadiri belonged to a rich trading family of Shadipura in Kashmir. Since Mir 'Ali had no male issue of his own, he adopted Mir Abu'l-Fath as his son. It was under Mir 'Ali Qadiri that Mir Abu'l-Fath received initiation in the Qadiriyya order and impressed his *murshid* to such an extent that he appointed him his deputy at the age of fifteen and left for Shahjahanabad. On his return home, Mir 'Ali appointed him as his successor in spite of opposition from some relatives. As a *khalifa* of Mir 'Ali, Mir Abu'l-Fath strove to popularize the Qadiriyya order and guided many seekers in the Path.

He died on 5 Sha'ban 1125/16 August 1713.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 276-7.

Mir Ahmad Andrabi: Son of Mir Jamalu'd-Din Anrabi and a disciple of Mir Bahau'd-Din Mantaqi, he also enjoyed the association of the well-known Kashmiri Sufi, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar and died in 1284/1867.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 94.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 230.

Mir Ahmad Qadiri: The second son of Mir Nazuk Qadiri, he was a learned Kashmiri Sufi who remained averse to popularity and pretentiousness. Although initiated by his father in the Qadiriyya order, he did not accept the idea of being a caretaker of his father's shrine after the latter's death. He died on 4 Rajjab 1041/16 January 1632.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 235.

Mir Ahsanu'llah: He was a grandson of Mir Muhammad Mumin and a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, 'Abdu'sh-Shahid. He died in 1200/1785-6 after leading a life of piety and nobleness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 375.

mi'raj: Ascension. The Prophet Muhammad's departure from the earth into heaven on a particular night is called *mi'raj*.

The summit between the "Nourisher of the Worlds" and the "Grace of the Worlds" took place in a few seconds in our reckoning of time. Without going into the controversy whether *mi'raj* was a bodily transportation or a movement of the spirit, the historical fact of spiritual import is the occurrence of the event itself. It was a unique kind of spiritual experience, not easily comprehensible to rationalists. Any explanation of spiritual experience demands an inculcated and invigorated feeling of faith in one's spiritual being. How can the one who has become disenchanted with religion feel empathically or understand thoughtfully the spiritual experience of the unique and the highest kind? Unless one disencumbers oneself of the burden of one's own misguided reason, one would continue to remain disgusted with religion. This is why *mi'raj* has been treated casually in the Orientalist literature, in striking contrast to the significance given to the migration (*hijra*) of the Prophet and his followers from Mecca to Medina. Since the migration of the victims of persecution connotes the struggle for survival and the gradual flowering of a religio-political community, it appeals to the Western reasoning mind. Notwithstanding the historic significance of *hijra* in the annals of Islam, the eternal importance of *mi'raj* in exalting the model of perfect human personality deserves explanation.

Mystics belonging to various religions have always had spiritual experiences. But, apart from mystics, ordinary men too have dream-like experiences which make them 'travel' into the past or future, into a timeless time. Such dreams have been empirically corroborated and defy explanation. The biographical accounts of the Sufis are replete with various kinds of experiences. However, the unravelling of certain spiritual experiences has led to a great deal of controversy, as for example, the discussion that raged round the mystic experience of unity of existence (*Wahdat al-Wujud*) and unity of vision (*Wahdat al-Shuhud*). While these experiences remain outside the pale of history, 'Allama Iqbal draws a neat distinction between the experience of the Prophet Muhammad and that of a Sufi:

> "Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. 'I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never have returned.' These are the words of a great Muslim saint, Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will be probably difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of unitary experience; and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The Prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of 'unitary experience' is something final; for the Prophet it is the awakening, within him, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the Prophet. Thus his return amounts to a kind of pragmatic test of the value of his religious experience. In its creative act the Prophet's will judges both itself and the world of concrete fact in which it endeavours to objectify itself. In penetrating the impervious material before him the Prophet discovers himself for himself, and unveils himself to the eye of history."

Notwithstanding the merit of Iqbal's rational analysis, the repository consciousness of being united in the *Tawhid-Shari'ah* and *haqiqa* relationship was at the root of Sufi endeavours to emulate the Prophet. Repose is the badge of a Sufi's identity as a protege of Allah in the Quranic sense; his never-quenched desire to mould his behaviour in accordance with the Prophetic model is born not out of torpor but from his inner awakening, itself not independent of societal concerns. Our study of several thousand Sufis in this volume shows that they do not deny the role of struggle in history. In fact, in their burning desire to imitate the Prophetic model, the Sufis transformed their religious experience into a potent historical force. Small wonder, then, that Sufism emerged as a spirituo-social force of unrivalled universal significance in the middle ages of Islamic history.

M. Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, reprint, Delhi, 1981, p. 124.

Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Experiencing Islam*, Delhi, 1997, pp. 46-9.

Miranji Shamsu'd-Din 'Ushshaq: His father was Hajji Sharif Dawamu'd-Din who belonged to the Chaghatai clan in Central Asia or Khurasan. His father seems to have married in Mecca after performing *hajj*. Miranji, born in Mecca, on attaining puberty travelled to Medina. He studied there for twelve years and meditated at the Prophet's tomb. He had a vision in which the Prophet advised him to go to India to benefit from the company of Shah Kamal in Bijapur. Eaton casts doubts on the authenticity of this dream; but his reasoning is hardly justifiable considering that such events are related to the soul rather than the material world and that dreams have always played an important part in the history and development of Sufism.

Miranji met Shah Kamal, the Chistiyya Sufi, in Bijapur. His family played an important part in popularizing the teachings of the order in Bijapur. Shah Miranji and his descendants inhabited a hill about a mile to the north-west of the outer wall of the Bijapur city. Popularly known as Shahpur Hillock, it was also called "City of Light", Munawwarupur, because of the concentration of the Chistiyya Sufis. Miranji died in AD 1499.

Miranji Shamsu'l-'Ushshaq, *Khud-niwisht wa Nasl-nama*, Persian MS, Hyderabad: no. 863.

Shajaratu'l-Atqiya, pp. 19f. (Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 76-7).

Mir Asadu'llah Mantaqi: A *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi, he was authorized to enrol disciples in the Qadiriyya order. Mir Asadu'llah was known in Kashmir for his spiritual knowledge of the *Shari'ah*, *Tariqa*, *Ma'rifah*, and *Haqiqa*. He died on 22 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1155/16 May 1742.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 79.

***Mir'at-i Mas'udi*:** Written by the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, this tract contained legends about Mas'ud Salar. Such stories sounded incredible to sober Sufis who rejected the cult that had grown around the name of Mas'ud Salar. Shaikhu'l-Hidaya of Khairabad, when asked about Salar Mas'ud, remarked: "He was an Afghan who met his death by martyrdom."

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, tr., p. 46.

***Mir'at-i Taiyiba*:** Written by Khwaja Muhammad Mu'inu'd-Din, son of Khwaja Khawand Naqshbandi, it is the latter's biography and also deals with his inability to extend his activity beyond Kashmir and Tibet. MS. Raza Library Rampur.

Mir'atu'l-'Arifin: Written by Mas'ud-Bak, a disciple of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Chisti, it deals with the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. It is divided into fourteen chapters called Kashfs or Revelations. Like many other works on the subject, it throws enough light on the *Shari'ah*, *Tariqa*, and *Haqiqa*. See Mas'ud-i Bak.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar: Completed in 1065/1654 by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin 'Abdu'r-Rasul bin Qasim bin Shah Budh 'Abbasi 'Alawi Chisti of Dhaniti, a village near Rudauli, it contains biographies of prominent Chistiyya Sufis from the early days of Islam to the death of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpur (d. 853/1449). Besides, it is a rich source of information about the author's ancestors, his own life and on many Sufis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

MS. Asiatic Society Libarary, Calcutta; Johan Rylands Library, Manchester, British Museum. Urdu tr. Maulana Captain Wahid Baksh Sayal, Lahore, n.d

Miratu'l-Khayal: Completed in 1102/1690-1 by Sher Khan bin 'Ali Amjad Khan Lodi, it is the biographical dictionary of poets of the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The work has been published in Calcutta, Bareilli and Bombay. The Bombay edition was published in 1324/1906.

Mir'atu'l-Makhluqat: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti (d. 1094/1683), it puts forth the view that gnostics existed before the advent of Muhammad and that they received divine revelations. Sufis, as he writes, "advised their desciples to select the virtues from all religious communities."

British Museum., Rieu, III, 1034a, f. 240b.

Mirsadu'l-'ibab: Completed in 620/1223 by Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Razi, it is a well-known work on Sufism. The famous Qadiriyya Sufi of Lahore, Miyan Mir, endorses the views of the author of this work that the purification of the heart and concentration in prayer were only possible through lawfully acquired food and righteous deeds. See Miyan Mir.

Mir Ayub Bukhari: He obtained guidance from Saiyid Sharif Kichkeni who imparted him lessons on religious and secular affairs in Bukhara. After coming to India, he became a disciple of Miyan 'Abdu'n-Nabi Siyam Churasi, one of the leading Sufis of India. Afterwards, during the reign of Farrukhsiyyar, Mir Ayub came to Kashmir in order to guide people into the Path. He died in 1130/1717-18 and lies buried at the *mohalla* of Gotapura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 378.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 71-2.

Mir Baba Haidar: Also known as Shaikh Haidar Lari, came to Kashmir from Gujarat and became a disciple and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. His hagiography titled the *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin* contains a biography of his *pir*. Baba Dawud Mishkati showers praise on Shaikh Haidar Lari for his high spiritual standing and integrity. He did not take *futuh* from any one; instead he himself worked to earn his living.

Mir Baba Haidar, better known as Haidar Tulmuli, died on 8 Muharram 999/27 October 1590 and is entombed in the village of Tulmulla situated in modern district of Ganderbal in the Valley.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 196.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 58.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 122.

Mir Baha'u'd-Din Mantaqi: A *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyya Sufi belonging to Kashmir, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar (d. 1232/1816-17), he enjoyed the distinction of initiating seekers into the Kubrawiyya order at the command of his intoxicated *murshid*. See Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 473-5.

Mir Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri: This son and *khalifa* of Mir Ziau'd-Din Qadiri excelled in *Tariqa* and *Ma'rifah* and was regarded as the ideal spiritual guide of his time. During the reign of the Mughal *subehdar* of Kashmir, Afrasiyab Khan (1746-51), he was expelled to Delhi along with Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din Naqshbandi for inciting the people to raise their voice against the scarcity of grains and rising prices. After the death of Afrasiyab Khan he set out for Kashmir from Delhi. But on his way to the Valley he died in Lahore and was buried near the mausoleum of Shaikh 'Ali Hujweri.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 437.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 340-1.

Mir Baha'u'din: He took lessons in *Tariqa* from his father, Mir Najmu'd-Din Mantaqi. Afterwards he was initiated by Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar. From his father, he obtained authorization to guide people in the Path. Although he took lessons in the Kubrawiyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Chistiyya orders from Mir Kamalu'd-Din, he spent the greater part of his life in the service of his *pir*, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar, who made him *khalifa* shortly before his death.

Mir Baha'u'd-Din distinguished himself as a man of piety and ascetic temparament. Although he maintained a large family, he was not disposed towards worldly riches. Once a non-Muslim presented him 1800 rupees, which he immediately distributed among the destitute without keeping anything for himself. Some instances of similar nature earned him a good name in contemporary society.

On 9 Rabi'ul-Awwal, 1243/30 September 1827, he died and lies entombed at the graveyard of Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 437.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 340-1.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 213.

Mir Baqir: He obtained exoteric and esoteric knowledge from his father, Mir Hamza Kreiri. Mir Baqir enjoyed the company of the two noted Kashmiri Sufis of the Kubrawiyya order, Mir Muhammad Khalifa and Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi. When the latter toured Pakhli, he took Mir Baqir along. His tomb is in Kreiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 60.

Mir Baqir Naqshbandi: He was a grandson of Saiyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi. As a Naqshbandiyya Sufi, he played an important part in guiding the seekers in the Path. Mehdi Rishi, a contemporary of Muhammad Murad Tang, was his *khalifa.*

Mir Baqir is entombed at the village of Newa in the *pargana* of Chrath in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 66-7.

Mir Buzurg Shah Zainakadli: He was a descendant of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari and the son of Mir Qadeer Shah Zainakadli. A disciple of Baba Abdu'llah Makhdumi, Mir Buzurg Shah was also a *hafiz*. He held an exalted position among the Qadiriyya Sufis of his time. His death took place at Leh in Ladakh on 4 Zilhaj 1298/28 October 1881.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 98.
Miskin, *Tarikh-iKabir*, p. 237.

Mir Dard, Khwaja: Born in 1133/1721 in Delhi, he was the son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib. Initiated into Sufism by his own father, Mir Dard became a Sufi in his own right. His poetry is replete with heavenly inspirations (*waridat*). The *'Ilmu'l-Kitab,* a commentary written by him on the verses thus received, contains 111 chapters. Each chapter begins with an invocation of his father, Nasir; for after Nasir Muhammad had disclosed in the end of his *Nala-i 'Andalib* the identity of the nightingale, i.e. himself, 'Andalib, with the Prophet. Dard took up this mystery of identification and built his theories around it. Thus he developed the traditional Sufi ideas of the threefold *fana*—annihilation in the *shaikh,* in the Prophet, and in God and the final stage, *baqa,* "remaining in God" by adding the "descending semi-circle", i.e. "remaining in the Prophet" and "remaining in the *shaikh*" which, according to him, is even loftier than the ascending semi-circle. In *baqa fi'l-shaikh,* observes Schimmel, "one is surrounded by the three levels of Divine light, and this is the terminating rank which God almighty has kept for the Pure Muhammadans, whereas all the others with all their power cannot be honoured by it."

As against the Naqshbandiyya tradition, Dard was fond of Sufi musical performances that were arranged at his home. Once in a while Shah 'Alam II Aftab visited such gathering. Some of his companions did not like this deviation from the Naqshbandiyya practice, but, as Dard argues, "since the musicians come without being invited, what can he do? Their coming must be God's will".

About Dard's Sufi poetry, Schimmel observes that it is "sweet and melancholy, and miniature-like in its preciseness and preciosity". Taking up the Prophetic tradition, "Men are asleep, and when they die they awake", he wrote his famous line:

> Woe! Ignorant man—at the time
> of death this truth will be proved:
> A dream was whatever we saw,
> whatever we hearad was a tale.
> "But he reached the point,

continues Schimmel,

> that he recognized the Unity behind the multiplicity of forms:
> Pain and happiness have the same shape in
> this world:
> You may call the rose an open heart, or a
> broken heart. . . .

Mir Dard lived in a catastrophic time for the Muslims of the subcontinent; the only answer to such a crisis was, according to him, in inviting people to the *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya.* His abstinence and patience during the time of hunger, war, and plunder was eulogized by his biographer.

Dard died at the age of 66 on 11 January 1785.

Maulana Abdul Hayy Nadwi, *Gul-i ra'ana,* Azamgarh 1364/1945, p. 111.

Dard, *'Ilmu'l-Kitab*, Delhi, 1310/1892-3, p. 504.

——*Urdu Diwan*, ed. Khalilu'r-Rahman Da'udi, Lahore, 1962.

——*Chahar Risala,* Bhopal, 1310/1892-3.

A. Schimmel, "A Sincere Muhammadan's way to salvation", in S.F.G. Brandon Memorial Volume, *Man and his Salvation*, Manchester, 1973; *Pain and Grace,* Leiden, 1976, part I for an examination of his poetry and thought.

—*Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 162.

Mir Dawud 'Allama Dawarki: He came to Kashmir from Herat. After obtaining exoteric and esoteric knowledge, he guided people in the Path. His descendants were noted for piety and self-denial. Such was Mir Dawud's exaltedness in respect of spiritual attainments that he was buried near the tomb of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin in the Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 51.

Mir Fazil: Having succeeded his father, Mir Baqir, as a Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mir Fazil's disciples included venerable persons. He is entombed at the village of Newa in the *pargana* of Chrath in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 67.

Mir Fazil Majzub: Kashmiri *'alim* but turned *majzub* for some time. He wandered in the wilderness until he again regained consciousness and conformed his behaviour to the *Shari'ah.*

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 215-16.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 455-6.

Mir Habibu'llah: He was the son of Khwaja Hasan Afaqi and a disciple of the distinguished Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Qasim Haqqani. He is reputed to have cured a leprosy patient with his saliva.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 264-5.

Mir Hamza Kreiri: A descendant of Saiyid Hajji Murad and a disciple of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. Mir Muhammad Khalifa was his *pir-i suhbat;* he also benefited from the company of Baba Wali.

Mir Hamza Kreiri was a scholar and a Kashmiri Sufi of enormous merit. After the death of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, he dedicated himself to the guidance of seekers in the Kubrawiyya order. He wrote a treatise on the life of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi and his *khulafa*, which is not extant. He died in 1026/1616-17 and is entombed in the village of Kreiri.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 209-10.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 60.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 58.

Mir Hasan Qadiri: A grandson of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mir Nazuk Qadiri (d. 9 Zu'l-Hijja 1022/10 January 1614) and the son of Mir Ahmad, he gained fame for the noble qualities of his soul and mind. He lies buried in his ancestral graveyard in Qazikadal Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 277.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 317.

Mir Hashim Munawwarabadi: The brother of Saiyid Husain Khwarazmi. He obtained his education from Maulana Haidar 'Allama. Known for his learning and piety, Mir Hashim died in 1097/1685-6 and lies entombed at Munawwarabad in Srinagar, near the mausoleum of his illustrious brother.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 298-9.

Mir Husain Qadiri: He was the son of Mir Baha'u'd-Din Mantaqi. Before his birth, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar is reputed to have told his father that Allah would endow him with such a son as would popularize the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir. The prediction came true. After being initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his father's *khalifa,* Mirza Ghulam Beg, Mir Husain left no stone unturned to disseminate the teachings of the order. He built a huge *khanqah* out of the gifts and donations received by him from his disciples. The practice of reciting *ya Shaikh 'Abdul-Qadir shaiann-Allah,* still in vogue in the Qadiriyya *khanqahs* and mosques of the Valley, was introduced by Mir Husain Qadiri.

Such was the devotion of Mir Husain to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani that on the eve of his *'urs* he would spend over a thousand rupees in order to feed the poor, and the *dervishes.* On such occasions he would also help many destitutes with ready money. Remarkably, Mir Husain had many mosques, *khanqahs* and the bridges in the Valley repaired out of his own resources. He is also credited with having got repaired the ceiling of the Jama' mosque in Srinagar. A canal that had run dry for forty years was restored to its lost glory, thanks to his efforts and munificence. The philanthrophic activities of Mir Husain cost him over a lakh of rupees; this, despite the fact that he himself lived in abject poverty.

Mir Husain Qadiri was given a warm send-off by a multitude of the people of Srinagar while leaving for *hajj* at an old age along with eleven disciples and companions. Even on his way to Mecca, Mir Husain gave away money in charity. After performing *hajj*, he died in the holy land on 22 Zilhaj 1300/24 October 1883 and was buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 96-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 240.

Mir Ibrahim Rishi Thedi: He was a son of Saiyid Ni'amatu'llah Hamadani's grandson, Saiyid Hajji Muhammad. Little is known about this Kashmiri Sufi except that his son-in-law who succeeded him took care of the land and *jagir*s of Baba Ghulam-u'd-Din Rishi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 422.

Mir Isma'il: A Sufi of excellent qualities, Mir Isma'il, brother of Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi, was greatly revered. He is buried at the foot of the hillock at Malapura village in Khuyahom *pargana*, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 47.

Mir Kamal al-din Andrabi: He was eleven when his father, Hajji 'Atiqu'llah Andrabi, died. His early teacher in *suluk* was Hajji Abdu's-Salam Vakil and, after the latter's death, he became a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri. He was initiated into the various orders of Kashmir, Qadiriyya, Kubrawiyya, and Chishtiyya. An ecstatic to the core, Kamalu'd-Din was very fond of *sama'* and even in his old age would hardly miss such a gathering. On 25 Ziqad 1238/4 August 1823, he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 90-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 215.

Mir Karamu'llah: the grandson and *khalifa* of Saiyid 'Inayat 'Ali. At the instance of an influential dignitary of the city of Kashmir, Khwaja Munawwar Shah, he shifted the holy relics of the Prophet Muhammad from his residence at Soura to a local mosque in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 93.

Mir Khudadad: Initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Maulana Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi, Mir Khudadad, the son of Mir Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Naushahri, earned high esteem for his austerities and meditations. His daughter was married to Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri. He died in 1109/1697 and is entombed at the *mohalla* of Naushahr in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 325.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 68-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 63.

Mir Lutfu'llah Dawarki: He was a grandson of Mir Dawu'd 'Allama Dawarki and a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid Suhrawardi. A *zahid*, *'abid* and *'arif* of the first order, Mir Lutfu'llah was initiated into the Kubrawiyya and the Qadiriyya orders by Shaikh A'zam Kubrawi and Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Katju respectively. Known for abstemiousness, he ate meat once a year in order to bring his conduct in congruence with the *Sunnah*. Once the Mughal deputy governor of Kashmir, Abu'l Barkat Khan, presented him a bag of a thousand rupees, but he refused it on the plea that he would accept only what he wished. To the Khan's query, Mir Lutfu'llah remarked that he wished his *jagir* to be resumed since it was of no use to him.

Mir Lutfu'llah died in 1178/1764 and is entombed at the *mohalla* of Qalashpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 80.

Mir Mahmud Pampuri: He belonged to the family of the Mirs of Pampur. As a seeker after the Truth, he first visited the *khanqah* of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani in Srinagar and later that of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It was at the latter's *khanqah* that the spirit of the most eminent Suhrawardiyya Sufi directed him in a vision to seek the guidance of Shah Abu'l-Fath Kaul (d. 1130/1717-18). He also obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Katli and had association with 'Abdu's-Sabur Kaul. He would become unconscious on reading Jami's *Nafhatu'l-Uns*. He lies buried at the cemetery of Saadat-i Parsiya near the entrance gate of the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 333-5.

Mir Maqsud Kreiri: Absorbed in prayer day and night, the Mir was known for his piety and his inner struggle against the *nafs*. Such was the quality of his faith in Allah's bounty, that once when the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Sardar 'Abdu'llah Khan, called on him, he continually repented. He lies buried in the village of Kreiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 80.

Mir Mubarak Baihaqi: A descendant of Mir 'Abdur-Rashid Baihaqi. After obtaining guidance from Mir Wilayat Shah, Mir Mubarak dedicated himself to the mission of guiding people in the valley of Kashmir. He died in 1281/1864-5 and is entombed in his ancestral graveyard.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 94-5.

Mir Muhammad 'Alam Qadiri: The son of Mir Abu'l-Qasim and a disciple of 'Allama Shahid. Nothing else is known about him except that he belonged to Kashmir and had a good knowledge of esoteric and exoteric sciences.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Mir Muhammad 'Ali Qadiri: The distinguished son and *khalifa* of Mir Nazuk Qadiri, he played a significant role for the popularization of the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir. In the distinctive environment of the Valley he also emphasized the importance of remembering Allah aloud in congregation in the famous shrine at Khanyar in Srinagar dedicated to Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani.

On his way to Delhi, he met with Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, the third son of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, which turned into a very close friendship between the two.

It is difficult to determine the date of death of Muhammad 'Ali considering discrepancies in the hagiographies: 11 Zilhijj 1070/10 August 1660 (Hasan), 1071/ (Tang) 19 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1072/ 3 November 1661 (Miskin) 1072/1661 (Diddamari).

Muhammad 'Ali Qadiri was buried near his father's tomb in Srinagar. On the fourth day following his death (*chaharum*), his devotees arranged a feast in which a multitude of people participated and four person are reported to have died in the stampede.

Among the prominent disciples of Mir Muhammad 'Ali Qadiri must be mentioned Shaikh Abu'l-Fath, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju, Khwaja Habibu'llah Latoo and Shaikh Qasim.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 96-9.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 272-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 235-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 201.

Mir Muhammad Afzal Andrabi: The son of Mir Muhammad Tahir and the grandson of Mir Mirak Andrabi, he took lessons in *Tariqat* from Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri and Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. After having drunk deep at their feet, Mir Afzal was initiated by his father and authorized to enrol disciples.

Mir Afzal earned his bread by making copies of the Qur'an, and otherwise led a life of relative withdrawal from the world. He died in 1123/1711 and is entombed at Malarata in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 190-1.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 362.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 72.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 65.

Mir Muhammad Baqir: The son and *khalifa* of Mir Hamza Kreiri. He was a Sufi of intrinsic worth. Initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by his father, he also received guidance from Mir Muhammad Khalifa and kept the company of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. He accompanied the latter to Pakhli and created a favourable impression on him. He lies buried at the village of Kreiri in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 209-10.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 60.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 58.

Mir Muhammad Hanif: His father was Shah Abul-Baqa. From Maulana Amanu'llah, he received instructions in religious knowledge and philosophy. Initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by his father, Muhammad Hanif was held in high esteem in the official circles of Kashmir because of his exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He died in 1161/1747-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 80.

Mir Muhammad Khalifa: Son of Yusuf Mir bin Ismail Mir, he acquired fame as a *khalifa* of the illustrious Kashmiri Kubrawi Sufi, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarafi, whom he accompanied to Mecca and, also, during his travels in India. He was a source of inspiration for many people during his stay at the Kubrawiyya *khanqah* at Drugjan in Srinagar and later at Malaratta in Srinagar. Later, at the insistence of the Sultan of Pakhli, he settled in Pakhli where the Sultan constructed a *khanqah* for him and which became an important centre for the dissemination of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in the region.

Mir Muhammad *Khalifa* died on 4 Muharram 1015/2 May 1606 and was buried in Pakhli. His shrine is an important place of pilgrimage.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, *Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan*, Persian Text with Urdu tr., Srinagar, 1997, pp. 307-10.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 264.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 86b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 192.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 197-8.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 170.

Mir Muhammad Khushal: He was a *khalifa* of Mulla Akhwund Taiyab. Diddamari describes him as a Saiyid of Ratnipura. He had association with Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Fatehkadli and Salih Khan Ju. He died in 1124/1712 and is entombed at Kawdaura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 317.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Mir Muhammad Ma'ruf: His father was Qazi Muhammad Muhsin Andarwari and he was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. He composed poetry in Persian and wrote a book on the Sufis which, according to Diddamari, gives detailed information about Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 421.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 427.

Mir Muhammad Mantaqi Sani: A descendant of Saiyid Husain Mantaqi of Avantipura. A contemporary of the Kashmiri sultan, Hasan Shah, he held various villages as *jagir*s in the *pargana* of Bangil. He enjoyed exalted spiritual status as a Kubrawiyya Sufi. He lies buried at Tashwan in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 53.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 72.

Mir Muhammad Murad: He, brother of Mir Mumin and the son of Mir Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his father and gained eminence as one of the recognized Sufis of his time for his asceticism and faithfulness. On 12 Safar 1121/22 April 1709 he died and was buried at Malkha in Srinagar near the tomb of Qazi Musa Shahid.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 290.

Mir Muhammad Qaim Qadiri: He was the son of Mir Ahmad Qadiri's son, Mir Abu'l-Qasim. After obtaining education from Maulavi Amanu'llah Shahid, he obtained spiritual guidance in the Qadiriyya order from his father. Known for his piety and kindness, Mir Muhammad Qaim guided many people in the Path. He lies buried in his ancestral cemetery in Qazikadal, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 341.

Mir Muhammad Sadiq: Little is known about him except that he was a *murid* of 'Abdu'l-Latif Qadiri (d. 1671-2). He authored a poem in Dakhni called *Shamsu'l-Haqa'iq* in which he scorned the life of *majzubs*. His criticism was particularly directed against his contemporary, Aminu'd-Din A'la. According to him, *majzubs* were diamonds who were unable to give or reflect light, keeping it within themselves.

Mir Muhammad Sadiq, *Shamsu'l-Haqa'iq*, Dakhni MS, Hyderabad, Urdu MS, Tasawwuf & Akhlaq no. 136, fols. 11a-b.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 253-4.

Mir Muhammad Sultan Qazi 'Idgahi: He was the son of Qazi Muqim, a disciple of Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Naqshbandi and a contemporary of the well-known Kashmiri chronicler and hagiographer, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari. He was a compendium of *'aqli* and *naqli 'ulum* and during his visit to India met with many Sufis. He breathed his last at Shahjahanabad and lies buried there.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 443.

Mir Muhammad Yusuf: A nephew of Mir Hamza Kreiri, he was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Mir Muhammad Khalifa. His meeting with Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi in Akbarabad on the latter's return from *hajj* at the command of Mir Muhmmad Khalifa proved to be of immense spiritual benefit to him. He resorted to forty days' retreat under the guidance of Shaikh Yaq'ub Sarfi in Akbarabad. The latter then testified to Mir Muhammad's spiritual elevation in a letter to his *khalifa*, Mir Muhammad Khalifa.

Mir Muhammad Yusuf lies buried in his ancestral graveyard in the village of Kreiri in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 60-1.

Mir Muhammad Yusuf Kanth: This disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang dedicated himself to Sufism at a very young age and accompanied his *murshid* to India nine times. A Naqshbandiyya Sufi of immense experience, Muhammad Yusuf died on 27 Rajab 1155/17 Semptember 1742 at the age of ninety and was buried at the cemetery of Maulana Yusuf Turki in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 445-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 244.

Mir Muhammad Yusuf Qadiri: This son and *khalifa* of Mir Nazuk Qadiri excelled in exoteric and esoteric knowledge. After his death in 1027/1617-18 of a plague in Srinagar, Mir Muhammad Yusuf was buried near his father's tomb at Qazikadal in the city of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 207.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 234-5.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 182.

Mir Muhiu'd-Din Qadiri: This son and *khalifa* of Mir Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri benefited immensely from the spiritual guidance of Mulla Muhammad Muqim at a very young age. Until his death in 1206/1791-2 at the age of 66, he is said to have worked unwaveringly for the dissemination of the teachings of the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir for nearly half a century. About 10,000 people are said to have participated in his funeral prayers.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 370.

Mir Najmu'd-Din Mantaqi: He was the son and *khalifa* of Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Mantaqi. From his maternal grandfather, Baba Mahmud, and, also, Baba Ziau'd-Din, he received instructions in the Path. Being disposed towards the Qalandariyya traditions, Najmu'd-Din renounced the pleasures of the world. Once Khwaja A'zam Diddamari presented him several *kharwars* of *shali* which he immediately disposed of among the needy and the poor while keeping a small quantity for his subsistence.

Mir Najmu'd-Din went to Mecca in 1195/1780-1 and died in Baghdad after performing *hajj*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 90.

Mir Nazuk Qadiri: His ancestry goes to Qazi Mir 'Ali. As a baby, Mir Nazuk was taken by his father to Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, who blessed him. Later, he was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by the latter's illustrious disciple, Baba Dawud Khaki. When Mir Saiyid Isma'il Shami, a prominent Qadiriyya Sufi, visited Kashmir in 992/1584, both he and Baba Dawud Khaki became close friends. Finding Mir Nazuk as a promising *salik*, Mir Saiyid Isma'il Shami proposed to Baba Dawud Khaki to hand over his disciple to him to which he agreed. After receiving spiritual training in the teachings of the Qadiriyya order from Mir Isma'il Shami, Mir Nazuk lived in relative seclusion. He would not come out of his cell except for offering the prescribed prayers in congregation.

Mir Nazuk's *khanqah* at Khanyar (presently the site of the famous Qadiriyya Dastgir Saheb, in Srinagar) attracted both the rich and the poor in his lifetime. Whatever was offered to him in cash or kind as *nazr* and *niyaz* was distributed as charity among the poor. Occasionally he refused to accept offerings from visitors, in order to bring home to them the importance of earning their livelihood through *halal* means. Such was his piety that he did not taste the succulent fruit of his gardens fearing that his servants might be niggardly about paying *kharaj* and *'ushr* to the government.

As the *khalifa* of Mir Isma'il Shami in Kashmir, the contribution of Mir Nazuk to the popularization of the Qadiriyya order was abiding. Known for practising Sufism in the sober *Shari'ah*-oriented tradition, he opposed all that was likely to encourage *sukr* (q.v.). He did not approve of the *sama'* and even refused to grant an interview to a Sufi who had a passion for *sama'*.

Mir Nazuk Qadiri died on 9 Zu'l-Hijja 1022/ 10 January 1614. He is buried in Qazikadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 203-4.

Muhammad Husain Qadiriya, *Futuhat-i Qadiri*, RPD No. 30, ff. 206b-207a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 207-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 179-80.

Mir Nizamu'd-Din: A pupil of Mulla Nuru'l-Huda and *khalifa* of Shah Abu'l-Baqa, he was a custodian of the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar and was buried there in 1198/1783-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Mir Nizamu'd-Din Baihaqi: Described as a Sufi of piety and conviction and an adherent of the *Shari'ah*, Nizamu'd-Din spent his life in seclusion and meditation. He was the son and *khalifa* of Mir 'Abdu'llah Baihaqi. He was also a poet of great merit. His treatise called *'Aql-o 'Ishq* deals with *tasawwuf*.

He died in 1281/1864-5 and lies buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 95.

Mir Nizamu'd-Din Munawwarabadi: His father was Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Munawwarabadi. Born in 1059/1649, little is known about him except that he was a Sufi who made his mark for his meditative exercises. He died at the age of 75 in 1134/ 1721-2 and was buried in the cemetery of his ancestor Saiyid Husain Khwarazimi Munawwarabadi in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 423.

Mir Nizamu'd-Din Qadiri: It was during the days of his youth that he received initiation into the Qadiriyya order from Shah 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri. Later, he showed considerable spiritual progress under the guidance of Mir Muhammad 'Alam Qadiri and Mulla Nuru'llah Kanth. He achieved wonderful skills in *khuskhati*, *khushnavisi*, *insha* and *imla*. After the death of his father, Mir Mu'hiu'd-

Din, he spared no effort popularizing the teachings of the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir as his worthy successor. Remarkably, he accomplished the spiritual mission within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*. He died in 1215/1800-1 and lies buried at his ancestral graveyard in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 370.

Mir Qasim Ahmadakadli: A disciple of Salih Khan. He died at the age of 100 and was buried at Ahmadakadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 444.

Mir Sa'du'llah Shahabadi: His father came to Kashmir from Kabul and married a girl of the village situated in the *pargana* of Khuyahom. He had penchant for knowledge and became a disciple of Baqa Baba-i Shahabadi. Besides writing the history of Kashmir under the title of *Bagh-i Sulaiman* in verse, Mir Sa'du'llah authored *Maghazu'n-Nabi*, a commentary on the Qur'an and a treatise on *tasawwuf* called *Gul-o Bulbul*. He also composed several, *n'at*, *qasidas* and *ghazals*.

He was buried in the village of Mandha.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 93.

Miskin, *Tarikh-iKabir*, p. 226.

Mir Sa'id Andrabi: After obtaining early education from his father, Mir Jamalu'd-Din Andrabi, Mir Sa'id learnt at the feet of Shaikh Akbar 'Ali Tarabali. He obtained a *sanad* and *i'jaza* in *Hadis* from Maulavi Muhammad Ishaq Dihlawi in Jahanabad. Under the guidance of Mufti Sadru'd-Din, he studied logic and philosophy. He also studied with Mamluk 'Ali and was initiated into Naqshbandiyya order by Maulavi Muhammad Sharif. After spending 6 years in Hindustan he returned to Kashmir with the aim of imparting esoteric and exoteric knowledge to his people. His students distinguished themselves as excellent teachers.

Mir Sa'id wrote commentaries on the Qur'an in Arabic and Persian with a fire in his heart.

He died on 11 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1282/5 August 1865.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 229.

Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Kanasturi: His grandfather Mir Sharafu'd-Din Nishapuri came to India from Khurasan along with his brother Saiyid Muhammad at the time of Halagu Khan's invasion. While Mir Saiyid Muhammad went to Bengal and settled in Sylhet, Mir Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din took up his abode at Kanastur. The latter's son, Mir Saiyid Azazu'd-Din, gave birth to Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti describes Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din either as a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh or a Suhrawardiyya who enjoyed the company of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 921-3.

Mir Saiyid 'Ali Khan: He was the son of Saifu'd-Din Khan, a noted Shia dignitary in the time of Chak rule in Kashmir. Under the influence of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, Mir Saiyid resorted to seclusion in a cave for twelve years, and devoted himself to the remembrance of God. Saifu'd-Din Khan decided his best to wean his son from the influence of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi. But such was the spiritual exaltedness attained by Mir Saiyid that he succeeded in winning the confidence of his father by initiating him into the Suhrawardiyya order. Mir 'Ali Khan died in 1083/1672 and was buried in Cheevdara near his father's tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 69.

Mir Saiyid Amir Mah: His father, Mir Saiyid Nizamu'd-Din, who came to India from Baghdad in the wake of Halagu's invasion in 1258, settled at Bahraich. He became a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Jawari, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi, and received the robe of *khilafat* from him. Shaikh Jamal, the grandson of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Abu'l-Mu'yid, is reported to have been his disciple. Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din was himself a contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and is said to have been laid to rest in Jawar, near Delhi, after breathing his last at a very old age.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti refers to Saiyid Amir Mah's treatise called *Risalatu'l-Matlub fi 'Ishqu'l-Mahjub* in which he describes his infatuation with the theme of divine love in the context of historical experiences of prophets such as Adam, Noha, Abraham, Moses, Muhammad, and Sufis such as Husain bin Mansur Hallaj and 'Ainu'l-Quzzat Hamadani.

The tomb of Saiyid Amir Mah in Bahraich was a place of veneration in the seventeenth century.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 923-4.

Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani: Born in 707/1307-8, he left Simnan at the age of about twenty-three. Although a friend of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani, he did not subscribe to his theory of *Wahdat al-Shuhud*. He went to Kashan to study under Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kamalu'd-Din after being inspired by the latter's correspondence with Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla on Ibn al-'Arabi's *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Under 'Abdu'r-Razzaq's influence, Ashraf Simani became an admirer of the work of Ibn 'Arabi. He studied the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashani's *Istilahat al-Sufiyya* (Dictionary of Sufi Terms).

After the death of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashani in 730/1329, Saiyid Ashraf left Kashan. During his travels Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani became his companion. Both the Sufis visited the important Sufi centres in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey and performed a pilgrimage. He reached Mashhad while travelling through Khurasan, and subsequently left for Transoxiana where he benefitted from the company of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband. Thereafter he came to Multan and Uch. After spending some time with Makhdum Jahaniyan, Simnani halted in Delhi to discourse with Saiyid Gisu Daraz who had been influenced by the ideas of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla. Leaving Delhi without convincing Gisu Daraz, Simnani reached Munyar on 2 January 1381. His arrival in Munyar coincided with the death of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Munyari. The very fact that Simnani led the *nimaz-i janaza* of the great Sufi shows that he was already known in the Sufi circles of Bihar. After leaving Munyar he reached Pandua, where Shaikh Ala'u'l-Haqq initiated him as a Chistiyya. From Pandua Simnani went to Sunargaon where he met the descendants of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Tawwama. His lectures on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* left a deep impression on the Sufis of Bengal.

From Sunargaon, Simnani reached Jaunpur during the early phase of Ibrahim Shah Shariqi's reign. However, he could not propagate his ideas on account of the dominant influence of Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabdi on the Sultan. He therefore moved to Kichaucha, in the modern Faizabad district of UP. From the *Lataif-i Ashrafi*, it seems that Simnani travelled again around the entire world with Shah Madar; but as Rizvi rightly observes: "this of course, would imply a miraculous journey while in the state of *Tair*, a common occurrence attributed to many Sufis of that century."

Simnani was initiated into fourteen Sufi orders. Like his contemporary and one-time travel companion, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, Simnani's mission seems to have been to introduce Islam as a religion of love among his followers. Simnani wrote several works including the *Basharatu'l-Ikhwan*, the *Fawa'idu'l-Ashraf*, the *Basharatu'z-Zakirin*, and the *Tanbihu'l-Ikhwan* in order to impress upon Indian Sufis the importance of understanding the esoteric meaning of the technical terms of Sufism. His *Miratu'l-Haqai'q* and the *Kanzu'd-Daqai'q* were addressed to specialists. All these, together with his letters the *Maktubat-i Ashrafi*, promote a deeper understanding of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. His view was that Being (*Wujud*) and Appearance (*Shuhud*) were identical to the extent of existence of everything through His Essence (*Haqq*). *Wahdat al-Wujud* or the Unity of Being did not signify the unity of Being with the world in a pantheistic sense but a realization by the servant (*'abd*) that the Divine Essence was manifest in creation. Simnani interprets the death of self mainly in terms of a spiritual ascent in the direction of the Divine and forcefully argued that its prerequisite was total severance from attachment to mundane existence. Far from talking in terms of transmigration, which in his view was a definitely different proposition, Simnani describes the union mainly in terms of the return of the soul to the Creator; and this idea was not in conflict with the Qur'an. He quotes Rumi on the Persian term *Hama Ust* (All is He):

> I died as mineral and became a plant,
> I died as plant and rose to animal,
> I died as animal and I was a Man,
> Why should I fear? When was I less by dying?
> Yet once more I shall die as Man, to soar
> With angels blest; but even from angelhood
> When I have sacrificed my angel-soul,
> I shall become what to mind e'er conceived,
> Oh, let me not exist! for non-existence,
> Proclaims in organ tones: 'To Him we shall return.

Some of the letters of Simnani were addressed to the sultans and the ulama. Emphasizing the importance of consultation with the heads of different power groups as essential for good governance, Simnani urged the rulers to promote the welfare of their subjects. True, like Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, his emphasis was on the enforcement of the *Shari'ah*; but, again, the spirit underlying it was to ensure that justice was done to peasants and commoners.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti refers to Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir's encounters with Hindu scholars at Banaras, though his account of the conversion of one lakh as a result of his miraculous exploits seems to be an overstatement. He also writes about his relations with the *qalandars*.

Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir died in 808/1405-6. His tomb in Jaunpur is a place of great veneration. 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti's account of his personal spiritual experiences at the tomb of Ashraf Jahangir is interesting.

This author visited Kichaucha Sharif in the company of Saiyid Muhammad Jilani Ashraf on 8 December 2007. The latter is a descendant of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir and is strikingly striving to turn Kichaucha into a great centre of Sufi learning.

Maktubat-i Ashrafi, British Museum, Or 267, ff. 54b, 44a; History Department, AMU, MS., ff. 92b-105b; 176a; 182b.

Lata'if-Ashrafi, Urdu tr. Maulana 'Abdu'l-Haqq, vols. 1-7, Tanda.

Jami, *Kitab Nafahat al-Uns*, pp. 482-91.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 294-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 131-2.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1044-60.

R.A. Nicholson, *Rumi, Poet and Mystic*, London, 1964, p. 103.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 266-70.

Mir Saiyid Ibrahim: The son of M'u'in 'Abdu'l-Qadir al-Hasani al-Iraji, he came to Delhi in 920/1514-15 during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Although he excelled in philosophy and religious sciences, his contemporaries did not realize his worth. A bibliophile, Mir Saiyid lived in relative seclusion. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Hasan and other Sufis learnt Sufism from him and became his disciples. Himself a disciple of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri Shattari, he seems to have greatly imbibed the influence of the Qadiriyya order. The *Risala-i Shattariya* is said to have written especially for Mir Saiyid Ibrahim by Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Shattari.

He died in 953/1546 during the reign of Islam Shah Sur. He is entombed in the graveyard inside the *khanqah* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 425-6.

Mir Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din: This son of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, he was known for his sincere devotion to Sufism and generous disposition, notwithstanding his high status among the nobles of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. He died in 728/1327-8 and lies entombed in the compound of the shrine of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 812-13.

Mir Saiyid Khwurd, Shaikh: He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Mir Saiyid Mirak Andrabi: He was a grandson of Mir Afzal Mantaqi and the son of Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Andrabi. After being initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shah Ni'mat'ullah Hisari Qadiri, Mirak Andrabi made his mark as a Sufi of great merit. He died on 5 Safar 990/1 March 1582 and was buried at Malarata in Srinagar.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 190a.

Fatuhat-i Qadiriyya, f. 205b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 170.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 62-3.

Mir Saiyid Muhammad: Little is known about him except that his father, Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din, came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Diddamari lists him among the Sufis of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 75.

Mir Saiyid Muhaqqiq: This descendant of Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Kanturi was endowed with knowledge of esoteric and exoteric sciences. He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti describes his contemporary Shattariyya Sufi in glowing terms. He died in 1033/1622-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1226.

Mir Saiyid Musafir: He was the son and *khalifa* of the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mir Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani. Baba Mas'ud Narwari, a disciple of his father, obtained permission to enrol disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order from him. He is buried near his father's cemetery.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 179-80.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Mir Saiyid Nuru'd-Din: This son of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani is said to have undertaken the pilgrimage of the tombs of the Chistiyya Sufis in Khurasan several times, with the solemnity of a seeker after the Truth. Although Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din of Chist granted him *khilafatnama*, on his return home, he spent the remainder of his life in the service of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He died in 749/1348-9.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 813.

Mir Saiyid Nuru'd-Din: He was a nephew of Mir Saiyid Husain Samani and lies buried near a mosque at Zainakadal in Srinagar called Rang Masjid.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 76.

Mir Saiyid Qutb Majzub: He was an intoxicated soul who lived in Rudauli and was a contemporary of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1151.

Mir Sanau'llah: He was a descendant of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mir Hamza Kreiri. From Mulla Aswad and Mulla Maqsud, he received instruction in religious knowledge, philosophy, and logic. After becoming a *murid* of Sarwar Khan Kabuli, he gained spiritual knowledge and established his reputation as a man of piety, learning and understanding.

Mir Sanau'llah: Composed poetry in Persian and Kashmiri. His *n'ats* and *manqabats* became very popular among the people. One of his *n'ats* continues to be recited loudly by the Muslims of Kashmir in the early hours of morning before prayers in many mosques of the Valley. He died at the age of 84 on 4 Jamiu'd-Awwal 1293/28 May 1876.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 97.

Mir Shah Baba: The grandson of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mir Mirak Andrabi (d. 990/1582). Having earned good name as a scholar, teacher and calligrapher, Mir Shah Baba died at the prime of his youth.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 265.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 63.

Mir Shamsu'd-Din Andrabi: The son of Saiyid Ibrahim, he came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. Having settled at the *mohalla* of Malarata in Srinagar, Mir Shamsu'd-Din won the favour of the Sultan by dint of learning and righteousness. The Sultan built a *khanqah* for him and granted many villages for the maintenance of the *langar* attached to it. He was buried near the Mullah Shah Masjid inside the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 61.

Mir Shamsu'd-Din: He was a *khalifa* of the well-known Kashmiri Kubrawiyya Sufi, Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 271-2.

Mir Sharafu'd-Din Qadiri: Son of Mir Abu'l-Fath Qadiri, he belonged to the Qadiriyya order and is said to have popularized the loud recitation of *zikr* in Kashmir. On 15 Shawwal 1135/9 July 1723 he died and lies entombed in the mausoleum of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 402.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 314.

Mir Ya'qub: He was a cousin of Mir Nazuk Qadiri and a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki. After his initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order, he spent his whole life in devotion to God and *kitabat* in spite of the amputation of his right leg and left hand as a result of persecution by Shias during Chak rule in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 218-19.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 216.

Mir Yasin Shah Qadiri: He was the son of Saiyid Buzurg Shah's daughter. He inherited a good fortune in terms of money and *jagir* after Saiyid Hasan Qadiri's death. But such was his humility, trust in Allah, and the inner warmth of his soul, that he distributed all that was in his possession among the poor and the needy. Whatever was presented to him as *nazr* in cash or kind was immediately given away in charity so much so that nothing was saved. Pir Hasan Shah, a contemporary historian of Mir Yasin Shah Qadiri, describes his personality as a gift of Allah.

He died on 13 Jamidu'l-Awwal 1305/27 January 1887 and lies buried at Khanyar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 98-9.

Mir Zia'u'd-Din Qadiri: He was a pious disciple of Shah 'Inayatu'llah who lived in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 388.

Mir Zia'u'd-Din Qadiri: The son and *khalifa* of Mir Abu'l-Fath Qadiri and described as an ocean of knowledge and a source of beneficence and blessings, he also elicited admiration for his neat calligraphic skills. Mir Zia'u'd-Din spent most of his time in *zikr* and *muraqaba* at his father's *khanqah*, along with his disciples.

Mir Zia'u'd-Din died in 1141/1728-9 and is entombed in the cemetery of his ancestor (Mir Nazuk) in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 414.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 320.

Mir Ziau'd-Din Na'im: Little is known about him save that he was a scholar and Sufi of considerable merit who lived in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 228.

Mir'atu't-Taibain: Its author Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani opines that the one (*salik*) who desires communion with Allah should sacrifice his *nafs* in His way.

Quoted by Khaki, *Rishinama* (PGMK), f. 69a.

Mira Bibi: This lady was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. She was a gnostic of the highest degree, worshipped in seclusion and earned her living by spinning yarn. A story that the wild animals of the forest kept her company at the night testifies to her spiritual calibre. She lies buried in the village of Gamaru in the *pargana* of Khuyahom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 191.

miracles: Nowhere is it said in the Qur'an that Islam owed its success to the miracles wrought by the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet never claimed the power of working miracles, nor did he intentionally work wonders to prove his prophethood. However, what has led a vast majority of the Muslim population to attribute miracles to the Prophet is his supernal personality, about which the Qur'an hints in more than one place. Thus the cleaving of the moon, the divine aid given to the Muslims in the battle of Badr, Muhammad's ascension to heaven (*mi'raj*), and, above all, the revelation of the divine message (Qur'an) to the unlettered (*ummi*) Prophet are quoted as examples of powers far beyond the reach of human excellence. Besides, several traditions refer to miracles worked by the Prophet in the company of his people.

In order to distinguish the miracles of Muhammad and those of the prophets before him, Muslim theology categorized the miracles worked by prophets as *mu'jizat*, while those of the sufis were called *karamat*. The deeply pious al-Ghazzali, who represents the climax of Ash'arite theology, defended the ability of the proteges of Allah (Sufis) to work miracles. He elaborated the views of his teacher Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni on this subject. Subsequently, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi "developed a whole arsenal of arguments" based on some Qur'anic verses, "in which he found support for belief in the miraculous powers of saints". Even the celebrated historian Ibn Khaldun did not lag behind theologians in devising arguments to persuade readers of the Reality of *karamat*.

Literally, *karamat* means "beneficence", but as a term it refers to the "wonders wrought by saints for the good of the people as well as in proof of their own saintship". In order to explain the inner meaning of the term, it needs to be emphasized that *karamat* is not wholly a supernatural feat performed by the saint, but springs from human action through divine grace. Miracles attributed to saints need not be understood as supernatural phenomena, but ought to be studied within their temporal and situational framework. They then appear as a phenomenon in religious and social history, in view of their influence on the life of the Muslim. In two senses miracles come within the realm of historical literature: first, because they occur within the bounds of history, and second, because they arise directly or indirectly out of history. In other words, miracles arise out of human experience, and indeed, the mind cannot soar into the realm of fantasy unless it has at its source some human experience. It is in this respect that a serious student of Sufism may make historical sense of the miracles that abound in the hagiographical accounts.

Yet it is not always sufficient to interpret hagiographic literature by historical analysis. One recurring theme in this type of literature is that of the spirituality of the Sufi. Miracles, dreams, and various religious experiences of the Sufi are recorded by eyewitnesses. There seems to be a great deal of exaggeration in the narration of such experiences, but historians need, as a part of their investigations, to give thoughtful consideration to "appearances", some of which are worthy of examination in view of their normative power. Such "appearances", as Henry Corbin remarks, are the "phenomenological truth". The "truth" revealed to a Sufi in a dream, vision, or *muraqaba*, thus imposes an extra task on the historian to study the existential experience of the Sufi. This existential experience of the Sufi is significant because of its power and influence on the collective consciousness of the people of the period we call medieval.

The great Arab historian remarks: "Among the Sufis some who are favoured by the acts of divine grace are also able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions. This, however, is not counted as a kind of sorcery. It is effected with divine support, because the attitude and approach (of these men) result from prophesy and are a consequence of it."

Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddama*, tr. Rosenthal, II, p. 167; Urdu tr. Maulana Ragib Rahman Dihlawi, I, Delhi, 1987, pp. 292, 294, 318-19.

Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 350.

Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, English tr. R. Manheim, Princeton, 1969.

Mishkat, XXI, chapter IV.

'Ali Hujwiri,'*Kashaf al-Mahjub*, tr. Nicholson, pp. 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 100, 116, 129, 138, 145, 218, 321, 358, 359, etc.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 205-16.

Miran Rishi: He was a Rishi of the pre-Muslim era in the valley of Kashmir. Significantly, the greatest Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, preserved the folk memory about Miran Rishi in his mystical poetry thus:

Miran Rishi of Reshivan, Who lived for a thousand lunar months,
In a state of union with God did he leave for his heavenly abode.
May God grant me the same spiritual power.

Nuru'd-Din's reference to Miran and other Hindu Rishis of local fame does not necessarily testify to their historical existence; rather, all such references indicate a generally understood spiritual and social environment for the expression of a longing to rise to the heights of spiritual glory by means of fervent prayer.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

Miri Rishi Baba Shamsu'd-Din: Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi initiated him as Rishi. He is entombed in Tarigam near the shrine of his *pir* in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 109.

Mirsadu'l-'Ibad min'al-mubda'ilal-ma'ad: This was written by Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Razi *alias* Bidaya (d. 654/1256). It is an important work on *tasawwuf* and *'irfan*. Khwaja A'zam Diddamari refers to its manuscript discovered by him in Kashmir which was transcribed in *nastaliq* script by Mulla Habib Gana'i. The latter was a Kashmiri *'alim* who gained access to Emperor Jahangir because of his subtle arguments on Shia-Sunni polemic.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 216.

Mirza Akmalu'd-Din *alias* Mirza Kamil: He was a descendant of Sultan Khwaja Ahmad Yassawi. His great grandfather, Malik Muhammad Khan, had settled in Badakshan after coming from Tashkent and this is why he was called Badakshi. During the reign of Akbar he came to India and joined the Mughal administration. He acted as the governor of Kashmir for some time and earned the title of Muhammad Quli Khan at the hands of the emperor. His son, Mirza 'Adil Khan, settled permanently in Kashmir. Mirza Kamil Khan was the latter's son.

Having lost his father at a young age, Mirza Kamil became a favourite of Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri. The Mirza began receiving spiritual guidance from Khwaja Habibu'llah at the age of twelve. Although for some time he served the imperial government, he later resigned and devoted himself to meditation in solitude. At the age of twenty-five the *murshid* bestowed on him the *khilat* of *khilafat*. Authorized to enrol disciples, Mirza Kamal distinguished himself as a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order *par excellence*. His disciples were many and what inspired them was not merely his exalted spiritual status but, also, his poetry that was impregnated with *ma'rifah*.

Among the Mirza's works must be particularly mentioned *Bahru'l-'irfan* (q.v.), written under the spiritual inspiration of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din 'Attar. He wrote several tracts on *tasawwuf*. In his *Mukhbiru'l-Asrar*, he considers his heart to be his real teacher in *tasawwuf*.

Like most Kubrawiyya Sufis of Kashmir, Mirza Kamil had a passion for *sama'*.

He died on 29 Zilhaj 1131/3 Novembeer 1719. His shrine at Hawal in Srinagar has been a place of pilgrimage.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 301-7.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 189.

Diddamari,'*Waqi'at* (US), pp. 378-81.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 301-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 232-5.

Sarwari, *Kashmir mae Farsi Adab ki Tarikh*, p. 174.

Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir.*

Mirza Beg Mansabdar: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Mirza Farhad Beg: Initially a pupil of Maulavi 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Fanbu, after gaining knowledge of exoteric sciences, he sought the spiritual guidance of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Badakshi. Being initiated into the Kubrawiyya order, he devoted himself to the purification of his inner self by way of absorbing himself in *zikr*. He could not obtain *irshad* from his *pir* owing to his rhapsodies. As Mirza Akmalu'd-Din writes in *Bahru'l-'irfan*: "(He) is Sufi, but is free from all, but has not the status of *irshad* (*hast Sufi az hama azad, lakinash neest rutba-irshad*)".

Once, in a state of distress, he had the glimpse of the holy relic at the shrine of Hazratbal, and then a vision of the Prophet Muhammad.

His poetical compositions in the form of *ghazals* and *qasidas* have elicited praise.

In 1156/1743 Mirza Farhad Baig died and was buried at Bachhabaran Darwaza.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 342.

Mirza Ghulam Baig: He held a high office in the government. His father bequeathed him a huge fortune including 40,000 rupees. However, after becoming the disciple of Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar, he distributed his wealth in charity. He divorced his wife and, after doling out his property, secluded himself in the house of Muhammad Munawwar Diwani at Narparistan in Srinagar. He lived there for 54 years and offered prayers in congregation at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla.

Hasan Shah who was the contemporary of the Mirza testifies to his spirituality and miracles. He remained absorbed in remembrance of God most of the time, notwithstanding daily contact with visitors for two hours. His devotion to God was so intense that his eyes always remained brimmed with tears.

He died on 22 Rajab 1275/25 February 1859 and lies entombed near the mausoleum of Shah Qasim Haqqani.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 400-1.

Mirza Hayat Baig: He was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Adam Banuri in Delhi. Although he came to Kashmir as an official of the Mughal government, he is said to have guided many people in the Path. On 2 Zilhaj 1120/1 February 1709 he died and was buried in a garden he owned at Hasanabad in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 187.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 361-2.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 296.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 227.

***Mirza Jani Janan ke Khutut*:** Khaliq Anjum's Urdu publication (Delhi, 1962) contains 91 letters of Mirza Jan-i Jahan Mazhar. Not merely social and political life of eighteenth-century India is reflected in these letters, but they offer explanations on several theological and mystical issues of the time.

Mirza Mumin Khan: He was a son of a Mughal dignitary in the Kashmir valley. Although Mirza Mumin himself held a high position in the imperial service, he relinquished office in order to become a disciple of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. After his initiation, it was customary for him to visit his *pir* annually. He would bring various kinds of gifts for his *murshid* from Lahore and spend ten to fifteen days in his company. He is entombed in Lahore.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Mirza Shah Naqshbandi: He was initiated by Maulana Khwajgi. Known for the quality of his *faqr*, he died in 982/1574-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 294.

Mirza Zahid Harawi: His father, Qazi Aslam, came to India from Herat in the reign of Jahangir. The Emperor appointed him the *Qaziu'l-Quzzat*. For his part, Mirza Zahid functioned as *muhtashib*. Towards the later part of his life, however, he resigned and became an acknowledged teacher of exoteric sciences.

A deeply learned man, Zahid Harawi authored the *Sharh-i Mawafiq*, *Sharh-i Tahdhib* and several other works now extinct. He enjoyed the company of the distinguished Sufis. One of his disciples, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, founded a seminary in Delhi which became the rendezvous of scholars and Sufi experts on jurisprudence and *tasawwuf*. Shah Waliu'llah describes his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and praises his logical arguments on the subject of such crucial importance in Sufism.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 90-3.

Misaq: "A covenant". A word used in the Qur'an for Allah's covenant with his creatures.

***Mishkat al-Masabih*:** A well-known book on Sunni tradition, much used by Sunni Muslims in India, it was originally compiled by Imam Husain al-Baghawi (d. 516/1122), a *Hadis* scholar and an authority on Shafi'ite law, under the title *Masabih al-Sunnah*, or the Lamps of the Traditions. His main sources were the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, *Muslim*, and the *Sunan* works of Abu Dawud al Sijistani (b. 207/817, d. 275/889), Abu 'Isa Muhammad al-Tirmizi (d. 279/892), Abu Abdu'r-Rahman al-Nasa'i (d. 303/915) and Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Ibn Maja (d. 273/886). Leaving out the chain of reporters (*isnad*), Baghawi did not include traditions regarded by him as rejected (*munkar*) or spurious (*mawzu*), though traditions based on only one authority (*gharib*) and known to have belonged to the category of weak or unauthentic (*za'if*) were included by him. Shaikh Waliu'd-Din Muhammad b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khatib al-Tabrizi (d. 743/1342) revised the work of al-Baghawi, adding an additional chapter to each section, and called it the *Mishkatu'l-masabih*, or the Niche for Lamps. Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq wrote a Persian commentary on the *Mishkat al-masabih* (see *Ashi'at al-lama't*). The work was completed in 1025/1616. The colophon of the manuscript in the Habibganj collection of AMU is in the Shaikh's own handwriting and shows that the work was completed in the *Khanqah-i Qadiriyya*. The colophon itself is dated 1049/1639-40.

Miskin Shah Sahib: He belonged to Kishtwar. He served as a *qazi* for some time, but soon distributed his wealth in favour of *faqr.* Initiated first into the Qadiriyya order by Kangal Shah and subsequently into the Naqshbandiyya order by Shah Ghulam 'Ali, he finally became a disciple and *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shah Niyaz Ahmad (d. 1250/1834) of Bareilli. He established a *khanqah* in Jaipur at the suggestion of his *pir.* His followers included both Hindus and Muslims. He died in 1858.

Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist,* V, pp. 292-3.

mithal: A key term in the Qur'an which means learning not by logic but by analogy. "It is simply the access to the parable and not the parable or any idea that the 'metaphor' equals its interpretation. It has no specificity. *Mithal* is grasped 'on the wing' so to speak. It cannot be explored or analysed or extended. That is to say, it must not be approached rationally but empathetically with direct and clear seeing-into."

Miyan Aayatu'llah: Son of the Kashmiri Sufi, Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar, he was endowed with innate qualities of a true Sufi and succeeded his father after the latter's death.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Miyan 'Abdu'l-Majid: He was a *khalifa* of Miyan Gul Muhammad Kangal. After dedicating his entire life to the service of his Creator and the created, he died on 15 Sha'ban 1236/18 May 1821 and lies buried in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 375.

Miyan Abu'l-Ma'ali: Originally a native of Bhira, he received education in his home town where his father was a *qazi.* He parted company with his wife and children in order to acquire spiritual knowledge under the guidance of Miyan Mir in Lahore. He was a *malamati* and the only one in his *pir's tariqa* who, according to Dara-Shukoh, violated the *Shari'ah.* Abu'l-Ma'ali's apparent disregard for *fara'iz* and *wajibat* was not liked by Dara-Shukoh; but he quotes Miyan Mir to prove his spiritual excellence in esoteric rather than mere exoteric terms. While a great majority of the citizens of Lahore were conscious of his spiritual status, the ulama had no faith in him on account of his being a *malamati.* His poetical compositions expounded by Dara-Shukoh testify to his profound understanding of certain subtle issues related to Sufism. Dissatisfied with the latest available versions of the *masnawi*, he sought to promote a better understanding of the *tawhid* and the absolute against the background of Rumi's Sufic insights. Commenting on Rumi's definition of a Sufi, Abu'l-Ma'ali observed that "a Sufi fettered by the restrictions of time and condition, is the son of time. If he ignores both the present and future worlds he becomes the father (that is, master) of time." Time in the Sufi world-view of Rumi relates to his disregard for the theophanic image (*tajalli*) in the highest degree in the world of images (*'alam-i misal*). Abu'l Ma'ali believed that for a Sufi the *'alam-i misal* (an intermediary stage between the body and the spirit) is identified with a similar stage between the *'alam-i malakut* (the physical domain of sensorial existence) and the *'alam-malakut* (the angelic kingdom). "A Sufi depends on the body for his physical existence and on his spirit for light and illumination. In the Sufi's heart theophanic images shed a peculiar type of light due to his spiritual perception. In this state the Sufi perceives the limitless Primordial Light, not a mixed or limited light."

Abu'l-Ma'ali explains his love for God in terms of the remembrance of what he calls His one thousand and one names. Of these only *Zat* signifies love; the rest may be divided into five hundred attributes each of Divine Majesty (*Jalal*) and Beauty (*Jamal*). Since the variegated dimensions of each attribute are inconceivable in both *Jamali* and *Jalali* contexts, God can therefore be perceived only in the universal pervasivesness of His Unknowable Eessence (*Zat*). He further explains *Jalal* and *Jamal* by way of an analogy with fire and water. Since the Essence is hidden somewhere beyond the bounds of attributes and that they cannot be conceived to co-exist. *Jalal* and *Jamal* are in a state of constant flux. On the right side of God is a pool of water and on His left a connecting underground channel of fire. If one jumps into the fire, one emerges through the connecting channel into water and vice versa. True, the Essence is united with both *Jamal* and *Jalal*. But no moment intervenes between this interchangeable and creative process. A Sufi thus ultimately perceives God in the physical sphere alone through *Jamal* and *Jalal*.

Some of Maulana Rumi's verses challenging the Mu'tazilla view that a vision of the Absolute was not possible are also explained by Ab'ul Ma'ali . The Mu'tazilla failure in this respect is explained in terms of their limitation to comprehend the Absolute through physical experience alone. They could not comprehend, either, the Reality that vision and spiritual insight were not distinct identities, and that apparent contradictions were synthesized in Being. Brightened by the *ma'rifa* and a perception of the Unity of Being, the esoteric eye sees, hears, and discerns nothing save God. Why the Mu'tazilla could not appreciate the belief in the vision of God was their materialism.

Abu'l-Ma'ali gives a lucid explanation of Mansur Hallaj's Ana'l-Haqq. He remarks that Pharaoh's (Phir'aun) claim to Truth was not based on Divine love. Being goaded by his pelf and pride, Pharaoh was doomed. On the other hand, Mansur's cry of "I am Truth" was uttered in a genuine state of devotional rapture and the *Tawhidic* consciousness of being one with the One in a relative sense.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya', pp. 220-34.

Miyan 'Abdu'n-Nabi Sayaram Churasi: He was the son of Dewan Bohhad Mal of the village of Sham Churasi in Hoshiarpur, Punjab. His birth is said to have been predicted by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Born on 29 Ramazan, 1028, he was entrusted to the care of a Muslim scholar at an early age by his father. Influenced by the teachings of Islam, the boy was named 'Abdu'n-Nabi and later became famous as Babaji and Taju'l-'Arifin. Later, he was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Hajji 'Abdu'llah at Sultanpur Lohdi in the district of Kapurthala. He dedicated his life to labour for the upkeep of the mosques. He also had a close association with his *pir's* friend, Muhammad Tahir 'Alampuri. He died on 22 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1146/22 August, 1733. His tomb is in the village of Sham Churasi and has an area of 50 canals.

Waqi'at (US), note 1948.

Miyan 'Ali: This disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri was held in high esteem by his *murshid* on account of his piety and devotion to God.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 188.

Miyan Anwar: Son and *khalifa* of Miyan Muhammad Rafiq, little is known about him except that he was an intoxicated soul belonging to the Naqshbandiyya order and lies buried in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 391.

Miyan Gharib: He was a learned and spiritually illuminated servant of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 187.

Miyan Ghiyas: He lived in Gujarat. 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes his *pir*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, as saying that once he asked the Prophet Muhammad in a state of vision about the best man of his time. The reply was Miyan Ghiyas.

Miyan Ghiyas owed his exalted position not merely to his knowledge, exemplary conduct, piety and conformity to the *Shari'ah*, but also to his concern for the commoners. According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, he was the epitome of the *Hadis*: *khair-unnas-i man yanfaunnas*.

He died in 998/1589-90.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 467-8.

Miyan Gul Muhammad Kangal: His ancestral home was Akbarabad. For a long time he stayed in Pakhli as a lone Sufi. After arriving in Kashmir, he became a disciple of Hafiz 'Abdu's-Sabur Faktu. Essentially an ascetic, Gul Muhammad left Kashmir for Pakhli and stayed there for a considerable time. It was only during the time of Hajji Karim Dad that he paid a second visit to the Valley and guided many people. After completing his spiritual mission, he went to Pakhli and died there in 1199/1784-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 363.

Miyan Hajji Muhammad Banyani: Originally a soldier and a petty mansabdar, he had some leaning towards Chistiyya practices. Yet, after being initiated as Qadiriyya by Miyan Mir, his spiritual development took a new turn. Often accompanying his *pir* to the surrounding groves, he not only achieved his goal in no time but even became one of the favourite disciples of his Qadiriyya mentor. As a poet saturated with an abundant love for God, he expressed his emotions with considerable sensitivity. His death took place in 1054/1644.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 212-14.

Miyan Hamid Rajput: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Miyan Miyanji bin Dawud: Born in Mandu, he met with many *masha'ikh* and initially received initiation from Saiyid Ahmad Ja'far, a descendant of Saiyid Ahmad Kabir Rifa'i, who is entombed in Ahmedabad. Later, he became a *khalifa* of Sadru'd-Din Zakir, buried in Baroda. A Sufi of meritorious qualities, Miyanji died in 985/1577-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 313.

Miyan Hazuru'llah: The son and chosen *khalifa* of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar, he died during the lifetime of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Miyan Jamuji: His real name was Jamal Muhammad, and he was the son of Malik Chand. Born in Ahmedabad, it was usual with him to impart lessons on the Qur'an and *Hadis*. He performed *hajj* and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 400-1.

Miyan Khaksar: He was a *majzub* who died in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century.

Rauzatu'l-Aqtab, pp. 242-3.

Miyan Manak Shah: His real name was 'Abdu'r-Rahman. Endowed with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, he himself tilled the soil. It is said that whenever he offered prayers near his field, his oxen themselves started ploughing. This led to his popularity as a Sufi and thereby he deliberately took to the wilderness. However, even in a state of intoxication, he often visited Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He died on 2 Ramadan 1021/17 October 1612 and was buried at the *khanqah* of Rainawari in Srinagar.

According to Professor Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad, his father and uncle were the custodians of the *khanqah* of Miyan Manak Shah (known as Mishan Shah as well as Ummi Shah) until the middle of the twentieth century. However, owing to some reasons, they sold their inherited rights over the control of the *khanqah* to some other person. The *khanqah* of Mishan Saheb at Rainawari in Srinagar is a place of popular pilgrimage.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 181-2 and n. 797.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 451.

Miyan Ma'aruf: He was a *majzub* who lived in Delhi during the reign of Humayun.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U). p. 479.

Miyan-Mir: Born in 938/1531-2, his original name was Mir Muhammad. His ancestors came from Siwistan in Sindh. During the early part of his mystical career, Miyan-Mir did not receive extensive theological and literary education despite the fact that three of his brothers became *qazis* in the best family tradition of their parents. He spoke the local Sindhi dialect. His mother, Bibi Fatima, a Sufi of Mahdawi leanings, guided him during his childhood. Later he became the disciple of the Qadiriyya hermit of Siwistan, Shaikh Kizr.

Completing his spiritual training as an ascetic under Shaikh Khizr in about 963/1555-6, Miyan Mir started living in mosques in Lahore, taking lessons in formal religious education from such eminent personalities as Maulana Sa'du'llah, Maulana Ni'matu'llah and Mulla Mirak-Shaikh Harawi. He visited the tombs of prominent Sufis and would also go to the forest in the company of his disciples. There the Sufi master and his disciples each would sit under a tree, meditating. He stressed the importance of meditation and contemplation with reference to the ways of God of a novice and a *salik*. According to him, God Himself initiated a craving for Him and drew the neophyte towards Him. But, then, in the Sufi way (*suluk*) meditation and mortification were undertaken at the command of a perfect *pir*. The first stage of the traveller brought him near the *'alam-i malakut*, thereby enabling him to banish all worldly thoughts from the mind. To Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Siyalkoti's observation that the practice of meditation in remote places would keep the novice from congregational prayers, he emphasized the contemplative rather than mechanical nature of prayers, though he claimed that he and his disciples had never neglected congregational prayers wherever they were.

Miyan Mir indulged in *sama'* and liked Hindi (both the Sindhi and the Panjabi) songs, but always exercised self-control in not allowing himself to experience states of ecstasy. He did not deem it proper to reveal any of the secrets concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud* to Muslims with average intelligence. He likened utterances on such a theme to an oasis mirage: they would not quench the thirst.

Although Miyan Mir led the life of a recluse, he considered strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* to be the first stage in the Sufic journey. While the *Shari'ah* was essential for regulating the worldly affairs, the *tariqa* was the way to clean the animal soul (*nafs*) enmeshed in evil and thereby the source for understanding the *haqiqa*. Thus annihilation of one's self in the *haqiqa* meant effacement of every kind of thought other than God. And, God, indeed, revealed Himself only through a perception of the significance of the *Haqiqa* in human heart. Nearness to God was possible only through the observance of the rules of the *Haqiqa*, or, in other words, the human endeavour within the framework of *Shari'ah*-structured relationship in prompting God to withdraw the veil from human nature. Praying to Allah with the heart absorbed in thoughts other than Allah, in Miyan Mir's view, was a violation of the Qur'anic injunction "Pray unto Me and I will hear your prayer" (Qur'an, XL, 60). He fully agreed with Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Razi, the author of the well-known *Mirsadu'l-ibab* (completed in 620/1223), that the cleansing of the heart and concentration in prayer were within the reach of the righteous alone. He also emphasized the importance of the Qur'anic verses, ". . . then they cry unto Allah, making their faith pure for Him only" (Qur'an, X, 23); ". . . Unto Him good words ascend, and the pious deed doth He exalt" (ibid., XXXV, 10). This guaranteed a certain response from Allah for the seeker's spiritual good. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand why Miyan Mir while returning gifts would remark that while the giver had taken him for a beggar, in actual fact he was rich with God. So deep-rooted was his trust in God (*tawakkul*) that he threw water out on a hot Lahore evening to ensure that nothing remained for the next day.

Miyan Mir's Sufic piety is also reflected in his dislike of the lavish gifts received by Shaikh Bahu'd-Din Zakariyya. He was even doubtful about the spiritual attainments of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi. So averse was he to publicity that he urged his disciples not to wear such traditional Sufi dress as distinguished them from other Muslims. He asserted that the condition of discipleship was *bay'a*, not the wearing of *khirqa*. He emphasized cleanliness and tidiness among his disciples and washed his own garments in the river. He wore a turban of coarse cloth and a cotton coat (*jama*) instead of the patched cloak.

Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jahan had deep respect for Miyan Mir. Jahangir was so impressed by his asceticism that he "dared not present him with any gift except for the skin of a white antelope to pray on". Shah Jahan twice visited the Miyan's habitat in Lahore.

He died on 7 Rabi'I 1045/21 August 1635. Wazir Khan, the governor, and other eminent citizens of Lahore attended his funeral. His burial took place near the grave of his disciple, Miyan-Nattha. This area, about a mile south-east of Lahore, came to be known as "Alam-Ganj" or World Treasury.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 25-9, 46-50.

Tuzk-i Jahangiri, pp. 286-7.

Miyan Mongir: A contemporary of an ecstatic Shaikh Hasan Bodla (d. 964/1556-7), Miyan Mongir lived in Lahore as a *majzub*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 483.

Miyan Muhammad Hashim Chisti: A trader by profession, he went to Patna for initiation from Miyan Yahya Chisi, son of Miyan Husain Kashmiri. Having been authorized to enrol disciples in the Chistiyya order, Miyan Hashim returned to Kashmir with a mission. He settled at Khanyar in Srinagar, got married and addressed himself to the task of popularizing the Chistiyya order. 'Inayatu'llah Khan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir, constucted a *khanqah* for his servants.

Muhammad Hashim died in 1116/1704-5 and was buried near his house at Khanyar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 138-9.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 346-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 295.

Miyan Muhammad Husain Chisti: His ancestors held high positions in the police department. Although initially he sought the guidance of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, the latter directed him to visit Patna where he became a disciple and *khalifa* of Shah Tamkin Chisti. On his return to Kashmir, Miyan Husain addressed himself to the task of enrolling followers of the Chistiyya order. However, it was his son, Miyan Yahya Chisti, who accomplished the mission of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 249-50.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 346.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 202.

Miyan Muhammad Murad: He was the son of Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Mufti. Overwhelmed by a desire to seek the discipleship of Miyan Mir, he relinquished his post as a learned *mufti* of Lahore. Such was his adherence to the path of piety and self-denial that he distributed his property among the needy and poor. He was always engrossed in meditation and led a secluded life. He would not accept any offering from anyone. Dara-Shukoh who cherished his company remarks that *fana, tawazuh* and humility were the hallmarks of his personality. He advised those whom he granted an interview at his Lahore residence to renounce the world. Continually in tears, he would often recite the verses of Hafiz Shirazi.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 236-7.

Miyan Muhammad Tahir: He lived in the city of Pattan in Gujarat. Originally belonging to the Bohra community, he went to Mecca where he learnt *Hadis* under the guidance of the ulama and *masha'ikh* of the holy land. After enrolling as a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, he returned home to seek the reform of his community. He wrote several works on *Hadis*. Among these the most important work was the *Majmau'l-Bahar* containing a commentary on *Hadis*. 'Abdu'l-Haqq who had read the books of the Miyan says that his prefaces were full of abundant praise for Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi. He was murdered in 980/1572-3 by some members of the Bohra community for his crusade against what 'Abdu'l-Haqq calls *bid'a* .

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 468.

Miyan Muhammad Rafiq: This chosen *khalifa* of Miyan Gul Muhammad Kangal had an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Once while he was discussing a religious issue with Mulla Nuru'd-Din Maantji, a government official who appeared on the scene demanded money from the Maulana. Miyan Rafiq's enraged glare at this insolence is said to have traumatized the functionary of the Afghan government. The fame achieved by Miyan Rafiq for his *kashf* and *karamat*, nonetheless, testify to his exalted spiritual status.

Muhammad Rafiq died on 12 Ziq'ad 1226/ 28 November 1811 and lies buried near Fatehkadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 374-5.

Miyan Muhammad Yusuf: Little is known concerning him save that he was unparalleled in *'irfan* and piety. He was laid to rest at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 353.

Miyan Najmu'd-Din Mandawi: His father was the wazir of Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Mandawi, and he was a disciple of Shah Jeev.

'Abdu'l-Haqq describes Najmu'd-Din as an *'alim* and *'arif-i billah* who shunned worldly pleasures. After migrating to Delhi from Ahmedabad, he spent most of his time at the *dargah* of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He died in Ajmer in 1010/1601-2 and is entombed in the vicinity of the shrine of Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 472-3.

Miyan-Nattha: His ancestors were oil-pressers and belonged to Sirhind. Although illiterate, he distinguished himself as a favourite of his Qadiriyya *pir*, Miyan Mir of Lahore. He achieved spiritual eminence as a result of his meditative exercises and also by secluding himself away from habitation or in graveyards. So oblivious was he of the worldly surroundings around him that he is reported to have been absorbed in contemplation for successive days and nights sitting motionless on a wall. Such was his devotion to God that he would not eat for several days together. Little wonder, then, Miyan Mir told his disciples that Miyan-Nattha could enter the *'alam-i malakut* and predict the future course of events. No less a person than Dara-Shukoh writes about the commonly acknowledged belief that Miryan-Nattha could communicate with leaves, animals and with all kinds of animate and inanimate objects. He died in 1027/1618-19 in a state of contemplation.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 134-40.

Miyan Ni'amatu'llah: Coming to Kashmir from Multan, he received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order at the hands of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. The Shaikh held him in high esteem; he spent most of his time in the company of his *murshid*. Later, at the command of Shaikh Hamza, he chose the foot of a hill at the village of Rapur in Kashmir as his abode. Often, Miyan Ni'amatu'llah remained in ecstasy. After his death was buried in Rapur.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 183-4.

Miyan Qazi Khan Zafarabadi: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Hasan Tahir. Although he had an aristocratic background, Miyan Qazi was a distinguished Chistiyya Sufi of great piety. His *khanqah* at Zafarabad in Delhi was a rendezvous for Sufis. Humayun had deep respect for Qazi Khan; but the Emperor failed to persuade him to accept *nazr* in any form. So great was the impact of Qazi Khan's personality on his visitors that once when Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's father called at his *khanqah*, he wept all day.

Miyan Qazi Khan died in 970/1562-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 400-1.

Miyan Qutbu'd-Din: He was the elder brother of Miyan Anwar. Little is known about him except that he guided people in the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir. On 30 Sha'ban 1269/10 June 1853, he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 396-7.

Miyan Shah 'Abdu'l-Sattar: He wa a *majzub* of Adoni who died in the late seventeeth century.

'Arus-i 'Irfan, I, p. 106a.

Miyan Shahi: He was a disciple of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi, *alias* Bulbul Shah, an *'arif* devoted to Allah. He lived in contemplative seclusion; entombed near the mausoleum of his *pir* at Bulbul Lankar in Srinagar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 149.

Miyan Shaikh Muhammad: The son and successor of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din (d. 979/1571-2) of Amethi, he belonged to the Chistiyya order.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 15-24.

Miyan Wafaqi Shah: He arrived in Kashmir from the Panjab after passing through various stages in *suluk*. Here in the Valley he was overcome with ecstasy, tore off his clothes with tearful eyes and started roaming about in the streets naked. He sang Hindi and Panjabi songs and often used to say: "I was burnt, I was burnt (by the fire underneath my soul)." In such a state it was customary for him to gulp down two to three buckets of water. The date of his death is not known. He probably died in the early nineteenth century and lies buried at the village of Dalar in the *pargana* of Machhipura.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 467.

Miyan Yahya Chisti: Little is known about this son of Miyan Husain Chisti except that he was responsible for spreading the teachings of the Chistiyya order in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 250.

Miyan Yusuf: A disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, he spent his whole life in the service of his spiritual mentor.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 187.

Miyanjiw Chisti: The son of Shaikh Najamu'd-Din bin Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Siddiqi, he was a Sufi of the Chistiyya order and is entombed in his birth place in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 198.

Mi'yar-i salikan-i tariqat: Written by Mir 'Ali Sher Qani Thattawi in 1202/1787-8, it contains short biographical notes on Sufis.

monasticism: (Arabic *rahbaniyah*). The Prophet Muhammad did not approve of monastic practices. It is related in the Traditions that 'Usman ibn Maz'un came to the Prophet requesting permission to retire from society and become a monk (*rahib*). The Prophet replied, "The retirement which becomes my people is to sit in the corner of a mosque and wait for the time of prayer." (*Mishkat*, book iv, ch.8). In the Qur'an, Christians are charged with inventing the monastic life. Surah Ivii, 27.

Mubarak Rishi: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Zainu'd-Din Rishi. Known for his spiritual excellence and innumerable miracles, Mubarak Rishi lies buried near the tomb of his *murshid* at Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Mublighu'r-rijal: Written by Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah, known as Khwaja Kalan, the work deals with scholastic theology, pre-eminence of the prophets, the ideas of peripatetics, Sufi masters, followers of Ibn Arabi, the ishraqis, and those of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. MS. Delhi Persian Collection, IOL; Aligarh Muslim University Library.

mubtadi: Beginner.

Al-Mughalat al-'Amma: Written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, this treatise deals with the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. MS preserved in India Office Library.

Mubarak Khan Harawi: He came to India from Herat and took up residence in the town of Mahuba in Kalpi. He secluded himself in a *khanqah* founded by him where the recitation of the Qur'an and distribution of alms among the poor were part and and parcel of his everyday life.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 247-54.

Muhaddis: The narrator of a *Hadis* or acts and words of Muhammad; one learned in the Traditions.

Muhammad 'Abdu'r-Rashid: He was the son of Nazar Muhammad Qadiri of Kairana. He propagated Qadiriyya teachings and practices in Western UP in the eighteenth century.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 150.

Muhammad Afzal: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Muhammad 'Ali Khairabadi, Hafiz Saiyid: He was born in 1192/1778-9, to a family who were the spiritual descendants of Shah Mina of Lucknow. His father, Shamsu'd-Din, was an *'alim*. After obtaining formal education in Khairabad and

Shahjahanpur, Muhammad 'Ali moved to Delhi and became the student of Shah 'Abdu'l-Qadir. During his studentship he developed interest in Sufism. At the shrine of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki he performed rigorous ascetic exercises. This was followed by his visits to Ajmer, Pakpattan and Taunsa. He became a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa. After being initiated as a Chistiyya, he became a *khalifa* of his *pir*. He then went to Mecca and Medina, where he stayed for about ten years.

Returning home Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali founded a *khanqah* at Khairabad. As a Sufi missionary he frequently visited Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad, initiating disciples en route. He was critical of several customs associated with marriage and mourning ceremonies as well as the Chistiyya practice of kissing the feet of a *pir* and prostrating before him.

Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali was an excellent teacher. His lecures on the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, the *Fusus al-Hikam,* and other Sufi texts made a good impression on his senior disciples. The distinguished Maulana Fazl-i Haqq Khairabadi (b. 1211/1796-7 d. 1277/1862) received lessons on the *Fusus al-Hikam* from Hafiz. Significantly, he discouraged public discussion on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. After the death of Hafiz in Zu'lqa'da 1266/September-October 1850, some of his prominent *khalifas* worked in Hyderabad. One of these was Maulana Ahsanu'z-Zaman.

Ghulam Muhammad Hadi 'Ali Khan Chisti Kashmiri, *Manaqib-i Hafiziya*, Kanpur, 1305/1888, pp. 111, 178, 187.

Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist, pp. 682-3.

Muhammad Amin Kaul: He was the brother of Khwaja Ibrahim Kaul. Baba Dawud Khaki initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order. Later, he was entrusted to the care of Mir Mirak Andrabi. Subsequently, he secluded himself at the village of Usan in Kashmir. However, before his death, he returned to Srinagar and lies entombed at the cemetery of the Saadat-i Andrabia in the city.

Muhammad Amin Kaul authored a treatise in praise of the spiritual attainments of Mir Mirak Andrabi.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 180.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 167.

Muhammad Amin Kulu: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Muhammad Amin Kashmiri, Mulla: A learned scholar of exoteric sciences who was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Mulla Shah.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Muhammad Amin Sufi: Inspired by the example of his spiritual teacher, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he disseminated the teachings of the Suhrawardiyya order in several villages after the latter's death. He is also credited with having founded mosques in the villages and enrolled many disciples. When Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi came to Kashmir, Muhammad Amin received an initiation and *khat-i irshad* from him in the Naqshbandiyya order.

Once Khwaja Muhammad Amin went on an excursion to the famous Dal Lake in Srinagar along with Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang Naqshbandi. The latter writes that he found the former had been kneeling upon the ground all day, absorbed in *zikr*. He also writes about the Sufi's expertise in the recitation of the *asma-i Ilahi*.

Muhammad Amin Sufi's prominent disciples included Bodi Bayu, Hafiz Dawud and Khurram Hafiz. He lies buried at Malkha in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 125-6.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 302-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 249.

Muhammad 'Arif, Shaikh-i Lashkar: He belonged to Mahlasa, Gujarat. His father, Malik Rajan, was a soldier. After his father's death the young Muhammad 'Arif joined the army, but subsequently decided to lead the life of a Sufi not a soldier. He received early training in Sufism from Shaikh Zakir Naharwala, a Shattariyya Sufi, but was later enrolled as his disciple and *khalifa* by Shaikh Muhmmad Ghaus. Following his *pir's* flight to Gwalior, Shaikh-i Lashkar initiated disciples into the Shattariyya order. In 982/1574-5 he migrated to Burhanpur where he died in 993/1585.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 232-7.

Muhammad 'Aqil, Qazi: The son of Qazi Muhammad Ghazi Khan who belonged to the ulama class and hailed from Kot-Mitthan in Dera Gazi Khan, he was initiated as a Chistiyya by Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharwi (d. 1205/1791). Muhammad 'Aqil had the distinction of meeting the latter's *pir*, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din, at least three times.

Muhammad 'Aqil would regularly perform severe ascetic exercises. He was particularly infatuated with *zikr-i jahr* and "his voice was often heard booming it out". He also practised breath control (*habs-i dam*) and compared this to a snake protecting a treasury. "If one is not frightened of the snake, the wealth inside can easily be taken", he said.

An excellent teacher, Muhammad 'Aqil trained his disciples in ascetic exercises, made arrangements for the teaching of *Hadis*, *Fiqh*, *Ihya' al-'Ulum* and the *Fasus al-Hikam* in his *madrasa*. His *langar*, maintained on *futuh*, was open to teachers and students alike. Among his admirers were the Mughal Emperor Akbar II, Bahadur Shah, and some princes of the royal blood. A Sufi gifted with excellent qualities of head and heart, Qazi Muhammad 'Aqil died on 8 Rajab 1229/26 June 1814.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 110-23.

Takmil-i Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 145-55.

Muhammad Arshad, Shaikh: He was the son and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Rashid 'Usmani (d. 1083/1672), a prominent Qadiriyya Sufi. The majority of his disciples were Qadiriyyas, though he initiated some of them into the Chistiyya order. He authored an Arabic syntax called the *Hidayat al-Nahw*. As a Sufi, he sought to expound the significance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* by way of examples from daily life. He talks about three categories of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. First, the unity of Action (*Tawhid-i Af'al*) is revelatory of an understanding of the only truth known to Sufis that all actions in the world are performed by none other than God just as written words, though the product of the pen, are, in fact, produced by the writer. Second, the Unity of Attributes (*Tawhid-i Sifati*) signifies that abilities such as hearing or seeing are an aspect of God. Third, the Unity of Essence (*Tawhid-i Zat*) means that Essence is Reality, forms and figures are plurality in Unity. According to him, each Sufi was graded in accordance with a fixed rule, and those who ignored this principle were guilty of heresy. He died in 1113/1701.

Ganj-i Arshadi, f. 55a.

Muhammad 'Ashiq, Shaikh: Belonged to the district of Muradabad in UP. He was a *khalifa* of Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi, the Qadiriyya Sufi, who died in prison during the reign of Islam Shah Sur.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 368.

Muhammad Ashraf, Khwaja: Born in 1048/1638-39, he was the fourth son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhmmad Ma'sum. He died in 1117/1705-6.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 259-2.

Muhammad Ashraf Shattari, Shaikh: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus' disciple, Shaikh Farid of Kahirwal, he had an excellent knowledge of the *da'wat-asma'* as compared to his contemporaries in the Shattariyya order. He frequented the court of Aurangzeb at the Emperor's invitation. The Emperor granted some villages to his sons as *madad-i ma'ash*. Out of the royal gifts, the Shaikh constructed a monumental mosque near his house. He died some time after 1078/1667.

Mir'atu'l-'Alam, f. 449b.

Riyazu'l-Auliya, f. 95a.

Muhammad Baqir: Son of Akhwund Mulla Nazuk Tashwani, he was a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir who died very young during the lifetime of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 274.

Muhammad Beg al-Uzbeki: When he moved to Arabia he wrote the *'Atiyat al-Wahhab al-sila bayna al-khata' wa'l-sawab* on 2 Rabi' I 1094/1 March 1683 in order to refute the views of the Arabian critics of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's views as contained in his *Maktubat*. His main argument was that the views of the ulama of Mecca and Medina were based on incorrect translations of the *Maktubat*. He produced new Arabic versions of the controversial letters in order to create more favourable opinions of the Mujaddid in the holy cities. Not unlike Shaikh Adam Banuri, who contested the views of Shaikh Ahmad al-Qushshashi on the Mujaddid's claims, Muhammad Beg engaged al-Barzanji and the ulama of Mecca and Medina in constant debates on the same issue. According to Rizvi, Muhammad Beg's work has been referred to at the margin of the third volume of the Arabic *Maktubat-i Hazrat Mujaddid* by Muhammad Murad al-Manzawi, *Mu'arrab al-Maktubat al-Sharif al-Marsum bi-al-Durar al-Makunat al-Nafisa*, Mecca, 1316/1898-9.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 341-2.

Muhammad Chisti, Shaikh: The second son and successor of the famous Chishtiyya of the early sixteenth-century Gujarat, Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chisti bin Shaikh Ahmad. Born in 956/1549-

50, the *khanqah* of his father could not return to the old glory after the Mughal occupation of Gujarat in 981/1573. Muhammad Chisti did not accept the old grants revived by Akbar. Such was his sense of gratitude to the sultans of Gujarat that he destroyed their *farmans* in his possession ostensibly with the aim of impressing upon Akbar that Sufism could flourish without the royal patronage. He even started living on the banks of the Sabarmati, away from the city, attending his *khanqah* only on Fridays for congregational prayers. But after some years, realizing that he had been able to give his mind to the Mughals, he started living in the *khanqah*. He resorted to *zikr* and *sama'* without musical instruments. While in Delhi for a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Sufis of his order, Muhammad Chisti accepted the request of Jahangir to see him at Ajmer. The Emperor granted him a village for his expenses in the name of his sons, which he accepted reluctantly. In 1027/1617-18 he again met the Emperor during his visit to Gujarat. He died on 29 Rabi' I 1040/ 5 November 1630.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, pp. 76-9.

Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah, Shaikh: Born in 952/ 1545-6 in Gujarat, Shaikh Muhammad's ancestors came from Jaunpur. He received his early education in the Chisti Path from Shaikh Safi Gujarati. Subsequently, he went to Mecca where he studied with Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi. On his return to Ahmedabad he studied theology with Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din. During the reign of Miran Muhammad II, son of Mubarak Shah II (974/ 1566–984/1574), the Faruqi Sultan of Khandesh, Shaikh Muhammad migrated to Asirgarh and then ultimately settled in Burhanpur. From there he visited Mecca and Medina several times. Although he accepted *futuh*, each year he distributed it among his family, the *dervishes* of his *khanqah*, and the needy of Medina.

Shaikh Muhammad was respected by both Sufis and ulama in India and Hijaz for his learning, strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* and philanthropy. Notwithstanding his spirited defence of Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy in his treatise (the *al-Tuhfa al-Mursala ila ruh al-Nabi*), he did not approve of the activities of his Shattariyya contemporary in Burhanpur, Shaikh 'Isa Sindhi. The latter's lectures on the *Fusus al-Hikam*, the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, and the *Insan al-Kamil*, emphasizing the importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, were considered by Shaikh Muhammad to be based on misinterpretations and accretions rather than a deep study of Sufism in conjunction with the Qur'an. Little wonder, he not only wrote a Persian commentary on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* but, also, assiduously quoted verses from the Qur'an and *Hadis* to reinforce his viewpoint. Some of the Qur'anic verses quoted by him are:

> Unto Allah belong the East and the West, and withersoever ye turn, there is Allah's countenance Lo! Allah is All-Embracing, All-Knowing (Qur'an, 2/115).
>
> We are nearer to Him than His jugular vein (ibid., 50/16).
>
> He is with you whereoever ye may be (ibid., 57/4)
>
> And We are nearer unto Him than ye are, but ye see not (ibid., 56/85)
>
> Lo! Those who swear allegiance unto thee (Muhammad), swear allegiance only unto Allah. The Hand of Allah is above their hands (ibid., 48/10)
>
> He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward; and He is Knower of all things (ibid., 53/3)
>
> And (also) in yourselves. Can ye then not see? (ibid., 51/21)
>
> And when My servants question thee concerning Me, then surely I am nigh (ibid., 2/186).
>
> . . . And thou (Muhammad) threwest not when thou didst throw but Allah threw (ibid., 8/17)
>
> . . . Lo! Is not He surrounding all things? (ibid., 41/54)

Shaikh Muhammad stressed the primeval Oneness of Being and decried any form of plurality. Divine self-manifestation and determination (*ta'ayyun*) did not signify a belief in the unification of God (*itihad*) or His descent (*hulul*) with existence. He was of the view that Sufis seeking God should first obey the Prophet Muhammad inwardly and outwardly in both word and deed and then move on to contemplation of the Unity of Being." Not unlike many other followers of Ibn Arabi, the Shaikh identified reality with being and asserted that, in the stage of non-determination (*la-ta'ayyun*) Being was the Absolute *per se*. Believing God was unknowable and inconceivable in his Essence, the Shaikh maintained that attempts to know Him in this aspect were futile. "In the stage of His first determination (*ta'ayyun*), the Absolute is known as *Wahda* and the *Haqiqat al-Muhammadiyya* (Reality of Muhammad). The third stage is the *Wahidiyya* and the Reality of the Perfect Man. The fourth stage is the *'alam al-arwah* (realm of spirits), the fifth stage the *'alam al-misal*, and the sixth is the *'alam al-ajsam* (the realim of bodies). The seventh stage is the final stage in the self-manifestation of Being."

Shaikh Muhammad died on 2 Ramazan 1029/ August 1620. So popular was he among the people of Burhanpur that they deeply mourned his death.

Ma'ariu'l-Wilayat, ff. 362b-66a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 285-6).

Muhammad bin Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik Qari Khalidi: He received his early education from his father. He is said to have been spiritually guided by 'Abdu'l-Karim Jili. He died in Rajab 984/September 1576 in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 309-10.

Muhammad Ghaus Peshawari, Saiyid: One of the letters authored by Shah Waliu'llah is addressed to him. He is mentioned in several sources on the Kashmiri Sufis. See Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad, also Hafiz Hidayatu'llah.

Muhammad Habib Tranboo: He parted company with his wife and parents early in his youth and devoted himself to God after becoming an Uwaisi. He is probably buried at Trahgam in Kashmir.

Muhammad Husain Qadiriya, *Futuhat-i Qadiri*, RPD No. 30, ff. 206b-207a.

Muhammad Hasan Arab: A disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mirza Jan-i Janan (d. 1195/ 1781), he achieved fame as an ascetic who during the day kept the company of his *pir* while remaining engrossed in prayer every night.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, p. 688.

Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far al-Makki, Saiyid: He was a contemporary of Mas'ud-i Bak. He lived a long life from the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51) to that of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (1451-89). His father, Ja'far Makki, received the title of Amir Kabir (Great Amir) during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq and held the position of a *muqta'* in Cambay as officer of 1,300 horsemen. But Muhammad Husaini was not lured by the worldly position of his father. He sought the guidance of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli who initiated him into the Chistiyya order. Such was Muhammad Husaini's reverence for his preceptor that he would not feel shy of working as his menial servant.

Muhammad Husaini travelled extensively under the authority of his *pir*. He first visited Hansi where he stayed with Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar. Reaching Ghazna, probably in 789/1387-8, he spent twenty years visiting all the corners of the Muslim world, including Khurasan, Palestine, Damascus, Iraq, Mecca and Medina, Egypt, and the Islamic West. He was in Balkh in 809/1406-7 and on reaching home visited all the important towns in northern and southern India. After settling in Delhi about 820/1417-18, he enrolled a number of disciples with whom he corresponded regarding his spiritual experiences. The first letter in the *Bahru'l-Ma'ani* dated 10 Safar 824/ 14 February 1421 and the last, the thirty-sixth, dated 27 Muharram 825/21 January 1422 are revealing in certain respects. Having met 380 Sufis during his travels, Muhammad Husaini had developed a broad outlook on religion and loathed narrow pride and religious bigotry (Ja'far-i Makki Husaini, *Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, f. 163b).

Muhammad Husaini believed that the paths to God are as innumerable as human souls. He talked about three categories of souls: common Muslims who follow the right path punctiliously notwithstanding his belief that the true goal is beyond their reach; the righteous and the pious who purify their self and the heart by way of rigorous ascetic exercises; and, the spiritual elite who reach the stage of understanding of the *Lahut* (ibid., ff. 150b-51a). A Sufi could reach *Lahut* only after passing through ten stages: repentance (*tauba*), asceticism (*zuhd*), trust (*tawakkul*), contentment (*qana'at*), self-seclusion (*'uzlat*), recollection (*zikr*), turning of the face towards God (*tawajjuh*), patience (*sabr*), contemplation (*muraqaba*) and satisfaction (*riza*). According to Muhammad Husaini, while the first nine stages demanded voluntary abandonment of something men were compelled to leave after their deaths, the stage of *riza* was the divine gift and could not be obtained by human choice (ibid., ff. 154b-155b).

Muhammad Husaini was of the view that the ecstatic cries of Bayazid Bistami and Mansur Hallaj were actually the words of God. He gave a lucid explanation of *kufr* by defining it in two contexts. While in its common form, *kufr* was contradictory to the *Shari'ah*, in its most significant context it amounted to the worship of the carnal soul. All externalists, according to him, were entangled in such kind of infidelity. (Ibid., f. 109b). Considering disputes about *kufr* and *iman* to be related to two veils, he urged a seeker to rise above the narrow grooves of such wranglings in order to understand God within the unbounded limits of his love (ibid., f. 37a).

The views of Muhammad Husaini on the spiritual mission of the Qur'an and the worldliness of the ulama, conversions to Islam and the nature of the Abbasid *khilafat* are significant. To him the real explanation of the Qur'an was esoteric. He was critical of such famous commentators as Abu'l Qasim Mahmud al-Zamakshari (1075-1144), an Iranian from Khwarazm, for his inability to fathom the spirituality characterizing the Qur'an. Disapproving of what he described Zamakshari's obsession with semantics as irrelevant (ibid., f. 114b), Muhammad Husaini believed that he himself had spent many years mastering the works of *Fiqh* and that such an experience had "kept him as far removed from the real faith as a dog from a mosque". Describing the ulama, merely concerned themselves with writing *fatwas* on the basis of their expert knowledge of the *Hidaya* and *Usul al-Bazdawi*, as "robbers of the faith", Muhammad Husaini also believed that this category of the externalist scholars worshipped their carnal souls. Far from dramatizing polarity between Islam and Sufism, Muhammad Husaini considered piety (*taqwa*) to be the criterion of the real faith.

Taking a cue from the Qur'anic verse, "As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities. They bring them out of light into darkness" (Qur'an, 2/257), Muhammad Husaini described the conversions to Islam in certain exceptional circumstances, viz., fear of death, fear of the enslavement of one's family, the desire for stipends and booty, and the bigotry of ancestral religions, as superficial. He even talked about the shallowness of such conversions as were prompted by the preaching of Muslims or the mere recitation of the *kalima*. For him the essence of conversion to Islam lay in cultivating piety (*taqwa*) for becoming a truly spiritual individual rather than in externalities of religion that had sunk the worldly ulama into the abyss of ignorance (ibid., ff. 162b-163a).

Muhammad Husaini believed that the Righteous Caliphate ended with 'Ali.

Saiyid Muhammad Makki's tomb in Sirhind, according to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, was a place of popular pilgrimage during the seventeenth century.

Ja'far-i Makki Husaini, *Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 245-54.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 173b-178a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 244-5).

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 987-6.

Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, Shaikh: A direct descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, his ancestral home was Turkey. After travelling to Khurasan, Multan and Uch, he returned to his homeland for his family, returning finally with them to Uch with a large number of followers. He founded a Qadiriyya *khanqah* at Uch in the second half of the fifteenth century. As a poet he used the pen-name Qadiri. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes a selction of eight of his verses which indicate his use of traditional Sufi similes such as *qalandar*, the wine-bottle, and the wine-cup.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 202.

Muhammad Ibrahim, Shaikh: He was initiated as a Chistiyya by Abu Sa'id Chisti Gangohi (d. 1049/1639-40), and acted as his *khalifa* in Saharanpur.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 472.

Muhammad 'Isa, Shaikh: His father Shaikh Ahmad 'Isa was one of the many scholars who migrated from Delhi to Jaunpur after Timur's invasion. Muhammad 'Isa was then seven years old. His *murshid*, Shaikh Fatu'llah advised him to seek the discipleship of Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi. Completing his religious education under such a well-known scholar, Muhammad 'Isa sought the discipleship of his original Sufi master, Shaikh Fathu'llah, which was granted.

Muhammad 'Isa had good knowledge of religious sciences. He studied '*Usul-i Bazdawi* under Qazi Shihabu'd-Din. However, his inclination to Sufism was so strong that, in a state of continuous *muraqaba*, he often remained oblivious of his physical environment.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 320.

Muhammad Isma'il Bukhari: traced his genealogy to Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. It was during the prime of his youth that he received blessings from Mir Muhammad Sharif in Bukhara. Later, he left Bukhara for Peshawar where he enrolled as a disciple of Shah 'Abbas Kanri. After serving his *murshid* for a long period, the latter advised Isma'il Bukhari to move to Kashmir. Having setlled in the Valley, he married and settled to being a religious teacher.

Isma'il Bukhari died in 1153/1740-1.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 443.

Muhammad Ishaq, Maulana: Born in 1778, he was Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's daughter's son. After becoming the head of Shah Waliu'llah's seminary, he emphasized the importance of both *Fiqh* and Sufism. He sought to combine in himself the religious and political leadership of the Muslims of India. In 1841 he went to Mecca and sought 'political asylum' from the Ottoman Sultan. He died in 1846.

Maulana 'Ubaidu'llah Sindhi, *Shah Waliu'llah aur unki Siyasi Tahrik*, Lahore, 1970, pp. 133-6.

Muhammad Ja'far: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Phulti. Under the orders of his *murshid*, he took care of his fellow seeker, Muhammad Muhsin, during the latter's experience with the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. It was the duty of Muhammad Ja'far to see that Muhammad Muhsin offered prayers at the appointed intervals in spite of his ecstatic state of mind and heart.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 372.

Muhammad al-Murtaza ibn Muhammad Zabidi, Saiyid: Born in 1145/1732 in Bilgaram near Lucknow, he obtained early education in Allahabad and Delhi. When a youth he made a pilgrimage, and studied in Zabid (Yemen) under Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Mustafa Idrusi, who initiated him as Idrusiyya. Saiyid preferred to be known as Zabidi, after the birth-place of his teacher, rather than Bilgarami.

According to Rizvi, Saiyid Murtaza "left an indelible mark on the Islamic world". He wrote several literary and Sufi works. His *Taj al-'arus* was a commentary on the Arabic dictionary of Abu'l Tahir Majdu'd-Din Firuzabadi's (729/1329–817/1415) *al-Qamus al-muhit*. His voluminous commentary on the *Ihya 'ulum al-din* of Ghazali, under the title *Ithaf al-sadat al-muttaqin*, aroused new interest in Ghazali in Egypt. He died there in 1205/1790-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*,II, pp. 346-7.

Muhammad Jamal Multani, Hafiz: Although an acknowledged *'alim* of his times, he owed his interest in Sufism to the inspiration received by him from the spirit of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Multani while praying and meditating at his tomb. He later became a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Khwaja Nur Muhammad, in whose company he visited Maulana Fakhru'd-Din in Delhi. The Maulana who was the *pir* of Muhammad Jamal was highly impressed by the latter. On his *pir's* advice, Khwaja Nur Muhammad deputed his disciple to Multan, formerly an important centre of the activities of the descendants of the Suhrwardiyya Sufi Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya and his disciples. Under the influence of Hafiz Muhammad Jamal Multani, Maulavi Khuda Baksh Multani, a noted Suhrawardiyya, was initiated into the Chistiyya order.

Hafiz Muhammad Jamal was a Sufi of extraordinary talents. He advised his disciples to conform to the *Shari'ah* while treading the Path for the purification of their inner selves from all that was ugly. He did not approve of the prevalent custom of endogamy among the Saiyids. As an accomplished archer, he passed on his skill to his disciples. The Sikh forces under Maharaj Ranjit Singh that besieged the fort of Multan in 1807 retreated, thanks to his leadership. He is said to have led the defence of the fort with bow and arrow in hand. He died on 5 Jumada I 1226/28 May 1811 and was buried in Multan.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 126-30.

J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Delhi, 1966, pp. 121-2.

Muhammad Ji Barhana, Shaikh: This man of Ahmedabad was a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. Being intrinsically an intoxicated soul (*majzub*), he used to roam about naked and was called Barhana. He made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the distinguished Sufi of his order, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari, in 1575-6. He died in his native land.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 444.

Muhammad Kazim, Saiyid: This intellectual was initiated as a Kubrawiyya by Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, and accompanied his *pir* to Kashmir. Known as Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani's librarian (*tahwildar-i-kutub*), Muhammad Kazim was directed by his preceptor to settle at Letapura, the ancient "Lalitpura" seventeen miles south-east of Srinagar. Popularly known as Saiyid Qazi, he was assigned the role of a Sufi missionary in a village that was an important centre of Hinduism in ancient times. He lies buried in Letapura.

Sayyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, f. 6a.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, f. 71a.

Muhammad *Majzub*, Saiyid: Before leading the life of a *majzub*, he served the government of Bijapur. He migrated to Hyderabad where he died in AD 1720. His tomb is located just north of the Chauk Mosque in the old city.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 275.

Muhammad Muhsin: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Phulti whose *murshid* kept a close eye on him during the period he experienced the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He was entrusted to the care of Muhammad Ja'far with the main purpose of ensuring that he did not miss a single prescribed prayer under the spell of spiritual intoxication.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 372.

Muhammad Muhsin Gana'i: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Muhammad Muhsin Qadiri: This nephew of Hafiz Hasan Qadiri was a pupil of Amanu'llah Shahid in *Hadis* and was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his uncle. A Sufi of good character, Muhammad Muhsin also wrote on *Hadis*. After his death in 1182/1768-9, he was buried in the cemetery of his *murshid*.

Tazkira (U), p. 352.

Muhammad Murad Posha Tangu: He was popularly known as Posha Tangu because of his unusual habit of placing several kinds of flowers on his head. He was a resident of the *mohalla* of 'Ala'u'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar. After his initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Baba Zahid Nagami, he went to India and met with several Sufis during his travels. Following his return home, Muhammad Murad lapsed into a trance and started roaming about as *majzub*. Several persons are said to have become *majzub* under his influence.

He died in 1122/1710 and was buried at Narparistan in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 191-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 470.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 334.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Muhammad Naishapuri: He was a disciple of the great Chistiyya Sufi, Baba Farid.

Fawa'id-u's-Fu'ad, p. 76.

Muhammad Naqshband, Hujjatu'llah: Born in Zu'lqa'da 1034/August-September 1625, he was the second son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. He died on 9 Muharram 1115/25 May 1703.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 244.

Muhammad Nasir, Khwaja: Born in 1105/1694, he was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh Muhammad Zubair (d. 1152/1740). He had intimate association with Shah Gulshan, the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, well-known for his asceticism and his passionate mystical verses. He was responsible for giving birth to a new branch of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya called the *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya* which was later popularized by his son, the eminent Urdu poet Khwaja Mir Dard (b. 1133/1721). He died on 2 Sha'ban 1172/31 March 1759. [See also *Nala-i 'Andalib.*]

Muhammad Qasim Majnun: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Muhammad Sa'id: Born in Shawwal 1005/May 1597, he was the second son of the Mujaddid, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He received early education from his father, his elder brother and Maulana Tahir. At the age of eighteen, such was his expertise in *Fiqh* that he could debate any polemic convincingly and even the Mujaddid would seek his opinion on any controversial issue in order to avoid themselves having to consult the authoritative books. He was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by his father, but he requested the Mujaddid to make his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, his successor. Along with Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Yahya, and about one hundred *dervishes*, he left for Mecca in 1067/1656-7. Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id visited Aurangzeb's court occasionally and received a robe (*khil'at*) and two thousand rupees from the emperor. He died about 1162/1748-9.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 308-15.

Hazaratu'l-Qud, pp. 234-61.

Muhammad Sa'id, Saiyid: A leading Chistiyya Sufi in the Delhi–Saharanpur region in the eighteenth century, he was also known as Saiyid Miran Bhikh Chisti Sabiri. [See Bhikh Chisti, Shah Miran.]

Muhammad Sadiq: Born in 1000/1591-2, he was the eldest son of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. When only eight years old, the precocious Muhammad Sadiq practised *zikr* and contemplation under the guidance of his father's *pir*, Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah. His ecstatic bent of mind often led him to wander aimlessly in the streets, bareheaded and barefoot. Both his *pir* and father spoke of his spiritual eminence. He received a sound theological and spiritual training from his father whose letters to him are succinct and genuine forms of the Naqshbandiyya teachings for understanding the subtle differences between the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*. Muhammad Sadiq died on 9 Rabi'I 1025/27 March 1616 as a result of plague in Sirhind.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 300-8.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 220-3.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr. Maulana Muhammad Sa'id Ahmad Naqshbandi, Deoband, nos. 181 and 208.

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani: See Sadiq Hamadani.

Muhammad Sadiq, Khwaja: Originally a wealthy and respectable resident of Kabul, and attached to the forces of Prince Salim at Allahabad, he preferred Sufism to military service. After becoming a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he accompanied him on several travels. The Mujaddid sent him as *khalifa* to spread the teachings of Naqshbandiyyas in Lahore, but Muhammad Sadiq died soon thereafter in 1018/1609-10.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 345-6.

Muhammad Sadiq, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh Fathu'llah Gangohi and a nephew of Shaikh Abu Sa'id (d. 1049/1639-40). The latter initiated him as a Chistiyya. He became the leading *khalifa* of his *pir* at Gangoh on account of his scholarship as well as his excellence as a Sufi master. He is said to have written a treatise in which he emphasized the importance of *zikr* as beneficial to meditation (*fikr*). Being an aid to the consciousness of Allah's presence (*huzur*), *fikr* led to the contemplative vision of God (*shuhud*) and culminated in union with God (*wusul*). The perfection of Sufi rested on the level of his accomplishment of *wusul*.

Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq had many disciples among the Afghans. His disciples spread throughout the northern Indian region. He died in 1058/1648-9.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 347b (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 271).

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 472-6.

Sawati'u'l-Anwar, ff. 422a-25b.

Muhammad Salih: He taught exoteric sciences at the mosque of Sultan Firuz Shah in Delhi. He took to a secluded life following his initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order at the hands of Khwaja Khwurd.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 65.

Muhammad Salih, Maulana: Came from Kaulab in Badakshan to seek the discipleship of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi whom he met in the Agra's Jami' mosque. After some initial failures in making an any impression on the Mujaddid about the traditional Naqshbandiyya *zikr* formula prescribed for him, he finally felt spiritually elevated after drinking the basin of water in which his *pir* had washed his hands. The area of his missionary activities was probably Kaulab. He died in 1038/1628-9.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 370-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 233.

Muhammad Shah: A *qalandar* of great spiritual merit and a contemporary of Baba Nasib, he spent his life in lonely meditation near a tree at the village of Shangas in Kashmir and lies buried there. His brother, Firuz Shah, also a *qalandar*, was a disciple of Baba Nasib.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 471.

Muhammad Shah Ghuri: He was a sincere and devoted diciple of Baba Farid.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, p. 64.

Muhammad Shah Khandabawani: This is a Kashmiri who was initiated into Sufism by 'Abdur'-Rasul Zahgir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 390.

Muhammad Shah Qadimi: Known for his austerities and miracles, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Akbar Hadi (d. 17 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1243/8 October 1827).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 40.

Muhammad Sibghatu'llah II: This *majzub* descended spiritually from the Shattariyya followers of the well-known Sufi of Bijapur, Shah Sibghatu'llah. His father, Habibu'llah (d. 1632), was a *khalifa* of Shah Sibghatu'llah. Contrary to the austere principles of the latter, Habibu'llah accepted an *in'am* grant from Sultan Ibrahim II. His luxurious and pompous lifestyle was repugnant to his son, Muhammad, who, instead of accepting a legacy from his father as the *sajjada-nishin* of his *khanqah*, turned into a *majzub*. Not surprisingly, therefore, Habibu'llah himself grumbled about this development in his recorded discourses (*malfuzat*).

Muhammad Sibghatu'llah died in Bijapur in 1660.

Habibu'llah''Abdu'l-Fath, *Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah*, ff. 19a-19b.

Muhammad Sibghatu'llah, Shaikh: Born in 1032/1622-3, he was the eldest son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. He died in 1120/1708-9.

Muhammad Siddiq, Shaikh: Born in 1057/1647-8, he was the sixth son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. He performed *Hajj* at a young age. He had several disciples including

Emperor Farrukhsiyyar (1124/1713–1131/1719). On 5 Jumada II 1130/6 May 1718 he died in Delhi.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d., p. 259.

Muhammad Sihlawi, Mulla Nizamu'd-Din (d.1161/1748): See *Manaqib al-Razzaqiyya*.

Muhammad Sufi, Shaikh: Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti quotes this venerable Sufi in order to convince his readers about the high spiritual status of his contemporary Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Pir, the son of Shaikh Budh of Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1164.

Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa, Khwaja: Born in 1184/1770-1 in the village of Garhgoji, near Taunsa, about 60 miles from Dera Ghazi Khan, he belonged to the Ja'fariyya branch of the Afghan tribe. Muhammad Sulaiman lost his father, Zakariyya bin 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, during his infancy. His mother brought him up in poverty. After taking some lessons from a village Mulla on the Qur'an, he went to Taunsa where his teacher, Miyan Hasan 'Ali, made personal arrangements for his education and subsistence needs. He also obtained education from teachers in Langh, a neighbouring village, and subsequently at Kot-Mitthan in the seminary of the Chisti Sufi Qazi Muhammad 'Aqil.

As an *'alim* Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman was deep-rooted in the *Shari'ah*. However, he could not continue his opposition to *sama'* after his meeting with Khwaja Nur Muhammad. After being initiated as a Chistiyya, Muhammad Sulaiman was advised by Khwaja Nur Muhammad to visit Delhi to seek the blessings of the latter's *pir*, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din. But by the time he reached Delhi via Uch, Ajmer, Jaipur and Rewari in 1784, the Maulana was dead. Deeply distressed at the loss, Muhammad Sulaiman returned to Muhar where he began a round of prayer, *pas-i anfas* and *zikr-i jahr* with remarkable endurance.

Taunsa turned into a large town from a small village following the conversion of his own hut into a *khanqah*. Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman's *khanqah* became an important centre of Sufi learning where discourses were given on the works of Ibn 'Arabi. Even the Sikh administrator of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Diwan Kripa Ram, is said to have been impressed by a lecture on the *Wahdat al-Wujud.* Many curious Sikh wayfarers visited his *khanqah* to listen to his discourses on the profundities and subtleties of divine love. Notwithstanding the Khwaja's emphasis on divine love, he believed in the supremacy of the *Shari'ah* in all respects and explained it in terms of the authority of the ulama to execute Sufis.

The teachings of Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman were addressed to both ulama and Sufis. True to the traditions of the Chistiyya order, Shah Sulaiman stressed the importance of cosmic emotion for gaining gnosis. His *sama'* assemblies, held after *tahajjud* prayers, were aimed at stirring the emotional depths of a personality. But he did warn his disciples against the danger of unrestrained life of emotional or spiritual drunkenness. His advice to the ulama was that they should discharge their duties as agents of social stability. He often quoted the saying *'fasadu'l 'alim fasadu'l 'alam* (corruption of a scholar corrupts the world). He believed that all people were the children of God as the Prophet has said, "All God's creatures are His family, and he is most beloved of God who does most good to His creatures." Not the least, he sought to establish meaningful contact with believing non-Muslims rather than the irrelgious (*bad-mazhaban*). He believed in religious harmony and peace and reinforced his belief by quoting Hafiz: "O Hafiz should you wish Divine union you should be at peace with both the elite and the common people, You should say 'Allah Allah' to a Muslim and 'Rama Rama' to a Hindu." When asked, in light of the spread of "Wahhabi" teachings, that prophets and Sufis could neither benefit nor harm anyone, the Khwaja said the Sufis had no power, but maintained that every action they performed was in fact the work of God.

The Khwaja stressed the ethical and spiritual importance of humility, modesty, and generosity. In his view, God's most favoured were His humble servants. He urged his disciples to shun criticism and develop the habit of self-examination. He condemned cruelty to animals. He was also critical of hoarders, chiefly grain merchants who would make undue profits during times of scarcity. Sufism, he believed, was not the domain of materialists but of those dedicated to praying and also to the welfare of others. According to him, a modest house, simple food, clothing, and water were that the Sufis needed for their worldly existence; hence their possession was by no means to be considered worldly. He advised Sufis not to waste their time trying to work miracles; instead, they should live every moment in the presence of God.

For sure, Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman resuscitated the Chistiyya order in India during the nineteenth century. His social influence may be judged from the fact that sometimes as many as two thousand people were fed in his open kitchen (*langar*). His influence also extended to Balkh, Bukhara, Hirat, and Hijaz and, according to Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din Sialvi, seekers from distant regions visited his *khanqah* for receiving spiritual training. No less a rationalist scholar than Sir Syed Ahmad Khan observes that the fame of Shah Sulaiman as a Sufi had travelled far and wide and that crowds of people flocked to his *khanqah*. Nizami best sums up the contribution of Shah Sulaiman to the revival of Sufism in these words: "Purely as an educational movement Shah Muhammad Sulaiman's efforts and their impact have hardly any parallel in the history of the subcontinent. Thousands of institutions of religious education, big and small, came into existence as result of the efforts of this great Wali and his spiritual successors. When one thinks of the educational streams and currents flowing from Taunsa, a world of historic visions and memories glows into consciousness. On one side Makhad, Siyal, Lalla, Mira, Jalapur, Gulra, Bhira, Muhammadi, Jhang, and Sarghoda appear bristling with educational activity, on the other Delhi, Khayrabad, Shaikhawati, Jaipur, and Hyderabad give birth to hundreds of institutions in Rajasthan and the Deccan. In fact the first significant reaction to Western education and the culture that came with it, was registered by Shah Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa and his spiritual descendants. Aligarh, Deobund and Nadwa with different approaches to the situation entered the field much later. The distinguishing feature of the Taunsa movement was to meet the situation through revitalisation of spiritual life. Shah Muhammad Sulaiman completed his work seven years before the storm of 1857 broke out. Others woke up after that; his sensitive soul had heard the rumblings of the storm much before."

At the time of his death on 7 Safar 1267/12 December 1850 at the age of 84 his disciples had dispersed across the entire subcontinent. One of his leading disciples was Hafiz Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali Khairabadi.

Maulana Imamu'd-Din, *Nafi'u's-Salikin*, Lahore, 1285/1868-9.
Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 156-64, 280, 288-9.
Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashaik-i Chist*, V, Delhi, 1984.
——*Historical Role of Three Auliya' of South Asia*, ed. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, Karachi, 1987, pp. 63-84.
Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asaru's-Sanadid*, Karachi, 1966, p. 219.
Qasr-i 'Arifan, Oriental College Magazine, May 1965, p. 7.
Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, pp. 312-14.

Muhammad Turk, Shaikh: He came to Narnaul from Turkistan during the early thirteenth century. The inhabitants of Narnaul remembered him as Pir-i Turk and Turk Sultan. Although himself a disciple of Khwaja 'Usman Haruni, Muhammad Turk did not enroll any disciple. He avoided the company of women and did not marry. No early Sufi records mention his name. In the sixteenth century Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Dihlawi relates a popular belief about Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh's spiritual experience at the tomb of Muhammad Turk. The reputed Chistiyya Sufi is said to have spent some time in meditation in his *dargah*, and believed to have remarked that any distressed soul who would pray there for relief or the fulfilment of his wishes would not be disappointed.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, Muhammadi Press, Delhi, AH 1283, pp. 50-1.
Rizqu'llah, *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, MS, British Library, London, no. Add. 11633, f. 27b.

Muhammad 'Ubadiu'llah, Shaikh: Born on 1 Sha'ban 1037/6 April 1628, he was the third son of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. He died on 19 Rabi' I 1083/15 July 1672.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 259-2.

Muhammad Waris: A *majzub* of Gogi who died in the late seventeenth century.

Kulliyat-i Bahri, ed. M. Hafiz Syed, pp. 223-4.

Muhammad Ziya: A cousin of Mulla Muhammad Muhsin and a disciple of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar, he has been described as a Sufi of wonderful attainments belonging to Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Muhammad Zubair, Shaikh: Born on 5 Zu'lqa'da 1093/5 November 1682, he was the son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Abu'l 'Ali. He achieved considerable eminence in and around Delhi where he lived most of his life. On 4 Zu'lqa'da 1152/2 February 1740, he died in Sirhind.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh Naqshbandiyya*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 259-72.

Muhammad Zubair, Shaikh: He was the grandson of Hujjatu'llah Muhammad Naqshband. Although an ascetic by temperament, he continued the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya tradition of training and enrolling disciples. He died on 4 Zu'lqa'da 1152/2 February 1740.

Khwushgo, *Safina-i Khwushgo*, Patna, 1953, pp. 165-70.

Muhibu'llah Mubariz, Shaikh: Born in 996/1587-8 at Sadrpur, near Allahbad, he was initiated as a Chistiyya by Abu Sa'id Chisti Gangohi (d. 1049/1639-40). He worked as his *khalifa* in the eastern UP.

Muhibu'llah was an ardent advocate of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Many ulama and philosophers, particularly Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri, opposed him for his views and even pleaded for his execution. However, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid of Jaunpur rushed to Allahabad to defend his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He argued that "like other Muslim philosophers, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah did not in fact believe that all being emanated from Unity according to its nature, but he considered the Being to be distinct from the quiddity of things and Absolute Reality". Muhibu'llah could not, however, counter the philosophical and intellectual arguments against the *Wahdat al-Wujud* on the grounds of logic. Instead, he argued that the "secrets of divine knowledge are beyond the comprehension of reason", thereby belittling *kalam* and philosophy. In his letters to Mulla Mahmud, he castigated philosophers for being unable to comprehend or appreciate the work of Sufis, whom he described as ulama possessed of divine knowledge. He criticised such Sufis as were opposed to Ibn 'Arabi and categorized them as ignorant (*Sufi-i jahil*). His criticism of 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani tended to create the impression that the latter had not fathomed the true and esoteric meaning of Ibn 'Arabi's theory of *Wujud al-Mutlaq*.

Shaikh Muhibu'llah's works include 1. an Arabic and a Persian commentary each on the *Fusus al-Hikam*, 2. an exegesis on the Qur'an from the Sufi standpoint, 3. explanatory notes on the *Hashiya Tarjamat al-Qur'an*, 4. a book entitled *Manazir-i Akhassu'l-Khawwas* outlining the main teachings of Ibn 'Arabi, 5. a treatise called *Haft-Ihkam* on seven ordinances relating to the Divine realities of self-manifestation (*Tajalli*) and the *Wujud*, and 6. *'Ibadatu'l-Khawass* discussing different dimensions of the *Wahdat* from a popular viewpoint. 7. His *Seh-Rukni* outlines the three pillars for a believer in *Wahdat*. Shaikh Muhibu'llah also wrote *Ghayatu'l-Hayat*, *Magh'alit al-'Amma*, *Sirru'l-Khawass*, *Turqu'l-Khawass*, *'Ibadat-i Akhassu'l-Khawass* and *Risala-i Wujud-i Mutlaq*. His letters, the *Makatib-i Shaikh Mubibu'llah*, are characterized by a spirited defence of the theories concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Shaikh Muhibu'llah's principal work that caught much attention was *Taswiyya* or Making Equal. Written in Arabic, it discussed the ideas of Ibn 'Arabi on the Absolute Being (*Wujud-i Mutlaq*) with a certain degree of originality. A passage from *Taswiyya* which even pricked the mindfulness of Aurangzeb after Shaikh Muhibu'llah's death is worthy of quote: "Jabra'il (Gabriel) of Muhammad existed inside the person of Muhammad. Similarly Jabra'il was within the person of each Prophet whose spiritual power he personified. When that power overwhelmed the prophet, divine revelation (*wahi*) descended on him. Consequently Jabra'il could converse with each Prophet in the latter's own language." The Emperor was satisfied with the explanation given by a disciple of Shaikh Muhibu'llah, an ascetic called Shaikh Muhammadi, who defended his *pir's* viewpoint perspicaciously. Offered two choices, to reconcile the controversial passage with the *Shari'ah* or burn it to ashes, the Shaikh replied, "I do not deny being his disciple, nor does it behove me to show repentance for I have not yet reached that elevated mystic stage. . . . The day I reach that stage, I will write a commentary as desired. However, if His majesty has finally decided to reduce the tract to ashes, much more fire is available in the royal kitchen than can be had in the house of the ascetics who have resigned themselves to God." Such was the popularity of the *Taswiyya* in Sufi circles that a number of commentaries were written on it. Among these must be mentioned the one written by Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's son, Khwaja Khwurd, and elaborate commentary by the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi, Shah Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi. The latter used it to contest the views of the Mujaddid's claim that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was only an initial or a primary stage in the evolution of Sufic progression.

Shaikh Muhibu'llah died on 9 Rjab 1058/30 July 1648. His friend, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti of Radauli, stresses the importance of his role in convincing many learned ulama of the validity of his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, notwithstanding their initial opposition to him.

Makatib-i Shaikh Muhibu'llah, ff. 32a, 112a-115a, 173a (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 268-9).

Ma'ariju'l-Wilalyat (R), ff. 432a-b.

Mir'atu'l-Khayal, pp. 325-6.

Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi, *Sharh-i Risala-i Taswiyya*, Delhi, Persian MS, 1067a, India Office, London, ff. 40a-b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1193-5.

Muhibbu'llah, Saiyid: He belonged to Manikpur near Allahabad. Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya at Burhanpur. Later, he learnt the *zikr* from Mir Muhammad Nu'man. On reading the Mujaddid's letters to Mir Muhammad Nu'man, he was so moved that he called on the Mujaddid himself and resorted to various forms of the Naqshbandiyya contemplation and *zikr* under the guidance of the Mujaddid. The *murshid* then deputed him to Manikpur. But, failing to leave any impression upon the town, the Mujaddid permitted him to return to Allahabad where he remained engrossed in the repetition of the *zikr-i khafi* while leading a retired life.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 382-3.

Muhi'u'd-Din Abu Yusuf Yahya Chisti, Shaikh: Born on 20 Ramazan 1010/14 January 1602, he was the son of Shaikh Mahmud bin Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. Popularly known as Miyan Shaikh Yaha Chisti of Gujarat, he completed his education at the age of twenty and joined the army. However, preferring hunger to plundering local villages for food in the manner of his fellow soldiers, the Shaikh ultimately left the military service. After the death of his grandfather in 1040/1630, he succeeded him as a Chistiyya Sufi. Aurangzeb who was the viceroy of Gujarat (February 1645–January 1647) requested Miyan Shaikh Yahya several times for an interview which was not granted. Nevertheless, when Aurangzeb was finally able to meet the Shaikh, he sought his advice on how to promote the cause of Islam. The Shaikh was non-committal, "implying that Islam would progress naturally without help".

Miyan Shaikh Yahya was a passionate lover of *sama'*. He challenged the authority of the *muhtasib* of Gujarat for preventing him organizing such gatherings and recitals of *maulud*. Not only did the Shaikh instruct his disciples to show armed resistance to the *muhtasib's* implementation of the imperial order, but he even lodged a written complaint with the Emperor. Thereupon, under the orders of Aurangzeb, the Governor, Raja Jaswant Singh, warned the *muhtasib* not to interfere in religious issues of controversial nature. The Emperor's officers also "apologized to him on behalf of Aurangzeb and presented him with a gift of one thousand rupees and four tolas of gold".

Shaikh Yahya's contribution to Sufism lay in his role as a Chistiyya Sufi in Mecca and Medina where he resided for fourteen years following the death of his mother. His seminaries in the holy cities were the rendezvous of the Indian pilgrims and Sufis. After initiating several pilgrims into the Chistiyya order, Shaikh Yahya died on 28 Safar 1101/11 December 1689 at the age of ninety-one. The Shaikh's sons and grandsons remained in Medina, "continuing in the family tradition of teaching and leading a retired mystic life".

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, supplement, pp. 79-83.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 346.

mujaddid: Renovator; he is supposed to appear at the beginning of every century in Islam. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624), who made his mark at the beginning of the second millennium *hijri* is popularly known as *Mujaddid-i alf-i Sani*, "renovator of the second millennium".

Mukashifat-i 'Ayiniyya-i Mujaddidiyya: This was compiled by Maulana Muhammad Kishmi from the unknown papers of the Mujaddid discovered in his house. See *Kulliyat* with Urdu tr., Karachi, 1965.

Mukhkh al-Ma'ani: Written by Amir Hasan Sijzi, in 1312, it is a small treatise dealing with love. The work was presented by the author to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who commended and blessed the efforts of his disciple. A manuscript copy of this treatise is listed in the Sir Shah Sulaiman Collection of Maulana Azad Library of Aligarh Muslim University.

Shakil Ahmad Siddiqui, *Amir Hasan Sizji Dehlawi: Hayat aur Adabi Khidmat*, Lucknow, 1979, pp. 271-2.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 54, 194.

Mukhlisu'd-Din Karki Badauni, Maulana: He belonged to the village of Kark in the district of Bada'un. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli regards him as the protege of Allah who had learnt the Qur'an by rote.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 144.

mulhaq: Joined. A term used by the Sufis for the condition of the human soul when it is absorbed into the essence of God.

Dictionary of Sufi Terms (quoted in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

mulla: A Persian form used for the Arabic Maulavi; a learned man; a scholar.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Mattu: A famous trader of Kashmir. He became keen to learn at the age of 30. After becoming a pupil of Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur Badakshi, he came to be recognized as an *'alim*. He is said to have also been guided by Khizr and had association with Mirza Akmalu'd-Din and Shah Jamalu'd-Din Qalandar. Known for his generosity and help to the poor and destitute, he once distributed an entire *nazr* of nine hundred rupees offered to him among the needy. Although the Mughal government fixed a monthly stipend of rupees eleven for him, he never drew the money from the exchequer. Towards the end of his life he went to Delhi and died there. He lies buried in the cemetery of Khwaja Baqi Billah.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 434.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 422-3.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Mumin: The son of Khwaja Ahsanu'llah Buchh, he was a pupil of Mulla Muhammad Muqim and a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar. He held the position of *mufti* during the governorship of Kaṛim Dad Khan. Described as a role model in matters pertaining to the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Mumin died in 1197/1782-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 440.

Mulla 'Abdu'n-Nabi Diwani Baldimari: The son of Maulana Jamalu'd-Din and a pupil of Mulla Abu'l-Qasim, he also obtained guidance from Mulla Haidar Charkhi, Mulla Muhammad Topigaru, and Mulla Baqir Narahlalu in exoteric sciences. In *tasawwuf* he was trained by Mulla Shah and is described as an ocean of exoteric and esoteric knowledge in the hagiographic literature. Dara-Shukoh quotes his spiritual tutor, Mulla Shah, as saying that Mulla 'Abdu'n-Nabi was one of the learned scholars of Srinagar and that his inner self was illuminated. He accompanied Mulla Shah during his travels across the Valley.

Dara-Shukoh, *Sakinatu'l-Auliya* (U), p. 210.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 90.

Diddamari *Waqi'at* (US), p. 279.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 424.

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rahim Fafu: His ancestors had come to Kashmir from Badakshan and he was called Fafu because he was not well conversant with the Kashmiri language. After obtaining formal education, he became a disciple of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi. Introduced to Emperor Aurangzeb, he later reached the land beyond the Indus in the company of Jan Nisar Khan Afsar Farash. He became a courtier of the king of Bukhara for a considerable time on account of his learning and, later, on returning to Kashmir, devoted himself to teaching at the Khanqah-i Naqshbandiyya in Srinagar until his death in 1107/1695-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 297.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 325.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 429.

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Bainwa: A disciple of Baba 'Usman Chhatabali, he was a Qadiriyya Sufi of humble disposition and is said to have been sunk in the ocean of *'irfan*. He would deliver sermons at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and, also, at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

'Abdu'r-Rashid composed verses on Sufism in the form of his work called *Rauzatu'l-Ash'ar*. He also composed a eulogy of 360 verses on the merits of the article of faith (*kalima*)*: la ilaha il'ul-lah.*

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid's date of death is not known, though he lies buried at the Dukan Shri Bhat in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 339.

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Dadru Qadiri: He was a Sufi of the Qadiriyya order entombed at Hariparbat in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 236.

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Zargar: He was a pupil of Muhammad Afzal Charkhi, Mulla Sultan Maantji and Qazi 'Abdu'r-Rahim in exoteric sciences. He left a profound impression on the Mughal governor, Saif Khan (1669-72) on account of his learning when the latter summoned the ulama of his time to test their knowledge. A widely travelled *'alim* in pursuit of knowledge, he was appointed as *qazi* of Burhanpur by Aurangzeb.

In *tasawwuf*, Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid was a disciple of Mir 'Ali Qadiri and, in spite of his preoccupations, was immersed in *zikr* and *fikr*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 289-90.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 427.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 297.

Mulla 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Gujwari *alias* Shah Jeev: He was a pious and learned *'alim* who dedicated himself to teaching. He followed the Sha'fi *mazhab*. Diddamari writes that he met with Shah Jeev along with his *murshid*, Muhammad Murad Tang, during the time of his illness. He died in about 1123/1711 in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 362-3.

Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur: Little is known about him except that he was the brother of Mulla Abu'l-Faiz and that he lived in seclusion as a learned Sufi in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 383-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 433.

Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur Patloo: He belonged to the business community of Srinagar. He obtained education from Khwaja Haidar Charkhi and, later, from his sons and other *fuzala*. Known for his learning and *taqwa*, he dedicated himself to teaching exoteric knowledge. Such was his piety that he did not accept any money out of the grant fixed by Emperor Aurangzeb for the ulama of Kashmir. He died in 1112/1700.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 325-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 429.

Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil Badshah: The brother of Muradu'd-Din Khan Qazi he went to Peshawar with his father and brother to seek knowledge. After mastering the exoteric sciences, he sought spiritual guidance from Hafiz 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Kashmiri, a *khalifa* of Miyan Sa'id Lahori, and attained to the position of his *murshid's* successor. Although he held a high official position in the government of Kashmir, he acted as the *imam* of the mosque. His disciples are said to have been many.

He died on 18 Shawwal 1171/25 June 1758 and was buried at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 329.

Mulla 'Abid Kawusa: This grandson of Mulla Yusuf Kawusa was initiated into Sufism by Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil and is said to have made best efforts for the dissemination of the teachings of the order after his *murshid's* death. He died in 1206/1791-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 369.

Mulla Abdu'l-Ghafur: Not much is known about this son of Shaikh Muhammad Kuku except that he was an accomplished Kashmiri scholar and Sufi and a pupil of Mulla Amanu'llah Shahid.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 352.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ghafur: A famous *'alim* and teacher in Lahore, he received spiritual training in the Qadiriyya order under the guidance of one of the disciples of Miyan Mir. But this did not quench his spiritual thirst. Unable to receive the attention that was due to him from his distinguished contemporary, Miyan Mir, he decided to wear the Brahman's thread and paste on his forehead and so roam about the *bazaar* side by side with Hindus. Although a Muslim, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur called himself an infidel inwardly. Discipleship of Miyan Mir, he thought, would have not only made him a Muslim but also earned him a spiritual status. On hearing from the guide of 'Abdu'l-Ghafur that the latter had been peculiarly seeking to reconcile his outward form with his internal condition out of melancholy, Miyan Mir enrolled him as his disciple. According to Dara-Shukoh, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur died during the lifetime of Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp.148-9.

Mulla Abu Bakr: He first received education from Dara-Shukoh's teacher Mirak Shaikh. A voracious reader, he distributed his books to the students in order to earn the discipleship of Miyan Mir. The latter entrusted him to the care of his most illustrious disciple Akhwund Mulla Shah. Abu Bakr died in 1049/1639 near Lahore.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya, 243.

Mulla Abu'l-Faiz: Little is known about him except that he was a devout disciple of Mulla Hajji Muhammad. He obtained *khat-i irshad* from his *murshid* and also received spiritual guidance from Maulana Hasamu'd-Din (d. 1197/1782-3). He lies buried in Shahjahanabad.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 439.

Mulla Abu'l-Faiz: Not unlike his brother, Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur, he led a secluded life as a Sufi of learning in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 433.

Mulla Abu'l-Fath Kulu: He was a dignitary of Srinagar and the son of Khwaja Nur Muhammad. He obtained exoteric and estoreric knowledge under the guidance of Maulana Haidar Charkhi. As a teacher and *'alim*, he gained a reputation for his profound knowledge of the issues related to *fiqh*. He wrote *Saifu's-Sabba'in* in refutation of the Shia theology. Towards the end of his life, he became a *mufti*.

Notwithstanding the reputation of Mulla Abu'l-Fath as a teacher and theologian, he led the life of a *dervish* and left a deep impression on his contemporaries by virtue of his piety and humility, and the sobriety of views. His prominent disciples included Akhwund Mulla 'Inayatu'llah Shawl and Shaikh Husain Laloo.

He died in 1101/1689-90 and lies buried near the tomb of Mirza Haidar Dughlat in the Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 303-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 426-7.

Mulla Abu'l-Makarim: He was a son of Mulla Abu'l-Wafa. Although a *mufti*, he became a disciple of Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman and attained to spiritual heights. He died in 1191/1777 at the age of 50 in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 438.

Mulla Afzal: This son of Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur's son, Mulla Rahmatu'llah, was endowed with the knowledge of esoteric and exoteric sciences, and devoted himself to the cause of imparting education in Srinagar.

He died in 1172/1758-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 435.

Mulla Ahmad 'Allama: He is supposed to have come to Kashmir along with his *pir-i suhabat*, Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi (Bulbul Shah) during the reign of Raja Suhadeva. He received the title of Shaikhu'l-Islam during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din and played an important role in the spread of the teachings of Islam in the reign of Shihabu'd-Din. Gifted with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences he wrote *Fatwa-i Shahabi* and *Shihab-Saqib* on *fiqh* and *tasawwuf* respectively.

He lies buried near the tomb of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 413.

Mulla Akbar Khan: He was the brother of Mulla Amanu'llah Shahid and obtained his education from his father Maulavi Abu'l-Khair. From Shaikh Baba-i Radhu and Mir Abu'l-Fath, he received spiritual guidance in the Chistiyya and the Qadiriyya orders respectively. He went to Delhi and learnt *'ilmu'l-Hadis* from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Khaliq Dihlawi. The ruler of Delhi bestowed on him the title of Khan and also appointed him *darogah* of the court.

He died on 4 Sh'aban 1157/3 September 1744.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 435-6.

Mulla 'Ali Almas: Cousin of Mulla Almas and a favourite pupil of Jawahar Nanat, he was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi and lies buried in a village in the *pargana* of Bangil in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 421.

Mulla 'Ali Qari: A pupil of 'Allama Ibn Hajjar Makki and originally a native of Herat in Afghanistan, he settled in Mecca and became an authority on *hadis*. His several works include commentaries on *fiqh* and *hadis*. Notwithstanding his erudition, Mulla 'Ali Qari practised Sufism in his personal life. He died in 1014/1605.

Mulla Jauhar Gana'i, a Kashmiri *'alim* and Sufi, he obtained a *sanad* in *hadis* from Mulla 'Ali Qari during the period of pilgrimage.

Maulana Saiyid Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, *Tarikh-i da'wat wa 'azimat*, II, p.161, n 2.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 166-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 174.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 355.

Mulla Amiru'd-Din Mufti: He was the son of Maulavi Hidayatu'llah Mattu and a disciple of Shaikh Akbar Hadi. A scholar of excellence, Amiru'd-Din earned a name as *qazi* during the Afghan rule for rendering equitable justice. When Sikh rule was established in Kashmir in 1819, Amiru'd-Din resigned the post of *qazi* and devoted himself to the service of the pious and the poor in the true manner of his ancestors.

He died on 20 Safar 1258/4 March 1242.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 445.

Mulla Dost Muhammad Suhhaf: Known among his companions as Kaka, he was a disciple of Maulana Khwajgi. He is entombed in Balkh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 358.

Mulla Firuz Mufti: The son of Maulana Nuni Gana'i, he went on *hajj* at a very young age and while returning to India from the pilgrimage decided to stay at Bada'un to gain knowledge. His knowledge of *tafsir* and *hadis* was first-rate, so much so he is believed to have discussed certain finer points related to these disciplines with Khizr in a state of spiritual experience lasting for forty days. Makhdumu'l-Mulk, Emperor Akbar's teacher, is said to have been his pupil.

On returning to Kashmir after long years dedicated to research and teaching, Mulla Firuz became the disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Simultaneously, he held the position of chief *mufti* of Kashmir, delivering *fatwas* in accordance with the *Shari'ah*.

Mulla Firuz was unjustly killed under the orders of the Shia ruler of Kashmir. One of his disciples, Maulana Almas Gana'i, was also murdered with him in 973/1565.

Firuz Mufti's distinguished contemporary, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, eulogized his death in a chronogram saying that the Mulla earned martyrdom for his unparalled services to the *din*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 165-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 173.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 265-6.

Mulla Haidar Bulaqi *alias* Pishlu: This son of Mulla Muhammad Murad was initiated into the Qadiriyya and Naqshbandiyya order by Hafiz Hasan A'ma, the *khalifa* of Mir 'Ali Qadiri. He was also devoted to Mulla Nazuk Naqshabandi. Having gained excellence in exoteric and esoteric sciences, Mulla Haidar died on 17 Rajab 1134/22 April 1722 and lies buried in the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Mulla Haidar Pishlu: He was the son of Mulla Jamalu'd-Din Pishlu and a disciple of Saiyid Hayat Khan Chewdara, who was also his mother's father. After the latter's death, he received spiritual guidance from Shaikh Akbar Hadi.

Mulla Haidar was the recognized Sufi scholar of his time. Almost all his contemporary ulama of Srinagar are said to have been his pupils. Not only was he known for his spiritual excellence, but he won fame as the author of several works including *Nuru's-Siraj*, *'Ilm-i fara'iz*, *Durr-i Yatim*, *Gharaibu'l-Ghara'ib*, *Khairu'l-Hasanat*, *Sharh-i Chihil wa char Hadis*, etc. In addition to these works, he wrote several tracts.

On 21 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1243/12 October 1827, Mulla died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 402.

Mulla Hajji Gana'i *alias* Rizvi: Miskin describes him as an enlightened scholar and teacher and a disciple of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. Throughout his life he devoted himself to teaching in the *madrasa* of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din. Diddamari, however, writes that Mulla Hajji Gana'i gained access to the court of Aurangzeb when the latter was the *subehdar* of Aurangabad. The prince, who became a pupil of the Hajji, appointed him Qazi. Diddamari further remarks that Mulla Hajji was the only *'alim* who raised his voice against Aurangzeb's rebellion against his father, and showers praise on him for his sense of justice and realization of reality. He died some time after the accession of Aurangzeb.

Diddamari, *Waqia't* (US), p. 266.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 418.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 292.

Mulla Hajji Tusi: A disciple of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi in Sufism and a pupil of Mulla Jawhar Nanth in exoteric sciences, he was also at home in astronomy.

He lies buried at Daniwari in Srinagar near the tomb of Maulana Jamalu'd-Din.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 244.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 421.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 294.

Mulla Hamid Gujar: He became a disciple of Miyan Mir only a year before his *pir's* death. Before receiving training in the teachings of the Qadiriyya order, he was very critical of Miyan Mir as an eminent *'alim* of Lahore. Not unlike the worldly ulama, Hamid Gujar acquired a huge fortune. However, after experiencing an abrupt inward change seven months before his death on 17 Ramazan 1044/5 March 1635, he became a recluse, renouncing family and teaching.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, 142.

Mulla Hamid Namdasaz: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Mulla Hasan: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He commanded respect for his righteousness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Mulla Hidayatu'llah Gaani: The son of Khwaja Abu'l-Fath Gaani and pupil of Mulla Muhammad Hajji, devout and erudite, he seldom showed interest in worldly affairs. He died in 1170/1756-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 437.

Mulla Husain Ghaznavi: A disciple of Baba Hajji Adham, he had an exalted spiritual status and lies buried near the grave of his *murshid* at Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 202.

Mulla Husain Hajji Gana'i: He lived in the vicinity of the Jam'a mosque in Srinagar and imparted lessons in the *khanqah* of Malik Jalalu'd-Din Thakur. He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Khwaja Ishaq Qari. Khwaja Hasan Qari initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 235.

Mulla Husain Khabbaz: He initially received guidance in Sufism from the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Khwaja Ishaq Qari. After his *murshid's* death, Mulla Husain performed the *hajj*. At Akbarabad he met Khwaja 'Abdu'sh-Shahid, a grandson of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, who initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order. He spent some time at the *khanqah* of Khwaja Baqi Billah and derived solace by humbling his mind in his service.

On his return home, Mulla Husain sought to reform Sufism in Kashmir in the true manner of a Naqshbandiyya Sufi. His prominent contemporary in Srinagar, Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri of the Kubrawiyya order, had a passion for *sama'* and kept the company of the singers of the *sufiana kalam*. Mulla Husain's denunciation of *sama'* led to an interesting debate with Khwaja Habibu'llah. Since the controversy raged around the question whether the *sama'* was a *bid'a* or not, it had to be referred to a tribunal of ulama. Mulla Husain won the case mainly on the arguments based on the *Shari'ah*.

Mulla Husain was a profound scholar and authored several works including the *Risala-i Hidayatu'l-a'ma*. The latter is an attempt to expound Sufism by way of a dialogue between Shaikh Faridu'd-Din 'Attar and Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi and other Sufis. He imparted lessons on *Hadis* from *Bukhari* and *Muslim*. Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, Mulla Haidar 'Allama, Muhammad Afzal, and Khwaja Muhammad Sufi are said to have benefited from his discourses. Baba Dawud Mishkati describes him as a standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah* who, also, as a preacher of *din-i Muhammadi* and the "noble *murshid*" of Islam, distinguished between *haqq* and *batil* and good and evil in his crusade against *bid'a* and ignorance. He died on 13 Zilhaj 1052/22 February 1643 and was buried at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 213-15.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 219-20.

Mulla Ibrahim Ruhi: Before becoming a disciple of Miyan Mir of Lahore, Ibrahim Ruhi had distinguished himself as an *'alim* and an enthusiastic traveller. But after being initiated as Qadiriyya, he played an important role in the dissemination of spiritual teachings of his order in the areas around Mewat and Narnoul. He died in 1025/1616-17.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 205-8.

Mulla 'Inayatu'llah Shawl: Originally a pupil of Mulla Abu'l-Fath Kuloo and Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid, he later took lessons in *'aqli* and *naqli 'ulum* from the sons of Mulla Haidar Charkhi. He had a profound knowledge of *'ilmu'l-Hadis*, particularly of *Sahiu'l-Bukhari*. After becoming the disciple of Miyan Sibgagu'llah Faruqi, he remained infatuated with only spiritual issues. In order to bring home to the faithful the importance of spiritual dimension of Islam, he would give sermons every Friday at the Nau Masjid (Pather Masjid) in Srinagar. In his discourses he would recite Persian Sufi poetry. He died in Sha'ban in 1125/ August 1713.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 371.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 296.

Mulla 'Isa Siyalkoti: He was initiated as a Qadiriyya by Miyan Mir of Lahore. Dara-Shukoh describes him as a traveller in *'alam-i malakut* because of his steadfastness in *zuhad* and *taqwa*.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya, 244.

Mulla Jamalu'd-Din Pishlu: He obtained guidance from his father, Mulla Rahmat Pishlu in exoteric and esoteric sciences. From Khwaja Muhammad Ishaq Dandru and Shaikh Muhammad 'Umar, he learnt the skills of *'ilmu'l-qirat*. He also enjoyed the company of Akhwund Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil.

Mulla Jamalu'd-Din enjoyed immense popularity by virtue of his spiritual exaltedness. The Afghan deputy-governor of Kashmir, Abu'l-Barakat Khan, who was his devotee, seldom turned down requests of those recommended to him by the Mulla. However, disgusted with the mundane concerns of his visitors, Mulla Jamalu'd-Din fled to Dadwumpura where, after living in solitude, he died in 1198/ 1783-4 during the cholera epidemic. He was buried near the mausoleum of Baba Yazid Shama Nagi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 394.

Mulla Jauhar Gana'i: He was a respectable citizen of Srinagar who spent his entire childhood and youth in acquiring *'ulum-'aqli* and *'ulum-i naqli*. A disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhum, Jauhar Gana'i taught at the *madrasah* of Qutbu'd-Dinpura near Saraf Kadal in Srinagar for the most part of his life. After performing *hajj*, he obtained a *sanad* in *Hadis* from Shaikh Ibn-i Hajjar Makki and his favourite disciple, Mulla 'Ali Qari.

After his return from Mecca, Mulla Jauhar continued to teach and simultaneously carried on the business of pashmina wool on a modest scale in order to sustain himself and his family. He died in 1026/1616-17 following an outbreak of cholera epidemic in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 166-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 174.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 355.

Mulla Jawahar Nanat: He used to visit Shaikh Hamza Makhdum during his childhood. As the Shaikh's affection for the child began to grow, he entrusted him to the care of a prominent disciple, Baba Dawud Khaki. Mulla Jawahar first obtained the knowledge of exoteric sciences and later received guidance in *tasawwuf* from Baba Dawud Khaki. But even after the latter's death, Mulla Jawahar's quest for spiritual knowldege did not cease as is evident from his close association with Makhdum Hajji Musa. He later performed *hajj* and met several Sufis during his travels in Mecca and Medina. On his return to Srinagar, Mulla Jawahar started teaching and made his mark as a respectable Sufi teacher of learning and action. Such was the quality of his faith that his eyes usually remained brimmed with tears and this would make his audience listen to him with devotional rapture. He lies buried at Hawal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 218.

Mulla Kazim Chuhu: He was a cousin of Qazi 'Abdu'l-Karim Chuhu. Known for his erudition and piety, he devoted his life to teaching. Although spiritually endowed, he avoided meeting people. He died in 1120/1708-9.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 365.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 431.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 298.

Mulla Kazim: He was a nephew and disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Mattu. Although he traded with India in lakhs, he earned a good name for his devoutness and munificence. After his death in Sirhind, he was brought to Srinagar for burial.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 435.

Mulla Khwaja Bihari: His original home being Hajjipur (Patna), he came to Lahore in pursuit of spiritual knowledge. He studied there under the guidance of Mulla-Fazil. On becoming a disciple of the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir, he spent a good deal of time in the jungle to gain a firm foothold in esoteric knowledge in the best tradition of his *pir*. It is said that such was his devotion that he would regularly eat the remains of the betel-nut spewed by Miyan Mir in the hope of acquiring proficiency in Qura'nic exegesis, and *Hadis*. Dara-Shukoh writes about some subtle explanations of Sufism given by the Mulla. His conversations with some of his contemporary Sufis bear testimony not only to his eloquence but also to an advanced spiritual consciousness. This is particularly reflected in his interpretation of the term "neighbour" in Sanai's verse:

> You are keen to attend the assemblies of the religious sermon,
> Oh sermon deliverer, to you the death of the neighbour is more than sufficient.

The verse actually called on the heart to remain vigilant in old age learning from the feebleness of other organs of the body (eyes, ears, hands and feet).

Once in the middle of winter the Mulla was in the company of a number of his fellow Sufis around a fire. On being asked by one of the Sufis present to expound his ideas on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, the Mulla suddently jumped into the fire claiming that his action was identical with the Unity of Being. After remaining in the fire for some time, he came out of his spiritual experience. Thereupon, "people rushed up to him, tearing off every shred of his clothing". The Mulla then said, "If people address me, "Oh! Prince of Saints, Oh! Mulla-Khwaja, Oh! Shaikh-Wali (Great Shaikh)"; I am not pleased with the praise. Later if people say, "Oh! Infidel, Oh! Jew! I do not feel abused or become angry."

Mulla Khwaja had the gift of the gab. Occasionally, he would lapse into raphsodies while talking. He did not enrol any disciple. No information is available about the exact date of his death.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 205-8.

Mulla Khwaja Kalan: He belonged to the suburbs of Lahore and was a prominent disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir. He would visit graveyards, praying for deceased souls. According to Dara-Shukoh, he died before his *murshid*.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 144-5.

Mulla Maqsud Mattu: He obtained his formal education from Akhwund Nuru'l-Huda and, later, learnt theology and *tasawwuf* at the feet of Shaikh Maqsud. Until his death in 1192/1778, Mulla Maqsud remained remained steadfast in the Path.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 355.

Mulla Mashrabi: He travelled in various countries in search of truth. Finally Khwaja Muhammad

Ishaq initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order. He also derived spiritual guidance from Khwaja Mahmud Khawand. He is entombed at Diddamar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 282.

Mulla Muhammad: After obtaining spiritual guidance from Mulla Hajji Dhar and, later, Baba Muhsin Qadiri, this son of Mulla Ashraf Charkhi resorted to *chilla* forty times and lived in seclusion in Kashmir.

He died in 1179/1765-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 436-7.

Mulla Muhammad: Initiated by Nura Baba Narwari, he was known for his scholarship and rectitude. Mulla Muhammad resorted to *chilla* for some period in the town of Sopur. His abode was the meeting ground of the rich and the poor, who vied with each other in seeking his guidance. After completing his mission in the town, he came to Srinagar where he built his own house and got married. Although he lived in relative seclusion, people flocked to his house at Diddamar in Srinagar. For several generations, Mulla Muhammad's noble descendants proved themselves to be the torch-bearers of Sufism in the Valley by inspiring people with their noble examples. The tomb of Mulla Muhammad is a place of veneration at Diddamar in Srinagar. His descendants live in Sopur.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 281.

Mulla Muhammad 'Aasim: The father-in-law of Mulla Mahmud Balkhi, he was reputed for his learning and righteousness. He was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Baba Maqsud Naqshbandi. Later, he also received spiritual guidance from Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Kaman. The date of his death is not known.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 365.

Mulla Muhammad 'Abid Topigaru: The erudite scholar lived in seclusion and despised both the rich and their riches. Several stories regarding his self-denial point to his spiritual stature. Such was his spiritual status that Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, himself a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order, notes with gratitude the spiritual blessings obtained by him during the course of his nine meetings with him. He died at the age of 70 in 1122/1710.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 363.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 429-30.

Mulla Muhammad 'Arif: The son of Mulla Abu'l-Qasim, he was a courtier of Shah Jahan and went to Iran for some time as *waqa'i-navis*. A letter of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum Sirhindi addressed to him is extant.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 425.

Mulla Muhammad 'Aini: A pupil of Maulana Muhammad Jami, he came to Kashmir towards the end of Chak rule. Many people, including the prominent Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, benefitted from his company for guidance in exoteric and esoteric sciences. He died in 948/1541 and is buried in the cemetery of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin's time, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 173.

Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p.50; II, p. 359.

Saiyid Husamu'd-Din Raashidi, *Tazkira-i Shu'ara-i Kashmir*, III, p. 26.

Mulla Muhammad Amin Gaani 'Ala'u'd-Dinpuri: He was the son-in-law and disciple of Baba Majnun. Diddamari clearly refers to different persons having the same name.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 279.

Mulla Muhammad Ba'i: Little is known about him save that he was a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order known for his piety and adherence to the *Shari'ah*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 235.

Mulla Muhammad Fazil Kawausa: He was the son of Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Kawausa. He gave up family life and resorted to seclusion after becoming a disciple of Naji Rishi Baba. But after coming in contact with Shaikh Sibgathu'llah Sirhindi during his visit to Kashmir, Kawausa denounced renuciation and thus came to be known as Nuru'd-Din Sani.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 154.

Mulla Muhammad Kawusu: He was the son of Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Kawusu and the son-in-law of Shaikh Muhsin Fani. After renouncing the pleasures of life, he obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh Najmu'd-Din. He lived a quiet life. It was customary for him to keep awake during the nights in remembrance, and observe fasts regularly during the daytime. After spending some time at Nowhatta in Srinagar, he went to the village of Ghasipura in Ular. Later he sought the guidance of Shaikh Sibghatu'llah Dihlawi and is said to have reached the stage of *fana'*. Towards the end of his life he moved to Peshawar in order to meet his *murshid* and on his return to Kashmir breathed his last in Baramulla.

He lies buried at Khanyar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 280.

Mulla Muhammad Kazim Mattu: A cousin and pupil of 'Abdu'l-Karim Akhwun, he was extremely pious and wrote a book on *Fiqh*. Towards the end of his life, he went to Poonch and was laid to rest there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 435.

Mulla Muhammad Muhsin: He was disciple of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. He served his spiritual master for 40 years and made his mark as a Sufi of learning, noble thought and wisdom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 332.

Mulla Muhammad Murad: He was a grandson of Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Gana'i and the son of Mahmud us-Sharif. Described as an *'alim, fazil* and well versed in Sufism, the Mulla had contact with the reputed Sufis and ulama of his time including Baba Nasib. Mulla Muhsin Khushu was his pupil.

Muhammad Murad died on 1 Safar 1090/ 4 March 1679.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 281.

Mulla Muhammad Sa'id Gandsu *alias* Bukhari: A pupil of Mulla Muhammad Muqim, he committed the *Sahihu'l-Bukhari* to memory and so was called Bukhari. After mastering exoteric sciences, he obtained guidance in Sufism from Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil. He also mastered the *Kutbubu's-Sittah,* or "six correct" books of *Hadis*, and obtained *sanad* and authorization from his *murshid* while presenting him the six authoritative works of *Hadis*.

Muhammad Sa'id himself authored several works including a translation of the Qur'an under the title *Mafatihu'l-Barakat*, *Sharha-i Kibrat-i Ahmar*, and *Jalailu'd-D'awat*.

Notwithstanding his erudition, Mulla Muhammad Sa'id lived the life of an *'arif* in the house of his brother-in-law, Shah Muhammad Afzal Zunamari, as a celibate. Towards the end of his life he went to Shahabad and died there in 1208/ 1793-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 366.

Mulla Muhammad Sharif: After he was initiated as a Qadiriyya by Miyan Mir, he remained steadfast in remembering God in seclusion. He settled in Ruhtas, on the road to Kabul.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya, p. 242.

Mulla Muhammad Wali *alias* Kun: As a pupil of Akhwund Nuru'l-Huda, he gained expertise in exoteric sciences. It was under the guidance of Miyan Gul Muhammad Kangal that he achieved excellence in spiritual knowledge.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 374.

Mulla Muhsin Fani: He was the son of Shaikh Hasan, who was the son of Shaikh Muhammad. He was related to Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. After obtaining formal education, he travelled through India and learnt about various people and their religions. Dara-Shukoh befriended him by virtue of his knowledge and broadminedness. After being appointed as the *Sadr* in the Mughal administration, he acquired considerable popularity among his contemporaries. Besides discharging the duties of his office conscientiously, Muhsin Fani imparted lessons to the students in spite of his busy schedule.

Towards the end of his life Muhsin Fani became a disciple of Muhammad Amin Dhar. Most of his time, after his initiation, was spent in repentance with tearful eyes.

Mulla Muhsin Fani was a poet of great merit. His *nom de plume*, Fani, itself suggests his attitude to the world of ugly want. He lived in the *khanqah* of Dara-Shukoh at Gurgarhi *mohalla* in Srinagar and was buried there after his death in 1082/ 1671-2.

Diddamari and Hasan attribute the authorship of the *Dabistan-i Mazahib* to Muhsin Fani, but Rieu, Ethe, Ivanow, Beveridge, Beal and others hold different views. Sir William Jones, however, was the first Orientalist to attribute the authorship of the *Dabistan* to Mulla Muhsin Fani. The question that, however, needs to be explored is why Diddamari, a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alam II, describes Fani as the author of the *Dabistan-i Mazahib*. He observes that Fani changed his philosophical views on religion after becoming a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar. Interestingly, Kashmir figures in the *Dabistan* several times. Besides, the author refers to the verses of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 286-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 425-6.

Sufi, *Kashir*, II, pp. 365-7.

Mulla Muhsin Khushoo: A pupil of Mulla Muhammad Amin Gaani, he made his mark as an excellent teacher after completing education under the guidance of other teachers including Maulana Muhammad Murad Bolaqi.

Initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Akhwund Mulla Nazuk, Mulla Muhsin wrote commentaries and notes on the margins of the *'Ainu'l-'ilm*, *Hidaya*, *Radd-i Shia*, *Matul* and *Ruh-i Mawaqif*.

Mulla Muhsin died in 1119/1707 at the age of 49 and lies buried at Tashwan in Srinagar near the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 364.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 430.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 287.

Mulla Nuru'd-Din Naushahri: A *khalifa* of Mirza Kamil Khan Badakshi, he is said to have guided several seekers and lies buried at Naushahr in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 341.

Mulla Nuru'd-Din Qari Khanyari: This son and disciple of Shaikh 'Ibadi Qari received spiritual guidance from Mulla Muhiu'd-Din Sialkoti. He had profound knowledge of *'ilmu'l-qirat* and and spared no effort to popularize it.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 402-3.

Mulla Nuru'l-Haqq: He was the son of Mulla 'Abdu'l-Haqq and a disciple of Shaikh Zia'u'd-Din Zahgir. Although affiliated to the Naqshbandiyya order, he kept his identity as a Sufi concealed and throughout his life acted as the *imam* of the Naqshbandiyya *khanqah* in Srinagar. He died in 1277/1860-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Mulla Nuru'l-Huda: The son and *khalifa* of Mulla Muhammad Muqim Topigaru, he achieved excellence in exoteric and esoteric sciences. All through his life he played an important role as a religious teacher and earned the title of *'Alamu'l-'Ulama* for his erudition, piety, tolerance and munificence. He died in 1199/1784-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 438-9.

Mulla Nuru'llah Patwani: He was a son of Shaikh Salih and a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rasul Qadiri. Although a learned Sufi and a *hafiz*, Mulla Nuru'llah was an ecstatic and secluded himself across the mountains and the caves. Himself a Sufi of high rank, Mulla Nuru'llah had association with several Sufis of his time, including Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar. It was his routine to visit the tombs of the Sufis. The most disginguishing trait of Mulla Nuru'llah's personality was his affectionate attitude to Hindus. Many non-Muslims are said to have been guided by him.

Mulla Nuru'llah had profound knowledge of the medicinal uses of the herbs. Miracles attributed to him testify to his exalted spiritual status.

On 20 Jamiu'du's-Sani 1230/30 May 1815, Nuru'llah died at the age of 95 and lies buried at Malarata in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 338.

Mulla Qawamu'd-Din: Son of Maulana Sa'du'd-Din Sadiq, he received guidance in all fields of knowledge from Shaikh Rahmatu'llah and Mulla Nuru'd-Huda. From Hajji Ni'matu'llah Naushahri, Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wali Turfani, and Baba Muhsin Malachamari he learnt *Hadis*. Mir Qari, the son of Shaikhu'l-Qira, taught him the *'ilmu'l-qira*. He then taught students at the *khanqah* of Saiyid Amin Wusi. In recognition of his services, Ahmad Shah Abdali (1753-72) bestowed on him the title of Shaikhu'l-Islam during the governorship of Buland Khan. Simultaneously he was appointed the *qazi* and *amin* of the court. Mulla Qawamu'ddin's nobility of culture, honesty and the impeccable sense of justice endeared him to both the rulers and the ruled.

Notwitstanding Mulla Qawamu'ddin's preoccupations with mundane affairs, he had a close association with Shah Zainu'd-Din Qadiri, Miyan Zakariyya-i Lahori, and the Shaikhu'l-Islam Ahmadakadali. When 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman arrived in Kashmir, Qawamu'ddin lived as his disciple for 24 years.

On 5 Ziq'ad 1219/5 February 1805, Mulla Qawamu'ddin died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 442.

Mulla Rahmatu'llah Pishlu: Son of Mulla Haidar Bolaqi, after obtaining exoteric and esoteric guidance from his father, he rose to be a great *'alim* and scholar of his time. He was a bibliophile and is said to have 4,000 books on a variety of subjects including religion, philosophy, logic, *tib*, *tasawwuf*, history, etc., in his inherited and personal collection.

He died in 1174/1760-1 and lies buried in the town of Shupian.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 346-7.

Mulla Sangin: He was a soldier before becoming the disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir. The latter's distinguished *khalifa*, Mulla Shah, always praised him for his mystic love for his *pir*. Dara-Shukoh speaks high of his spiritual state characterized as *fana-fi'l shaikh* or complete spiritual unity with the spiritual guide.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), pp. 178; 210.

Mulla Sanau'llah Pishlu: He was the eldest son of Mulla Jamalu'd-Din Pishlu. After obtaining formal religious education he first received spiritual guidance from Shaikh 'Ibadi Qadiri and later from Shaikh Akbar Hadi. He lies buried at Hazratbal.

Hasan , *Tazkira* (U), p. 402.

Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Pal: He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. He shot into prominence as an erudite scholar during the reign of Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-50). His polemic on the Shia-Sunni controversy was marked by truthfulness and frankness. This explains why he left for Mecca following the death of Mirza Haidar. He is entombed in Mazar-i Baqi'.

Mulla 'Ali Raina gives an eyewitness account of the initiation of Shamsu'd-Din Pal into Sufism. It is said that once while Shaikh Hamza Makhdum was sitting near the window of his residence, Shamsu'd-Din Pal passed by. He neither dismounted as a mark of respect, nor bothered to greet the Shaikh. However, the next day when the Mulla was about to cross the same route, the Shaikh closed his window. The Shaikh told his disciples that although the Mulla was a great *'alim* he was bereft of *ilmu'l-ma'rifah*. As the Shaikh was conversing with his disciples, the Mulla entered into the room and fell at his feet. The Shaikh then placed his hand on the head of the bewildered visitor.

'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*.

Diddamari, *Waqi'*at (US), p. 172.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 174.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 156.

Mulla Sultan Maantji: Little is known about this disciple of Maulana Haidar Charkhi except that he gained eminence as a recognized *'alim* of his time and did not care for worldly comfort.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 279.

Mulla Yusuf Chachak: An *'alim* of exceptional merit who sought the guidance of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi on matters pertaining to *fiqh*, *Hadis* and *tafsir*, his eloquence in the discussions is attributed to his spiritual training under the care of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 245.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 423.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 295.

Mulla Yusuf, *alias* Almas: He received the title of Almas from one of the sultans of Kashmir and became famous as Almas Gana'i. He was a pupil of Mulla Firuz Mufti whose spiritual preceptor was the disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. Both Almas Gana'i and his teacher became the victims of sectarian intolerance at the hands of the Shia ruler of Kashmir, Husain Shah Chak in 973/1565.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 166.

Mulla Zahiru'd-Din Pishlu: Son of Mulla Sanau'llah and a disciple of Shaikh Akbar Hadi, he was known for his piety. He acted as the *imam* of the Hazratbal mosque. After Shaikh Akbar's death, he sought the guidance of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali. He died on 27 Rajab 1261/2 August 1845 and lies buried at Hazratbal.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 407.

Mulla Zainu'd-Din Pal: He was the grandson of Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Pal and a disciple of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. His *diwan* is replete with the verses of *ma'rifah*. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, a contemporary Sufi, extols his ascetic piety. He is entombed at Baghwanpura (Sabur writes Gotapura) in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 117.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 167b-168a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 279.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 216.

Muma Butt: This man was a peasant of Pampur who was initiated as Rishi by Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. A Sufi of high calibre, Muma Butt is buried in the cemetery of the shrine of his *pir* at Batmaloo in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 279.

Murad Shah: A *qalandar* and *majzub*, he was known for his miraculous powers. Once he called at Mir 'Abdu'llah's house and while gazing at the *khatamband* ceiling, a specialty of the woodcarving art of Kashmir, in a state of bewilderment and sorrow remarked: "How much money must have been spent (on this luxury)? How many carpenters must have been employed (in producing this exquisite art)?" The following night Mir 'Abdullah's house caught fire.

Murad Shah died at an old age and lies buried at Hazaran Bazar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 473.

Muradu'd-Din Khan: A pupil of Mulla 'Inayatu'llah Khan and a disciple of Muhammad Hasan Qari, he first served the imperial government as *vakil* and then as *mufti*. After the death of *Qaziu'l-Quzzat*, Taj Mahmud Khan, he succeeded him and was appointed *sadr* of Delhi following the death of Maulana Amanu'llah Shahid. He died in 1161/1747-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 436.

mu'amalat: Juridical and social obligations; the major portion of the corpus of Islamic law belongs to *mu'amalat* which is evidently social in its content. Only a small section of the *Shari'ah* has to do with rituals and worship and strictly personal ethics; the large part of the law deals with the social order. Sufis generally understood adherence to the *Shari'ah* to be a prerequisite for the establishment of a stable social order. In Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri's thought, for example, even the personal aspects of the law, the rituals themselves, acquire a social dimension.

Mu'ayyid Kara'i, Khwaja: Originally a *jagirdar* of Kara, he took to renunciation after becoming the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. An old friend of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji, the latter on becoming the sultan of Delhi failed to persuade the Khwaja to join the government service.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 199.

muminun: pl. of mumin; believer; faithful.

Mumkinu'l-Wujud: A possible existence, Creation.

Munajat: Whispering to, confidential talk. Generally fervently chanted after the usual liturgical form has been recited.

Munisu'l-Arwah: Written by Dara-Shukoh's sister, Jahan Ara Begum, the favourite daughter of Shah Jahan. Her interest in Sufism was abundant. Completed in 1049/1640, it contains a biography of Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti and his disciples.

munkar: Evil; the sinful acts. "Let there be of you an *ummah* which calls for the good, which enjoins good works and prohibits the works of evil. Those are truly felicitous." *Qur'an*. 3/104.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh: Written by Mulla Abdu'l-Qadir Qadiri bin Muluk Shah bin Hamid Shah, it is divided into three volumes; the first volume with the history of India from the reign of Nasiru'd-Dawla Sebuktigin (366/977–387/997) to the end of Humayun's reign; the second volume covers Akbar's reign; and the third is devoted to the biographies of Sufis, the ulama, physicians, and poets personally known to the author.

muraqaba: Contemplation. It involves the achievement of complete composure following the purification of the heart and the self. It is here, observes Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (Bahru'l-Ma'ani, Ethe, 1867, f. 155b), that Sufis await the opening of the gates of divine mercy.

Muraqqa'-i Dihli: Written by Nawwab Dargah Quli Khan Salar Jang (b. 1122/1710, d. 1180/1766), it is an enlarged version of his *Risala-i Salar Jang* or *Abadi-i Dihli*. The work deals with contemporary shaikhs, poets, singers and dancers of Delhi in addition to the city's buildings and festivals. MS. British Museum.

murid: Disciple; a novice.

mursal: pl. *mursalun* messenger or apostle. A term frequently used in the Qur'an for the prophets. It is only applied to those who are said to be bringers of inspired books.

Murshid: A guide. From rashad, "a straight road". The title given to the spiritual director of any religious order.

Musa Qadiri, Shah: He was the son of Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif (d. 1640) and a *murid* of Shah Sibghatu'llah's nephew. On reaching Bijapur from Kurnool, Shah Musa took up his residence outside the city walls in the monastery (*math*) of a Hindu mendicant (*gusain*). A group of *gusains*, however, forced him to leave. But then, after some days, Shah Musa is said to have converted the structure of the *gusains* into a *khanqah* after overpowering the latter in a "spiritual struggle".

'Ali Musawi al-Qadiri, *Lata'ifu'l-Latif*, Persian MS (Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, Tasawwuf no. 681), pp. 60-78.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 132-3.

Musa Suhag: He was a Chistiyya Sufi in Gujarat and a contemporary of the Suhrawardiyya *pir*, Shah 'Alam Bukhari (b. 817/1415, d. 880/1475). Most of his time was spent among the street dancers of Ahmedabad with the main objective of creating the impression on his contemporaries that he was devoid of spiritual excellence. This ruse, together with his habit of wearing glass bangles on his arms, did not work. After his death Shah 'Alam deputed his successor to bury the Shaikh with all due honour and instructed him to conceal his grave. Although Musa Suhag's grave was not marked, the Gujaratis invoked his spirit believing that he was capable of performing miracles including sending rain even after his death.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 74-5.

Musa, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri (d. 978/1571), the well-known Qadiriyya Sufi of Multan who cursed Emperor Akbar's *Sadru's-Sudur*, Shaikh Gadai, when summoned to Agra. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, a disciple of Shaikh Musa, describes his *pir* as Shaikh Hamid's successor. Although a *khanqah* dweller, he achieved the rank of an *amir*. Abu'l Fazl attributed this achievement to the discipleship (*muridi*) of the Emperor Akbar. The Langah rebels killed him in February 1602.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 206-7.

Akbarnama, III, Calcutta, 1886, p. 802.

mushahadah: Vision or revelation. A Sufistic expression for spiritual enlightenment.

Mushtaqi, Shaikh Rizqu'llah: One of the famous disciples of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Buddhan. Born in 897/1491-2, he was an uncle of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi and the author of a collection of anecdotes called the *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*. He also composed Hindi *masnavis*, the *Paiman* and *Joti Niranjan*, which are now extinct. He died in 989/1581.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 174.

Muslim Abu'l-Husain Muslim: Son of al-Hallaj al-Qushairi, the compiler of the collection of the Traditions known as the *Sahihu Muslim*, he was born at Naishapur, He died AH 261. His book of traditions ranks amongst the Sunnis as but second in authority to the *Sahiu'l-Bukhari*. The two works being styled the *Sahihan*, or the "two authentics". It is said to contain 3,000 authentic traditions.

Mustafa: Little is known about him except that he was the son of Burhanu'd-Din 'Alawi and that he lived the life of a *majzub*. He died in Bijapur in the late seventeenth century.

Tuhfa az Kamtarin, f. 66b (quoted in Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 265).

Mustafa Qadiri, Shah: The younger brother of Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri (d. AD 1635), he is said to have accompanied his brother when the latter migrated from Bidar to Bijapur. Living as a recluse, he often refused audience to the nobles. On one occasion he would not grant an interview even to royal visitor, Sultan Ibrahim II. The date of his death is not known.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, pp. 124 sqq.

Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda, Urdu edn., pp. 23 sqq.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 222.

Mutawakkil, Shaikh Ahmad: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Originally he belonged to the eastern regions of India. He retired to Ujjain in the reign of Sher Shah subsisting on food offerings from the townsfolk. He died in 998/1589-90.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 266, 355-6.

mutawalli: A person endowed with authority.

muwahhid: A believer in one God. A term often used by Muslims to express their belief as Unitarians.

muwatta: "That which has been Compiled." A title given to the book of traditions compiled by the Imam Malik (died AH 179). It is the earliest compilation of traditions, and is placed by some amongst the *Kutub's-Sittah* or "six books".

Muzammil, Saiyid: He was the son of Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab. Initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Salim Chisti, Saiyid Muzammil, under the instructions of his *murshid*, he served in the army of Sher Shah Sur for some time during his Gwalior campaign.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 311a-b (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 282).

N n

n‘at: Poetry in praise of the Prophet. The tradition of reciting *n‘at* aloud in chorus still exits in the mosques and shrines of Kashmir. *N‘atia qawwalis* to the accompaniment of musical instruments are popular in most shrines of India and Pakistan. In Kashmir, however, music is nowhere used near the tombs of the Sufis.

Nabi: A Prophet. One who has received direct inspiration (*wahy*) by means of an angel, or by the inspiration of the heart (*ilham*) or has seen the things of God in a dream. (*Kitabu’t-Ta‘rifat*). A rasul, or “messenger”, is one who has received a book through the angel Gabriel.

Na‘imu’llah Bahra’ichi, Maulavi: He came from Bahra’ich in eastern UP and was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Mirza Jan-i Janan. During the course of spiritual training for four years, he left a profound impression on his *pir* by his achievements. He authored *Ma‘mulat-i Mazhariyya*, a collection of his *pir’s* teachings, and his daily routine, as well some anecdotes about him. He died on 5 Safar 1218/27 May 1803.

Maqamat-i Mahzari, pp. 81-2.

Nafa’isu’l-Ma‘asir: Compiled by Mir ‘Alau’d-Din Kami bin Yahya Saifi Husaini Qazwini in 973/1565-6, it is replete with interesting information about the social life of Sufi poets.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 32.

Nafahatu’l-uns min Hazaratu’l-Quds: This is a biographical dictionary of Persian and Central Asian Sufis, particularly of the Naqshbandiyya, compiled by the great Persian poet Nuru’d-Din ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Jami in 833/1478-9.

Nafi’us-Salikin: Compiled by Maulana Imamu’d-Din, it deals with the discourses of the nineteenth-century Chistiyya Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman Taunsawi. Published in Lahore, 1285/1868-9.

Nafl: This is a work of supererogation, a term applied to such acts of devotion as are not enjoined by the teaching of Muhammad, or by his example.

nafs: animal life; soul; substance; desire, a word which occurs in the Qur’an and the Traditions for the human conscience.

nafs: The lower self; the lower instincts; the soul.

nafs-i ammara: The soul that, according to the Qur’an (Sura 12/59), is inclined to evil.

nafs-i lawwama: The soul that, according to the Qur’an (Sura 65/2), is self-repproaching and seeks God’s grace and pardon after repentance and tries to ammend.

nafs-i mutma‘inna: The soul that, according to Qur’an (Sura 79/27) is at peace. The Sufi’s soul returns to its Lord in an exalted state, i.e. it is at peace.

nahi-munkar: Prohibiting evil. “You are the best *ummah* brought forth unto mankind, enjoining the good works, prohibiting evil, and putting your faith in God.” Qur’an, 3/110.

Na‘im Shah: Little is known about him except that he lived at Rajuri Kadal in Srinagar and became a *majzub* in his youth under the influence of some *faqir*. Known for his spiritual prowess, Na‘im Shah died in 1165/1751-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 472.

Na‘imu’llah, Shah: He was a Sufi of the Shattariyya order who migrated from Burhanpur to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). He died in 1693-4.

Tazkiratu’l-Auliya, II, p. 1072.

Naji Ba’i: a *khalifa* of Nur Muhammad Parwana of Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 221.

Najmu’d-Din Nagauri, Hajji: He was a descendant of Shaikh Hamidu’d-Din Nagauri. His work known as *Manaqibu’l-Mahbubain* contains biographical information about Shah Muhammad Sulaiman Taunsawi, his *pir* Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharawi and several other Sufis of the Chistiyya order. It was published in Rampur and Lahore.

Nakir: One of the angels who interrogates the dead (Munkar and Nakir).

Nala-i ‘Andalib: “The Cry of the Nightingale.” Authored by Nasir Muhammad ‘Andalib in memory of his *murshid*, Pir Muhammad Zubair, the last *qayyum* belonging to the house of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the work was completed by the author's middle son, Khwaja Mir Dard. Containing the essentials of the *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya,* the Crying Nightingale, i.e. the author 'Andalib, finally identifies himself with the Prophet Muhammad. Having experienced the stage of *fana fi'r-rasul,* annihilation in the Prophet as a Saiyid, Muhammad Nasir thus gained supreme position for himself in the spiritual hierarchy. Around 1734, he had a vision of Imam Hasan, the Prophet's grandson, who imparted him lessons in the fundamentals of what came to be known as *Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya,* the Muhammad's Path.

A. Schimmel, *Pain and Grace,* Leiden, 1976, part I.

nama: A letter; epistle; a record; treatise history; a deed.

Namaz: The Persian and Hindustani term for *salat,* the Muslim liturgical prayer; the term is also used in Urdu and Kashmiri for the prayer at appointed times and also for supererogatory prayer.

Namd: Garment of coarse cloth worn by the Sufis of the Qalandariyya order. For Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari's discussion with a leading *qalandar* wearing a *namd,* see Khwaja 'Abdu'llah, *Rasa'il-i Jami'*, Tehran, 1347/1968-9, pp. 92-9.

Nanda Baiyu: A disciple of Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad, he was an ascetic who spent most of his time in contemplation at the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi in Chrar, Kashmir and ultimately in a cave in Pampur. Once Saiyid Buzurg Shah Qadiri (d. 1232/1816-17) saw him in a state of *muraqaba* at the village of Zevan unmindful of a deadly reptile hovering around his body.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 369.

Nandi Rishi: Hasan considers him to be a disciple of Hardi Rishi's *pir,* Nauroz Rishi. But the earliest Persian chronicler of Kashmir, Saiyid 'Ali, corroborated by Diddamari and Wahhab, describes him as a disciple of Hardi Rishi of Nagnaran. He was known for his strict conformity to the *Shari'ah* and did not show his face to any woman, not even his sister. However, once when a woman waiting outside his cell offered him a piece of land owned by her, Nandi Rishi politely refused to accept it on the ground that the Rishis "relied on God for sustenance". The woman then argued that he could use the land for the need of his visitors. Notwithstanding Nandi Rishi's dogged indifference to the offer, he ultimately accepted it, thanks to his disciple's implorations who argued: "Even though we do not require land ourselves, others are not like us. Who knows the actions of future generations (of Rishis)? Should you accept the land no wrong would be done in that the land offered by this courteous lady belongs to her as *haqq-i mahr* (dower). Your kind-heartedness would (thus) enable the Rishis living here in future to support themelves with its yield, and they may be able to dedicate themselves (better) to God without any worry."

Nandi Rishi, described by Hasan as Nanda Rishi, died at the village of Naganaran in Kashmir and before his death appointed Baba Hajji Rishi as his successor.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir,* RPD No. 739, f. 42a.

Nasib, *Nurnama,* RPD No. 795, ff. 148ab-150a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya,* RPD No. 50, f. 171a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin,* RPD No. 230, f. 54a.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman,* RPD No.1059, f. 110a.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama,* f. 81a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 119.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama,* CA No. 24, pp. 258-62.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 106-7.

Nangi Majzub, Shah: He was a *majzub* who died in Bijapur in 1713. A famous story about him is his public statement that he would invite the Mughals to Bijapur and give them the city as a gift. To this, his contemporary *majzub* reacted that should the Mughals move towards the city they would certainly clothe him. And when Aurangzeb did come, the story ends, he did have the nude *majzub* dressed.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 113, 227.

Naqiu'd-Din Awadhi, Maulana: Little is known about him beyond his habit of leaving his home much before dawn. He would remain busy in the remembrance of Allah until his return home at dusk.

From Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, it is clear that in spite of his absorption in meditative exercises, the Maulana was the main source of livelihood for his family. Once he refused the offer of living with a certain group of Sufis on the plea that he alone had to bear the brunt of his children and other dependants. He is also reported to have set free a slave woman who served his family as domestic servant.

He died in 835/1431-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 293-4.

nasb: Pedigree.

al-Nashira al-najira lil-firqa al-fajira: See al-Barzanji, Muhammad bin 'Abdu'r-Rasul.

Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, Shaikh: The son of Saiyid Sadru'd-Din Raju Qatal Bukhari, he lies buried in Uch (Multan) and is said to have enrolled some disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 276.

Nasiru'd-Din, Khwaja: He was the eldest son of Baba Farid. Most of his time was absorbed in prayer and meditation. He lived as an agriculturist and derived his income from this source considered to be *kasb-i halal* in the hagiographies. He died in 672/1273-4.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 672.

Nasiru'd-Din Manakpuri, Shaikh: He was a *khalifa* of the well-known Chistiyya Sufi of Bengal Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman, after visiting his tomb in Manakpur Sarai somewhere during the second half of the seventeenth century, described him as a Sufi of exalted rank.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1015.

Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Maulana Daniyal 'Ud of Satrekh. Thanks to the patronage extended to him by Sultan Bahlul Lodi, he migrated to Amethi in Lucknow where lies entombed.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1011.

Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh: He was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. Nasiru'd-Din migrated to Shaikhupura Rapri, in the Mainpuri district east of Delhi, and died in 855/1452 at the age of ninety.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 276.

Nasmatu'l-Quds min hada'iqu'l-uns: This was writtten by Muhammad Hashim bin Muhammad Qasim al-Badakshani al-Kishmi, and deals with the life of Naqshbandiyya Sufis of the eleventh/seventeenth centuries concluding with a detailed description of his *pir*, the Mujaddid. According to S.A.A. Rizvi, the only known copies of this manuscript are in Oriental Institute, Tashkent and Leningrad University Libraries.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, p. 24.

nasut: Human nature; human; human identity; the mundane or phenomenal world, described by Ghazzali as *'Alam al-mulk we Shahada*.

Nata'iju'l-Haramain: Written by a *khalifa* of Shaikh Adam Banuri, the work embodies the divine inspirations obtained by his *pir* in Mecca and Medina.

Rizvi, *Sufism*,II, p. 15.

Natha Paracha: He was a disciple of Mulla Ibrahim Ruhi (d. 1025/1616-17). Although a spiritually exalted Sufi of the Qadiriyya order, he indulged in trade and commerce in order to avoid fame.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, p. 141.

Natijat al-'ulum wa nasihat ulama' al-rusum: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghani Isma'il al-Nabulusi (1641/1713) in Syria, the work is directed against the views of the Mujaddid.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 342.

Nauroz Magray: This noted dignitary of Kashmir was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Having renounced the world, he devoted himself to the spiritual elevation of his personality.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 189.

Nauroz Rishi: A disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi, he is entombed near his preceptor's mausoleum at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Nauroz Rishi: The most distinguished disciple and *khalifa* of Baba Rajabu'd-Din. He is said to have been endowed with supernatural powers. Known for his adherence to the *Sunnah* after his initiation into the Rishi order, he enrolled many disciples in the Rishi order, prominent among them being Hardi Rishi and Nandi Rishi.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 41b-42a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 82b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 53a.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, f. 94a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 118-19.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 255-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 105-6.

Naushah Ganj Baksh: Son of the ascetic Hajji 'Ala'u'd-Din, Shaikh Hajji Muhammad Qadiri (d.1064/1654), better known as Naushah Ganj Baksh, was the most prominent disciple and *khalifa* of Shah Sulaiman. On the authority of the *Tazkira-i Naushahi*, Ghulam Sarwar traces his genealogy from the Islamicized Khukhar tribe in the Panjab. Until recent past Naushah Ganj Baksh was one of the most popular and revered Qadiriyya Sufis in the villages around Lahore because of his ascetic and egalitarian life. His poetic compositions in Hindi and Panjabi are essential for understanding the role played by him in popularizing Islamic ethics among commoners. (See *Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif.*) His disciples were spread over the Panjab and as far as Kabul. Some of his many sons and grandsons and their descendants proved to be the embodiments of spiritual and social strength and stability during the periods of the military and political change in the Panjab in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 179-83.

Naushahi, Shaikh: He entered the discipleship of Shaikh Naushah Ganjbaksh (d. 1064/1654) of the Panjab at a tender age and remained his *pir's* faithful servant. Most of his life was spent in the village of Nawshahra Mughlan near Gujarat, on the river Chenab. Having excelled in the spiritual path of the Qadiriyya order, he was called the Truthful (*Sachyar*) by his *pir*.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 201-2.

Nazar Muhmmad Qadiri Kairanawi: He was a newphew and son-in-law of the Qadiriyya Sufi Fath Muhammad (d. 1130/1718) of Kairanawa. He popularized the teachings of the Qadiriyya order in Kairana, south-west of Muzaffarnagar, in UP.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 150.

Nazr-u Niyaz: Vows and oblations. These are given in the name of God, or in the name of the Prophet, or in the name of a Muslim saint. In his letter to Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi refers to the *niyaz* accepted by him from the former for the *dervishes*.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., p. 359.

nazrana: Gift or present.

Neem Langoti: A *majzub* who lived in Bihar, he was known by the epithet of Neem Langoti because of his habit of covering himself with a cloth around the waist. The famous Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli, who met with him on his way to Awadh from Bengal, gained valuable spiritual insights from him.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1144.

ni'amat: Bliss.

Ni'matu'llah Qadiri, Shah: A disciple of the most distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi in Bengal, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Qadiri of Rajmahal, he originally belonged to Narnaul and later settled in Bengal. His *khanqah* in the village of Firuzpur near Rajmahal was a source of great comfort for innumerable Hindu and Muslim beggars as food was daily distributed in huge quantity. The *khanqah* drew a large number of grain merchants (*baqqals*) who would assemble to sell grain on three festive days in the year reserved for free distribution of food. His disciples were many, including the viceroy of Bengal, Shah Shuja, his sons, and some Mughal nobles. His many disciples popularized the Qadiriyya Sufi practices in Bengal as well as Kashmir. Long before settling in Bengal, Ni'matu'llah had visited Kashmir where he had initiated Hajji Baba Qadiri (1066/1655-6), a member of the Katju merchant community. Aurangzeb is said to have changed his hostile attitude towards Ni'matu'llah and even corresponded with him after reading some of his writings. He died in 1077/1666-7.

M.Baqa, *Mir'atu'l-'Alam*, AMU, MS, f. 184a.

Mir'at-i Jahan-Numa, AMU, MS, f. 323a.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Adabi Duniya, Delhi, n.d., pp. 513-14.

Nikatu'l-Asrar: Written by Shaikh Adam Banuri (d. 1053/1643), it describes the teachings of the Mujaddid. It also contains the author's own divinely inspired teachings (*mulhamat*). The manuscript copy of this work of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya Sufi is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

Nirguna: God is one and unqualified, without constituents; in Hindu mysticism, the Absolute finally comes out of darkness into light, of the unconscious into conscious, and of *nirguna* into *saguna*. When the Absolute becomes the subject and object of all thought, the noumenal becomes the phenomenal. In Hinduism, the divinity is generally known through, its names and attributes (*saguna*); the emergence of various sects in the history of Hinduism with their distinctive modes of worship for propitiating their personal deities. Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri fervently prays for the vision of the transcendent yet immanent God:

> "Nirguna, manifest thyself unto me.
> Thy name (alone) have I been chanting;
> Lord help me reach the acme of my spiritual desires,
> I do remember gratefully how kind Thou art.
> Thou removed all veils between thyself and the

Prophet.
And Thou revealed Qur'an unto him.
Lord the one (Prophet) who remained steadfast in Thy way.
I do remember gratefully; how kind Thou art."

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, p. 104.

Nisabu'l-Ihtisab: See Ziau'd-Din Sunami.

niyaz-i-rasul: A Persian term for offerings in the name of the Prophet.

Nizam Narnuli, Shaikh: He was the son of 'Abdu'l-Karim Narnuli and a disciple and successor of the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi of Gawalior, Khwaja Khanu (d. 941/1534). His contribution to the dissemination of the teachings of the Chistiyya order was considerable during a period of four decades. Each year he made a pilgrimage to the tombs of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. He died on 28 Safar 998/27 December 1589.

Mutakhab'ut-Tawarikh, pp. 26-7.

Ma'arij'ul-Wilayat, f. 300 (Rizvi, *Sufism*).

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 230.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 359.

Nizam Narnuli, Shaikh: He came from northern India to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). The Sufi order to which he was affiliated is not known. Nizam Narnuli's date of death is also not known.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 130 sqq.

Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh Yusuf of Burhanpur. Shah Nu'man of Asir, who seems to have been his initial guide, counselled him to receive further guidance from Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din of Mandu, a descendant of Baba Farid. The Chistiyya Sufi bestowed on him the title of Shaikh Bhikari (Beggar). His next place of pilgrimage was Pak-Pattan (Ajodhan) where he meditated and performed ascetic exercises under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad, the head of Baba Farid's *khanqah*. He then returned to Asir, and from there undertook the pilgrimage of Mecca and Medina twice, once by sea and then overland.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari achieved eminence as a Chistiyya Sufi of Burhanpur as a result of his continual fasts through the day and meditations during the night. Added to this fact are his wanderings in the manner of a *qalandar* for many years. At Shah Nu'man's suggestion, finally, he settled in Burhanpur. He founded his own *khanqah* there. Sultan 'Ali'Adil Shah I (1538-80) of Bijapur had deep reverence for Shaikh Bhikari. Such was his popularity and stature as a Chistiyya Sufi that before his death Shah Nu'man entrusted his disciples to his spiritual care. He died on 12 Rabi' I 970/1 November 1562 after leaving numerous *khalifas* to carry on the mission of the Chistiyyas in Burhanpur.

Ahwal Hazrat Khwaja Burhanu'd-Din, ff. 45b-54a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 284).

Nizamu'd-Din Shahid, Khwaja: He was a favourite disciple of Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar. Nothing else is known about him that he was a soldier and died in a battle.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 137.

Nizamu'd-Din Shirazi, Shaikh: His *zahir* and *batin* were endowed with excellent qualities. He was well acquainted with Sufism and loved *qawwali*. Among the friends of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and in the estimation of the Shaikh himself, Nizamu'd-Din Shirazi occupied a special position. He performed *hajj* and is buried at Mehrauli in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 89-90.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 902.

Nizamu'd-Din Thaneswari, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'sh-Shakur and the son-in-law and *khalifa* of Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari (d. 989/1582). Like his preceptor and most Chistiyya Sufis, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din was a profound scholar. His works include commentaries on the *Sawanih* of Ahmad al-Ghazali and the *Lama'at* of Iraqi, a commentary on the Qur'an, and treatises called *Risala-i Haqiqat* and *Risala-i Balkhiyya*. His commentary on select chapters of the Qur'an was aimed at expounding the importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. So immersed was Nizamu'd-Din in this that his illustrious contemporary, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, sought to change his views through correspondence. In a letter (*Maktubat*, I, no. 30), the Mujaddid observed that ideas of Sufis concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud* emanated from their intoxication (*sukur*) rather than the truth embodied in the *Shari'ah*. The *Wujudi* conception of the Absolute, self-manifestation (*tajalli*) and self-determination (*ta'ayyun*), the Mujaddid maintained, were matters of mystical intuition rather than reality. In another letter (*Maktubat*, I, no. 29), the Mujaddid was critical of some disciples of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din for the practice of kissing the ground (*zaminbos*) and prostration (*sijda*) before their *pir*. It is not known whether Shaikh

Nizamu'd-Din reacted to the Mujaddid's view. But 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi regards him as an expert of the *Shari'ah, Tariqa, Haqiqa* and *Ma'rifah*. Jahangir exiled him to Mecca for blessing the rebel prince, Khusraw, in Zu'lhijja 1014/April–May 1606. The Emperor also described him as an impostor (*shaiyad*) in his autobiography. After performing *hajj*, he returned to India. The Emperor again banished him to Mecca. After going on *hajj* for the second time, the Shaikh returned to India where he received a warm welcome from Shaikh 'Isa Sindhi in Bijapur. However, he migrated to Balkh because of the Emperor's order of expulsion against him. The ruler of Balkh, Imam Quli Khan, became his disciple and Balkh turned into an important Chistiyya centre. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Thaneswari was responsible for introducing the Chistiyya form of *sama'* in Balkh, despite opposition from the ulama. He was buried in Balkh.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1190-1.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu trans., I, nos. 29-30.

Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 28.

Shah Ra'uf Ahmad, ed., *Makatib-i Sharifa*, Madras, 1334/1915-16, pp. 36, 49, 266.

Nizamu'd-Din, Mulla Muhammad: He was a prominent scholar and a Sufi of early eighteenth-century Awadh. He was the third son of Mulla Qutbu'd-Din Sihalwi. The latter's murder in 1103/1692 was recompensed by Aurangzeb who granted Nizamu'd-Din and his three brothers the property of a European indigo merchant in Lucknow as well pensions to support their scholarship. They and their descendants were thus known as the Farangi Mahall family. Nizamu'd-Din played a leading role in consolidating the Nizami *madrasa* curriculum which has generally remained in vogue in South Asia.

After completing his education under Mullahs 'Ali Quli of Djais, Amanu'llah of Banaras, and Naqshband of Lucknow, Nizamu'd-Din turned the Farangi Mahall into a great centre of learning. Among his many pupils were not only members of his own family and the precursors of the Khairabad school of *ma'qulat* studies, but also students from Bengal and Awadh. Simultaneously and significantly, he contributed to the popularity of the Qadiriyya order by establishing close spiritual ties between the Farangi Mahall and the illiterate but important Sufi of the region, Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq of Bansa (d. 6 Shawwal 1136/28 June 1724).

Nizamu'd-Din's greatest achievement lay in developing the curriculum of theological sciences on a sound rational basis rather than the mere transmission of knowledge. Nevertheless, his many writings lent support to an objective understanding of Ibn al-Arabi promoted by the scholar Sufi Shah Muhibu'llah Ilahabadi. In his *Manaqib al-Razzaqiyya*, Nizamu'd-Din is appreciative of the concept of the "unity of being" (*Wahdat al-Wujud*) but stresses strict adherence to the *Shari'ah*. The marked feature of the Farangi Mahall family down to the twentieth century has been the combination of *ma'qulat* scholarship and a reformed understanding of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Nizamud-Din died on 1 Jamada 1161/29 April 1748. His son 'Abdu'l-Ali Bahr al-Ulum (d. 1225/1810) ranks with Shah 'Abdu'l-Aziz of Delhi as a great Indian scholar of his day.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, pp. 603-6.

Z.H. Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, 1963, p. 28.

Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh 'Usman Zinda Pir of the Chistiyya-Sabiri branch. Initiated by his father, Nizamu'd-Din succeeded the latter as the custodian of the shrine of Shaikh Jalal at Panipat.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab, pp. 229-31.

Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Ghulam Nasiru'd-Din (d. 1262/1846), who was popularly known as Kale Sahib. After the Revolt of 1857, Kale Sahib's property in Delhi was confiscated and his sons migrated to Hyderabad and other places. One of these, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, however, later returned to Delhi and reorganized the *khanqah* of his father. He died in 1292/1875-6.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 50-1, 60.

Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist*, rpt., Karachi, 1975, pp. 519-21.

Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh: His ancestor was Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi. Born in 1060/1650-1 at Kakori in the Lucknow district, he went to Delhi in pursuit of advanced knowledge after obtaining early education in Kakori and Lucknow. Disguised as a beggar, Nizamu'd-Din often visited the *khanqah* of Shah Kalimu'llah, then an important centre of the Chistiyyas in Delhi. After being initiated as a Chistiyya, Shah Kalimu'llah appointed him *khalifa* for the whole of the Deccan. He settled in Aurangabad after living for some time within the imperial camp. Shah Kalimu'llah kept close contact with his disciple in the Deccan through regular correspondence. Nizamu'd-Din earned considerable eminence as a Chistiyya Sufi in the Deccan as a result of his *pir's* guidance. Among his prominent disciples was Nawwab Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah (the first of the Nizams of Hyderabad d. 1161/1748), one of the most influential members of powerful pressure group called the Turanis in the Mughal government.

Nizamu'd-Din died on 12 Zu'lqa'da 1142/ 29 May 1730.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, p. 47.

Manaqib-i Fakhriya, Delhi, Persian no. 728, ff. 3b-4a.

Maktubat-i Kalimi, letter nos. 6, 29, 57.

Nizamu'd-Din Shirazi, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who performed *hajj*. He is buried in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 89-90.

Nizamu'd-Din Zaidpuri, Mir Saiyid: He was a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Manakpuri, who, in turn, was the successor of Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq of Bengal.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1015.

Nu'man, Mir Muhammad: He was one of the noted *khalifas* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. His spiritual calibre may be gleaned from the fact that the Mujjadid addressed a good number of letters to him.

Born in 977/1569-70 in Samarqand, Muhammad Nu'man's father, Mir Shamsu'd-Din Yahya Badakshani, migrated to Kabul at the invitation of Akbar's foster-brother, the viceroy in Kabul. After receiving initial training in Sufism from Amir 'Abdu'llah Balkhi 'Ishqi in Balkh, he came to India where he was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja Baqi Billah. Later the Khwaja entrusted him to the care of his most distinguished disciple, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. After the death of Baqi Billah, he served the Mujaddid with exemplary dedication.

Shaikh Bad'iu'd-Din refers to 100,000 Uzbek horsemen who became followers of Mir Muhammad Nu'man. Notwithstanding the exaggerated overtones characterizing Bad'iu'd-Din's account, it would be naive to totally reject Muhammad Nu'man's influence on contemporary society. Both Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's letters and the account of Muhammad Hashim refer to the exalted spiritual status of Muhammad Nu'man as the deputy of the Mujaddid in Burhanpur. The Naqshbandiyya order did not register remarkable progress in the Deccan, but it must have won considerable followers in the Mughal army, thanks to the Viceroy Mirza 'Abdur-Rahim Khan-i Khanan's close association with Mir Muhammad Nu'man. In a letter to the Viceroy, the Mujaddid wrote, "The presence of Mir Muhammad Nu'man in that region is very significant. I consider his blessings and spiritual attention towards you to be inestimable."

Mir Muhammd Nu'man died in 1052/1642-3.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 299-311.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat , pp. 326-40.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, II, Urdu tr., no. 62.

Nuqaba: See *abrar*.

Nuna Rishi: Brother and disciple of the Uwaisi Sufi, Zuna Rishi, he secluded himself in a forest of the Kashmir valley and lies buried there.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 366-7.

Nuni Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he is buried at the top of a karewah in Islamabad (Anantnag), Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Nur Baba: Hasan calls him Nuru'llah Baba, but Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang calls him Nur Baba. He was the son of Baba Majnun Narwari. A Sufi of high standing, Nur Baba was against reprehensible innovations (*bid'a*). Once he was angry with the mourners on the eve of a *fatiha* ceremony for having kept the turban and dress of the deceased on his grave. After removing such things with his staff, Nur Baba remarked: "What is this innovation? It is no use garlanding the dust." He is entombed at his ancestral cemetery in Srinagar.

Tang, Tang, *Tuhftu'l-Fuqara*, RPD No. 19, f. 69 ab.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 292.

Nur Muhammad Gani: A *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, he led an austere life and had commited the whole of the Qur'an to memory. His tomb lies at Malkah in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Nur Muhammad Muharwi, Khwaja: Born on 14 Ramazan 1142/2 April 1730 at Chautala near Muhar in the Bahawalpur district of Pakistan, he was the son of Hanwal, a Jat who had embraced Islam. His ancestors had earned their livelihood from agriculture and banditry. Hanwal migrated to Muhar from Chautala where the Khwaja first memorized the Qur'an and preferred to become an *'alim* rather than follow the other traditional Jat professions. After obtaining formal education in the surrounding villages, he went to the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Panjab and Lahore. From Lahore the Khwaja reached Delhi where he sought admission in the *madrasa* of Nawab Ghaziu'd-Din Khan. He was fortunate in having Miyan Barkhwurdarji, a teacher in Ghaziu'd-Din's *madrasa*, as his patron. Later he came in contact with the famous Chistiyya Sufi, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din (d. 1199/1785), who had migrated to Delhi from the Deccan. The Maulana initiated him as a Chistiyya and trained him in the Path. Along with his spiritual master, the Khwaja travelled to Pak-Pattan. On his return to Delhi, the Maulana appointed the Khwaja his *khalifa* and advised him to disseminate the teachings of the Chistiyya order in the Muhar region. The Khwaja founded a *khanqah* at Muhar and attracted a large number of his fellow—Panjabis and the elite to his fold.

Khwaja Nur Muhammad contributed immensely to the popularity of the Chistiyya order in Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, and other places in the Panjab and Sindh. Two factors seem to have considerably increased the influence of the Chistiyyas in these regions. First, he urged his disciples to serve people by living among them. According to him, the Divine Light could be experienced in the company of commoners and therefore a Sufi need not always avoid them. It was morally incumbent on a Sufi to listen to a complaintant in that the accused was not always to be found a guilty. In his view the light of *ma'rifa* was driven from the heart by ire; hence his emaphsis was on developing the right mental attitude through equanimity of temper. Second, although many ulama and Suhrawardiyyas vehemently opposed the Khwaja for organizing *sama'* gatherings, their hostility lessened with the passage of time, thanks to his forbearance and nobility of conduct. Remarkably, the Chistiyyas gained a firm foothold in the region not merely owing the participation of the people in *sama'* assemblies but, also as a result of the initiation of many ulama and Suhrawardiyyas in their order.

The Khwaja died on 3 Zu'lhijja 1205/3 August 1791.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 54, 87, 91, 306.
Takmila-i Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 137.

Nur Muhammad Parwana: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. Although a Rishi, he received authorization from Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar to enrol disciples. He served Shaikh Dawud for forty years and, as a devotee of Allah, kept awake during nights while observing fasts. Shaikh Dawud had entrusted him the work of training disciples and, after his *murshid's* death, left no stone unturned to produce disciples of high merit.

Nur Muhammad died in 1088/1677 and lies buried at Ahlamar in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 113-15.
Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 168a.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 278-9.

Nur Muhammad Rafiq: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Nura Baba-i Makhdumi: He was the son of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo's daughter. Early in life he obtained spiritual bliss in the company of several Sufis. Later he became a disciple of Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Balkhi. During his visit to Delhi he presented copies of the *Fususu'l-Hikam* and *'Awarifu'l-M'arif* to 'Allama Shahid. Thereafter he went to Mecca and, after performing *hajj*, obtained a *sanad* from Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Mahdi in Medina. At Medina he had the privilege of conversing with a famous *'arif* named Shaikh Masman. The latter is reputed to have been communing with the spirit of Muhammad at the Prophet's tomb.

Nur Baba-i Makhdumi returned to Kashmir much against the wishes of his *murshid* and spent the remainder of his life in seclusion and meditations.

He died on 2 Rajab 1195/24 June 1781 and lies buried at the cemetery of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 361-2.

Nura Baba-i Pakhli: He was a *khalifa* of Baba 'Ali Pampuri. He reached the advanced stage of spiritual perfection by way of meditative exercises in the *khanqah* of his teacher at Pampur. He did not marry, observed continual fasts, and did not touch meat. Such was the purity of his inner state that he would become rapturous and even cry on seeing flowers, greenery and beautiful faces. Towards the end of his life he came in contact with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi. Most probably he was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order as is evident from his act of playing host to the servants of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi on several occasions. He died in 1101/1689-90 and his tomb lies at the *mohalla* of Zainabazar on the bank of the erstwhile Nalla Mar in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 127.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 273-4.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 303.

Nur Muhammad Naruwala, Maulana: He was one of the senior disciples and *khalifas* of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Bahawalpur, Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharwi (d. 1205/1791). His ancestors had migrated to Naruwal in Sindh from Hajjipur in the same region. Like many Chistiyya Sufis, Maulana Nur Muhammad was passionately fond of *sama'* and would often fall into ecstasy. He made a clear distinction between the life of a Sufi and one obsessed with the worldly affairs. He believed that Sufis received eternal life after their physical death, but that non-Sufis ceased to exist after their burial.

Nur Muhammad died on 6 Jumada I 1204/ 22 January 1790 and was succeeded by his son, Hafiz Muhammad.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, pp. 105-13.

Nur Muhammad Shattari, Shaikh: He came from Champaner and was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He was a member of the Sunni Bohra community of Gujarat merchants. At an advanced age, Shaikh Nur Muhammad distributed his entire wealth to beggars and went to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Impressed by Nur Muham mad's generosity, Muhammad Ghaus made him his disciple and *khalifa*. The new entrant, however, retired to the corner of a mosque and died at Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar, (Z), p. 448.

Nur Muhammad, Shaikh: He was a native of Patna well educated in theology, who had met several Sufis before being initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja Baqi Billah. Later the Khwaja put him and another disciple (Shaikh Tahir) under the spiritual care of the Mujaddid. Although the Mujaddid's lectures on the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* delivered at the Firuzabad Fort did not first impress them, the profound spirituality and knowledge of their *pir* in due course later humbled their pride. For his devotion the Mujaddid appointed him as his *khalifa* in Patna in 1015/1606. There he imparted lessons on theology and Sufism in a small hay-covered mosque attached to his hut where he lived with his family. He remained in the good books of the Mujaddid for his personal achievements, but could not impress him as an active missionary despite initiating a few into the Naqshabandiyya order.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 351-4.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 311-14.

Nur Qutb-i 'Aam, Shaikh: See Nuru'l-Haqq, Shaikh of Bengal.

Nur Turk, Maulana: Both Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis absolve him of the charge of heresy levelled against him by his contemporary, Qazi Minhaju'd-Din Jurjani, the author of *Tabqat-i Nasiri*. The fact of the matter is that Nur Turk was a gifted speaker and in his public lectures was critical of the materialistic concerns of the ulama and their dabbling in politics. Although avowedly not a Sufi, he led an austere life; his only source of living being one *dirham* per day given to him by his freed slave. Once he refused to accept some gold sent to him by Sultan Razia. The royal messenger had no alternative but to remove the bag of gold from the sight of the Maulana when he began to beat it with his stick.

Baba Farid attended the sermons of Nur Turk several times. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya considered him to be purer than the rain water.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 361-2.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 62.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 74.

***Nur-i Muhammadi*:** "The Light of Muhammad"; the original essence of Muhammad, known in Arabic as the *Haqiqat al-Muhammaddiyah*, which is believed to have been created before all things.

Nuru'd-Din Ahmadabadi, Maulana: Born in 1653 and died in 1742, he was a disciple of Maulana Ahmad. The seminary founded in Ahmedabad by Maulana Ahmad's father, Maulana Sulaiman Kurd, became a popular centre of Qadiriyya teachings, thanks to his role. He wrote commentaries on some chapters of the Qur'an, on the *Sahih* by al-Bukhari and also on the *Fusus al-Hikam*.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, II, p. 67.

Nuru'd-Din Ishaq Qadiri: A *majzub* of Nilanga who died in 1688.

Mishkat-i Nubuwat, copy B, ff. 641b-42a.

Nuru'd-Din Ahmad Mandawi, Shaikh: He was a descendant of Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar. He migrated to Malwa from Multan during the reign of the Khaljis. Known for his austerities, his grave lies in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 177.

Nuru'd-Din Safawi, Shah: He was the only Shattariyya Sufi who came directly from Iran to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). According to Eaton, he bears the name of the order of Isma'il Safawi, founder of the Safawi dynasty of Iran. However, the Shattariyya Sufis of Bijapur did not subscribe to the ideas of the Shias.

Nuru'd-Din died in AD 1625-6.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, p. 102.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 75.

Nuru'l-Haqq: Born in 983/1575-6, he was the son and successor of Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis. Like his father, he devoted himself to the study of *Hadis* and Sufism. He dedicated his Persian commentary on the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari titled the *Tafsir al-qari fi sharh Sahi al-Bukhari* to Aurangzeb. Another collection of traditons concerning the person and character of the Prophet Muhammad, known as the *Shama'il al-Nabi* of Abu 'Isa Muhammad bin 'Isa bin Saurah al-Tirmizi, was also rendered into Persian by Nuru'l-Haqq. Both these translations point to the mission of the Qadiriyyas in emphasizing observance of the ethical traditions of the Prophet among their followers. He held the post of *qazi* of Akbarabad and later Agra. His invaluable contribution to Sufism is reflected in the *Risala-i Agahi-nama* in 1068/1658 that brings out the importance of the revelations of Sufis in relgious beliefs. The copy in the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office Library dates from 1114/1702-3. He died on 9 Shawwal 1073/17 May 1663.

Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi*, Delhi, 1953.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 16, 87-8, 96-7.

Nuru'l-Haqq, Shaikh: Popularly known as Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, he was the son and successor of Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq. The latter had prescribed for his son rigorous forms of asceticism in order to subdue his ego. Asked to perform such menial tasks as washing the inmates' clothes, he carried fuel to the *khanqah* of his father for eight years. Despite the taunts and ridicules of his townsfolk considering his seemingly miserable position in contrast to the exalted status of his brother, A'zam Khan, as *vizier*, Nuru'l-Haqq regarded service to the servants of God as the highest form of asceticism.

Nuru'l-Haqq lived in Bengal when that region was ruled by Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah. After the Sultan's death, he was distressed at the growing factionalism at court resulting in the elevation of puppets to the throne. In a letter, therefore, he urged Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur to invade Bengal. But the ruler of Jaunpur, after invading Bengal, concluded peace with Raja Ganesa, the *de facto* ruler of Bengal.

'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes Nuru'l-Haqq as saying that while Sufis of yore had identified 99 stages in traversing the Path, the Sufi masters in the spiritual line of the latter had only 15 stages. But Nuru'l-Haqq asserts that he prescribed only three stages. First, introspecton of one's *nafs* and conditions before others strive in that direction. Second, one who measures yesterday with the standards of today is lazy and thereby deludes oneself. Third, a *salik* should worship in such a manner that he does not allow any threat to enter his heart for the fruition of religious obligations in total surrender.

'Abdu'l-Haqq also describes at some length the teachings of Shaikh 'Alau'l-Haqq quoted by Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq. A passage of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, selected from some extracts reproduced in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, is worthy of quote: "The tranquillity of a *dervish* lies in his restlessness; the worship of a *dervish* is detestation of all that is not God. Dedication of anything other than God is involvement with frivolity; prayers without being wholly absorbed in the Divine are futile. Outward piety is only wickedness. Involvement with deep affliction is greatness and the closing of eyes towards anything beside God is felicity. Common people try to purify their body, but the spiritual elite cleanse their hearts. . . . External purification is destroyed by certain acts causing defilement but inner purification is destroyed by evil thoughts. Sufis believe a mere worldly thought makes a ritual bath of purification as prescribed by the *Tariqa* indispensable to devotees. Never owe a favour to anyone."

According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Nur Qutb-i 'Alam died in 813/1410-11. But the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* describes 10 Zu'lqada 818/11 January 1416. He was buried near his father's grave at Pandua, and the two tombs turned into centres of pilgrimage, receiving large endowments from rich devotees.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 271-6.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1167-74.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 92-3.

Nuru'llah, Shaikh: He was the only son of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq (d. 1073/1663). Although he did not distinguish himself as an *'alim* in Delhi in the best tradition of his grandfather, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, two of his four sons were eminent scholars. See Muhibu'llah, Shaikh and Saifu'llah, Shaikh.

Nuru'l-Yaqin: Written by Mas'ud-i Bak, a relative of Firuz Shah Tughluq and a disciple of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Chisti, the work is based on his *Diwan* contained in the author's *Mir'atu'l-'Arifin*. The *Diwan* was a favourite text in Chistiyya *khanqahs* between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and later Sufis, both followers and opponents of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, drew on it ponderously.

Nuru'd-Din 'Ali Raniri, Shaikh: Son of Hasanji ibn Muhammad Hamid al-Raniri (from Randir, a coastal town in Gujarat), Nuru'd-Din was initiated as a Rifa'iyya by Saiyid Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn 'Abdull'ah Ba-Shayban. His family had intimate contacts with Acheh. Although no details are available about his early life, Nuru'd-Din migrated to Acheh from Gujarat in 1636. Having already performed *hajj* and being at home in Malay, he was able to establish himself as a court favourite, historian, and Sufi scholar. He wrote a monumental history, the *Bustanu's-Salatin*, and a number of treatises on Sufism. At the court of the Sultan Iskandar Sani (1636-41), he remained invariably involved in debates with the disciples of Shaikh Hamza Fansuri and Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Sumatrani. During these sessions he denounced both the Sufis and their *pirs* as heretics for their *Wujudi* ideas. However, Raniri divided the *Wujudiyya* into two: the pious (*muwahhida*) and the heretic (*mulhida*). While he was himself a follower of Ibn 'Arabi, he regarded him and his Persian and Indian interpreters as the *muwahhida*; but, in his estimation, Shaikh Hamza Fansuri and Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Sumatrani belonged to the category of heretics (*mulhida*). His main argument against the latter category of Sufis was that they had made out the Universe to be God and God the Universe, a belief that had been rejected by Ibn 'Arabi himself in the *Futuhatu'l-Makkiyyah*.

Raniri returned to India in 1644 and died in his hometown in 1658. Among his disciples was Shaikh Yusuf of Macassar.

S.M. Naguib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh*, Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society, III, 1966, pp. 12-15.

——*The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

Nuru'd-Din Mubarak Ghaznawi, Shaikh: According to a tradition, this prominent *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi owed his prominence to the blessings that his father sought for him from a famous Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Ajal Shirazi. Little is known about him beyond his arrival in Delhi at the climax of his fame. Popularly known among the people of Delhi as Mir-i-Dihli (Lord of Delhi), Iltutmish honoured him by appointing Shaikhu'l-Islam. He was critical of the prevalent customs at the court on account of their Sasanian origin. Nuru'd-Din Mubarak laid great stress on strict adherence to the rules of the *Shari'ah*. He died in 632/1234-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 61-3.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 225-6.

Kalimat, pp. 22-3.

Nuru's-Sama'd, Shaikh: He was the son of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Bahawalpur, Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharwi (d. 1205/1791). Soon after becoming *khalifa*, Shaikh Nuru's-Samad was killed by his own tribesmen.

Manaqibu'l-Mahbubain, p. 306.

Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi: Written in 1077/1666-7 by Tawakkul Beg Kaulabi, a Mughal official, this rare work describes the life and teachings of the author's *pir*, Mulla-Shah, MS. British Museum, AMU.

P p

Paighambar: The Persian and Hindustani translation of Arabic *rasul*, and *Nabi*.

Panja Rishi: Originally from Sherkoot in Kashmir. He was a disciple of Rupi Rishi who, in his turn was a disciple of Regi Rishi. Often absorbed in *zikr* and *fikr*, he is said to have resorted to extreme austerities for gaining the *ma'rifah* of God.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 300.

Parda dar andakht wa parda kai shinakht: Ascribed to Khwaja Khwurd, this work deals with Sufism in the style of 'Ainu'l-Quzat Hamadani. Delhi Persian Collection, India Office, London.

Partaw-i 'ishq: Ascribed to Khwaja Khwurd, it contains invocations in the style of 'Ainu'l-Quzat Hamadani. MS. Delhi Persian Collection, India Office, London.

Pas-i anfas: The Sufi practice of reciting *dhikr* aloud (*jali*) and mentally (*khafi*) has been mistakenly likened to *pranayama* by Tara Chand (*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 82) S.A.A. Rizvi (*Sufism in India*, I, pp. 272, 341,353) also believes that the Sufi practice of breath control breath (*pas-i anfas*) was based on *pranayama*.

One of the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufis of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, however, leaves us in no doubt that *pas-i anfas* is a prerequisite for purifying the heart. It involves the practice of remembering Allah both aloud and inwardly or mentally, so that even a moment's forgetfulness does not sever the link between the creator and the created. It is in this context that Khaki says that Hardi Rishi had a deep communication with Allah even while being part of the society he lived in.

Thus *pas-i anfas* was based on the Naqshbandiyya practice of *hosh-dar-dam* (social awareness even while breathing) and *khilwat dar anjuman* (spiritual awareness even in being as active member of society) rather than on *pranayama*. Khaki's explanation of the Naqshbandiyya practice of *zikr* in the context of Hardi Rishi is enough to dispel that misapprehension.

Khaki, *Rishinama*, PGN, f. 33a.

Pati Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. An *'abid* and *zahid*, his tomb is situated near the mausoleum of his *pir* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p.123.

Phugi Afghan 'Aziz Za'i, Shaikh: Like many Afghan Sufis, he received guidance from the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar. True to the tradition of most Chistiyya Sufis, he was so fond of *sama'* that he would remain unconscious all night. Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Kweshgi describes his numerous miracles. He died in 1069/1658-9 and lies buried in Qasur.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 377a.

Pilasman Rishi: Along with his brother, Ludarman Rishi, and their spiritual master, Rum Rishi, he belongs to the category of the Kashmiri Rishis whose chronology is not traceable. Although several stories exist about their asceticism and conversion to Islam, such information is based on folklore rather than authentic historical evidence.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Pir: Persian equivalent of the Arabic *shaikh*; old man; venerable leader; spiritual guide; mystic leader.

Shaikh Nizammudin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh approvingly quote the *Hadis*: he who has no *pir*, the devil is his *pir*.

See Amir Hasan Sijzi, *Fawa'id al-fuad*, p. 175.

Hamid Qalandar, *Khyar al-Majalis*, ed K.A. Nizami, p. 48.

Pir Bajar Manduwali: He was an ascetic who often wandered naked. A contemporary of the Sur kings, his spiritual individuality elicits the praise of Ghausi Shattari. He is entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 254-5.

pir parast: Worshipper of the spiritual preceptor.

Pirwaer: The Valley of spiritual leaders or Sufis; Kashmir is also called *Pirwaer* by a large number of the devotees of the shrines of Sufis and Rishis.

Pir-i Kibar: See Shaikh Wutu.

Pir Jumna: He was a Sufi of many virtues who came to Bijapur and died in Ramazan 703/1304. It would be wrong to describe him as a "warrior Sufi" on the basis of the latter-day sources.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, p. 38.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan, I, pp. 222-3.

Pir Baba Yusuf: Initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Baba Dawud Khaki, he lived in seclusion and was deep-rooted in *tasawwuf*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 191.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Pir Badr-i 'Alam: Also known as Shaikh Badru'd-Din, he made Chittagong in East Bengal the centre of his spiritual activities. He was the grandson of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Haqq Go (Speaker of the Truth) who was executed under the orders of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq for charging the latter with cruelty. Initiated into Sufism by his father and by Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari, he went to Bihar at the invitation of Shaikh Sharfu'd-Din Yahya Munyari. Before his arrival in Bihar, however, the great Shaikh had already died. He took a wife from a Bihari Hindu family and left for Sunargaon and Chittagong in East Bengal. For forty days he performed *chilla* at a place in Chittagong which was then considered to be haunted by evil spirits. The abode of the Sufi in Chittagong continues to be a centre of pilgrimage.

The popularity of Pir Badr-i 'Alam needs to be understood against the background of the wilderness and the Hindu-Buddhist sacred geographical environment of the Chittagong and Arakan region. The indelible impact of the Shaikh's miraculous achievements on both Muslim and Hindu sailors of the region is still noticeable in their invocation of his spirit before embarking on a journey with this hymn:

Amara achchi polapan, Gazi achche nigahman,
Shire Ganga dariya Panch Pir, Badr, Badr, Badr.

We are children and the Ghazi is our protector,
the river Ganges is over us.
Oh Pach Pir (Oh, the five saints), Oh Badr, Badr.

Another chant quoted by Rizvi is:

Darya ke panch paise, Badr, Badr,

Five copper pieces for the river, Oh Badr.

After staying in East Bengal, Pir Badr-i 'Alam migrated to Bihar where he finally settled. Enjoying cordial relations with the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur, Pir Badr died on 27 Rajab 844/22 December 1440. His tomb in Bihar is called the *Chhoti Dargah* (Smaller Mausoleum). But so great was the influence of Pir Badr-i 'Alam on the folk consciousness that several symbolic tombs were raised, generally facing river mouths, at Chittagong, Arakan and elsewhere in East Bengal.

A memorial (*astana*) was built on the top of a hill in Chittagong and according to the seventeenth century historian, Shihabu'd-Din Talish, quoted by Athar Abbas Rizvi, "was cared for by attendants who spent most of their time in prayer and fasting. The Buddhist and Hindu Magh people settled some villages as an endowment for the shrine and made it a centre of pilgrimage."

According to some Bengali traditions, Pir Badr belongs to the group of legendary Panch Pir. Considered to hold the fifth position in the group of Ghazi Miyan (Salar Mas'ud), Zinda Ghazi, Shaikh Farid, and Khwaja Khizr, the Panch Pir serve the same purpose in the folk consciousness of their devotees as the Panch Tathagatas among the Buddhists and the Panch Pandits among the Nath yogis. Not only Muslims but Hindus too revere the Panch Pir.

Pir Badr is wrongly associated with Shah Madar. See Shah Madar.

"The Firuzshahi inscription in the Chota *Dargah*", *JASB*, 42, 1873, pp. 302-3.

R.F. St. Andrew St. John, "A Burmese Saint", *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 566-7.

J.G.R. Forlong, Letters on "Bud, Bad-a-r and Madra", *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 203-5.

R.C. Temple, "Some discursive elements on Barbosa", *The Indian Antiquary*, LII, p. 132.

——"Buddermokan", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 15, pt. I, pp. 1-33.

M. Sadiq Khan, "Badr Maqams", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, VIII, no. I, pp. 17-46.

Pir Budhdhan, Shaikh: He was the son and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din (d. 855/1452) of Shaikhupura Rapri, in the Mainpuri district east of Delhi. Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi (1458-79) of Jaunpur was his disciple. Pir Buddhan was a Sufi of varied talents being a wrestler, an archer as well as a great patron and connoisseur of classical Indian music. Rapri became an important cultural centre because of his patronage of both Persian and Indian music. Hindu musicians from such distant regions as the Deccan would visit him; a group of musicians, known as Chokh, from the Deccan even decided to settle in Rapri under his influence. Some members of this community even accepted Islam as their faith. According to Rizvi, "The qaul and tarana melodies invented by Amir Khusraw were his favourites." Pir Budhan died in 903/1497-8 in Barnawa where he had finally settled.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* II, p. 276.

Pir Hajji Muhammad Qari: A disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and known also as Saiyid Muhammad Balkhi, he seems to have been well versed in *tasawwuf* and Islamic learning. He earned the title of Qari for his ability to recite the Qur'an in accordance with the art of pronouncing the words correctly (*tajwid*). He was asked by his *pir* to stay in Kashmir in order to guide both Sultan Qutbu'd-Din and the converts to Islam in matters pertaining to *Shari'ah* and Sufism. The Sultan built a *khanqah* for him near his palace in Srinagar. The state granted him the revenues of two *parganas* for the maintenance of a *langar* attached to the *khanqah.* There is no doubt that the Pir Hajji's *khanqah* must have been a source of spiritual training for many people during the medieval period. So deep-rooted was the social influence of the *khanqah* that its location is still known as Langarhatta.

That Pir Hajji Muhammad Qari sought to create *Shari'ah*-consciousness among converts not only at Langarhatta but also in other parts of the Valley cannot be denied. Although Persian chronicles tell us about several *khanqahs* and mosques built by him, only the Ziyarat-i Pir Hajji Muhammad Sahib, as it is popularly known, pays glowing tribute to his seminal role in Kashmir. Shaikh Abdu'l Wahhab Nuri, a Kubrawiyya Sufi, rightly points out that the *khanqah* founded by Pir Hajji must have been one of the important centres of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir.

Pir Hajji died on 8 Rajab 792/22 June 1390 after a brief illness. He lies buried in his *khanqah* at Langarhatta in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh,* 5b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 82.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 20.

'Abdu'l-Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya,* f. 70a.

Pir Muhammad, Shaikh: He belonged to Jaunpur. After obtaining formal education in his native town, he went to Delhi and Qanauj in pursuit of knowledge. Having finally completed his education in religious sciences, Pir Muhammad left for Mecca and Medina. On his return home from pilgrimage, he was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shah 'Abdu'llah Sayyah Chisti of Herat. Under the orders of his spiritual master, Pir Muhammad settled permanently in Lucknow teaching theology and Sufism in his hermitage on the banks of the Gomti, not far from the tomb of Shah Mina of Lucknow.

Pir Muhammad observed fasts or subsisted on simple food bought at the bazaar. He had a passion for *sama'* and *qawwali* and silenced the critics by saying that by listening to such music he was emulating the example of the Chistiyya pirs. Author of books on both *Fiqh* and Sufism, Pir Muhammad referred to two kinds of disease with which human beings are afflicted. While a physician cured the diseases of the human body, those of the spirit caused by the dominance of one instinct over the other, could be cured only by a perfect spiritual guide. He also wrote that *majzubs* saturated with the wine of love were bound to drown themselves in the ocean of *Ahadiyya*; hence they ignored both the laws of the *Shari'ah* and the *Tariqa.* He was of the view that the Divine Being could not itself be perceived unless all the manifestations veiling it were removed.

He died in 1080/1669-70.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), *Sufism,* II, pp. 290-1.

Pir Muhammad, Shaikh: Son of 'Abdu'l-Hakim 'Usman, he was a disciple of Shaikh Yusuf, the Shattari Sufi who trained many students in theology rather than Sufism. But such was his standing as an ascetic of Ahmedabad that he refused to visit even the ruler of Khandesh.

Gulzar-i Abrar, f. 266b.

Pir Ma'bari Khandayat: Born in Ma'bar (the Arab term for the southern Coromandel coast opposite Sri Lanka), he certainly came in contact with the army of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji under the commandership of Malik Kafur in AD 1311. On that account, it would not be correct to describe him as a "warrior Sufi" given his fame as a peaceful missionary of Islam who secured the conversion of a great number of Jains and whose descendants were found among the cultivating classes of Bijapur district in the 1880s. Khandayat (literally "blunted bar") was killed by the Hindus for blessing the soldiers of the Delhi Sultanate rather than for his alleged role as a militant Sufi.

Muhammad Zubairi, *Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dar al-Zafar Bijapur,* MS, Hyderabad, Tazkira no. 266, pp. 39-40.

Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency: Bijapur District (Bombay, 1884), 23, p. 282.

Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (2nd edn., London, 1913), p. 271.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur,* pp. 27-32.

Pir-i Suhabat: See Shaikh al-Suhba.

Piyara Chisti, Shaikh: His *pir*, Shaikh Salim Chisti, honoured him by assigning him the responsibility of praying for the safety of Prince Salim (Emperor Jahangir). He earned considerable fame in Bengal as a Chistiyya Sufi. While on his way to the Deccan, Piyara Chisti died in 986/1578-9 and was buried on the banks of the Narbada.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, p. 12.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 310b.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, p. 439.

Predestination: Arabic *qadar*, an expression signifying "measuring out" or "preordering." Pre-Existence of Souls Both the Qur'an and the Traditions refer to it.

pul-i sirat: This is the bridge across the infernal fire, described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns. On the Day of Judgement the pious alone can pass over this bridge on their way to heaven while the wicked will fall into the fire of hell. The renowned Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, in his mystical poetry at one place yearns to pass over the *pul-i sirat* with the four pious Caliphs. See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 119.

Q q

Qabaqausain: "Two bows' length." An expression which occurs in the Qur'an, Surah Iiii, 8-10: "Then he drew near and hovered o'er; until he was two bows' length off or nigher still. Then he revealed to his servant what he revealed him." Commentators understand this to refer to the angel Gabriel. Sufi writers use the term to express a state of nearness to God.

Dictionary of Sufism (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*).

Qabz wa Bast: While *qabz* signifies "the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled" (*hijab*), *bast* means "the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation" (*kashf*). Both states are rooted in the Quranic verse, "God contracts and expands". (2/246) and, as Shaikh 'Ali Hujwiri observes, both "proceed from God without effort on the part of Man". The *qabz* of gnostics is like the fear of novices, and the *bast* of gnostics is like the hope of novices. This is the sense, observes, Hujwiri, in which the Sufis use these expressions. For illuminating discussion on the significance of these terms, see *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, Eng. tr. Nicholson, pp. 374-6.

Qad al-zand wa-Qadah al-rand fi radd jahalat ahl al-Sirhind:. See al-Barzanji, Muhammad bin 'Abd'ur-Rasul.

qadar: "Measuring". (1) The word generally used in the *Hadis* for fate, or predestination. (2) Al-Qadar, the title of the 97th *Surah* of the Qur'an.

qadim: Ancient; old. Al-Qadim, the one without beginning.

Qada Shah: A disciple of Shah Bangha. He roamed barefoot in the streets of Srinagar, serving people on the way with water from the pot that he always carried on his shoulders. He lies buried at Hazratbal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 472.

Qadir Linga: He served as a cavalryman in Bijapur before becoming a disciple, and later a prominent *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Aminu'd-Din A'la. The *Tazkiratu'l-Qadiri,* quoted by Eaton, records the first encounter of Qadir Linga with the noted Chistiyya Sufi: "When his eyes fell upon his presence, his heart turned cold to this world and his belief in (Aminu'd-Din) took strength. Then he went home, sold his horse and other such things, and, having applied himself to the Way of Truth, became a *murid* of Aminu'd-Din A'la."

He belonged to the Kannada-speaking Lingayat population of Bijapur and, according to a tradition, was allowed by Lingayat community to wear their divine emblem, the *linga,* on his left foot. Eaton, examining the relevant information in *Tazkiratu'l-Qadiri* and *Mishkatu'l-Nubuwat* concerning the Lingayats, observes: "These passages accord with other evidence suggesting a symbiotic relationship between Sufis and Lingayats, and the possibility that Lingayats formed a significant component of the outer circle of devotees attached to seventeenth-century Shahpur Hillock."

'Ali Musawiu'l-Qadiri, *Mishkatu'l-Nubuwat*, Hyderabad, fol. 153a.

Asafiyah Library, *Tazkirat* Jadid, no. 1086, fols. 70b-71a.

Munshi Qadir Khan Bidari, *Tazkiratu'l-Qadiri,* Persian MS, Hyderabad, *Tazkirat* Jadid, no. 1086, fols. 70b-71a.

Sufis of Bijapur, pp. 250&n; 276.

Qadir Shah Kamraji: After receiving initiation from Rahma Shah into Sufism, this son of a peasant greatly popularized the Qadiriyya order at the village of Rinan in the *pargana* of Hamal, Kashmir. His disciples were many.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 391.

Qadir Shah Sani: As a Qadiriyya Sufi, this disciple of Rahma Shah led the life of self-denial on the top of the mountain of Devnal in the *pargana* of Zaingir in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Qadiriyya Order: The Qadiriyya order was founded by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani (b.470/1077-8, d.561/1166), popularly known as the Ghausu'l-Azam and the Pir-Dastgir.

One of the oldest of all Sufi orders in India. According to A. Schimmel, a small *ziyarat* in the Salt Range, Pakistan, is the place where two grandsons of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani were killed by the Hindus in 566/1170-1; hence this is the first date fixed by her of the Qadiriyya presence in the subcontinent. But the order was finally introduced in India by the end of the fourtheenth century by Mir Nuru'llah bin Shah Khalilu'llah, a grandson, Shah Nur'ud-Din Muhammad Ni'matu'llah (Wali) bin 'Abdu'llah (b.730/1330). The latter, noted for his prolific Sufi writings in both prose and poetry, was born in Aleppo, Syria, in 730/1330. The Qadiriyya order became popular in several parts of the Muslim world including Syria, Egypt and Yemen. In India, it particularly spread in the Deccan, Sindh, the Panjab, and Kashmir. In Sindh Miyan Mir (b. AD 1550) made his mark as a great Sufi of the Qadiriyya order. The philosopher poet of the subcontinent, 'Allama Muhammad Iqbal, thus eulogizes Miyan Mir and his tomb in Lahore in his *Asrar-i Khudi*: "He was the flute of love's music; His tomb protects our city from all harm."

Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, p. 97.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 54 sqq.

Qa'im Kanth: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah 'Inayatu'llah (d. 30 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1194/8 April 1780) and that he spent his whole life in devotion to his Creator.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 387-8.

Qa'im Shah: He was the son of Da'im Shah. Little is known about him except that he was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Makhdum Muhammad Latif (d. 11 Zilhaj 1114/17 April 1703) of the village of Maigam in the *pargana* of Lal in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Qaiyum: In the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order, he is the highest spiritual leader on earth. The title was first assumed by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi for himself and later by three of his descendants. Sirhindi regarded himself as the *qaiyum* because he believed that the world rested upon him. This conviction was rooted in the Qur'an which elevates man to the exalted position of *qaiyum*—a rank or the trust that the term *amana* (33/72) indicates, which heaven and earth did not accept. As *qaiyum*, the Mujaddid considered himself to be the "intermediary between man and the Almighty of all spiritual and mundane benefits".

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr.; *Maktubat*, II, Nr. 74 quoted by Rizvi, *Reivalist Movements*, pp. 266 sqq.

Schimmel, *Islam in the Subcontinent*, p. 92.

qalam: A (reed) pen. The pen with which God is said to have pre-recorded the actions of men. The Prophet, according to *Mishkat*, said the first thing which God created was the pen (*qalam*), and that it wrote down the quantity of every individual thing to be created, all that was and all that will be to all eternity.

qalandar: A Persian title *faqir* or *dervishea*. An ascetic.

Qalandariyya traditions in India: The history of *qalandars* can be traced to the eleventh century when Sufis like Abu Sa'id bin Abu'l Khair, Baba Tahir 'Uryan and Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari shared a deep interest in humility, lowliness, selflessness, asceticism and renunciation of *qalandars*. Baba Tahir composed this quatrain:

> I am the mystic gypsy called Qalandar;
> I have neither fire, home nor monastery.
> By day I wander about the world,
> and at night I sleep with a brick under my head.

Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari's treatise entitled the *Qalandar Nama* contains his conversations with a *qalandar*. The *'Awarifu'l Ma'arif* distinguishes between the *qalandars* and the *malamatis*. While the former were enraptured by the intoxication of "tranquillity of heart" (*qalb*) and, therefore, did not observe the norms of the *Shari'ah* concerning supererogatory prayers and normal social behviour and relationships, the *malamatis* sought to hide their spiritual attainments by behaving in a manner outrageous in terms of religious law. But the *qalandars* performed obligatory prayers and fasted as well. Hujwiri's detailed description of *malamatis* is useful. According to him, *malamat* (blame) was the chief characteristic of the Qassaris who transgressed the *Shari'ah* and behaved in an offensive manner so that people would not pester them. Notwithstanding the impact of the attitude of the *malamati* way of life on many Sufis by the end of the twelfth century, the *Qalandariyya* emerged as an order and a distinct movement. The wandering *dervishes* of this order wore a distinctive dress and adopted a way of life different from *malamatis* and Sufis in general.

The *Qalandariyyas* first appeared in Damascus in 610/1213-14. Yusuf, one of the early founders, was a Spanish Arab from Egypt. al-Maqrizi writes, "They made it a rule to lay nothing aside and never to amass this world's goods, but in his (Yusuf's) time they did not wear coarse garments nor subjected themselves to any mortification or any devotional excercises, saying it was sufficient for them that their hearts were at peace with God. They wanted nothing more; they made no effort to attain a degree of virtue more eminent than this state of peace at heart. To show their indifference as regards everything outside their ideal, they took the course of throwing off the restraint of all the laws of politeness usually observed in society."

Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din of Sawa (a city between Hamadan and Tehran) was yet another founder of the *Qalandariyya* order who was well-known in Damascus where he obtained his education between 1210 and 1225. He later moved to Damietta on the Nile in Egypt. He is said to have shaved his beard and eyebrows in order to protect himself against the allure of a woman. This practice then became the tradition for his disciples, and they carried along razors.

Hasan al-Jawaliqi, an Irani, was yet another founder of *Qalandariyya* traditions, who founded a monastery of *qalandars* near Cairo during the reign of al-Malik al-'Adil Ketbogha (1294-6).

The Chistiyya records are the most important source of information about the *Qalandariyya* traditions in India. Although the authors do not approve of the behaviour of the *qalandars* in violation of *Shari'ah*, they recognize certain genuine spiritualists amongst them and describe their miracles.

The Mongol domination of Central Asia and Iran facilitated the movement of the *Qalandariyyas* and the Jawaliqi groups from Turkey and Egypt to India. Rizvi writes: "Passing through Multan, they often came into conflict with Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, but such experiences were counteracted by the generosity of Baba Farid. The contact of *qalandars* with Nath-yogis, also wandering through that part of the world, influenced them to wear earrings. Another custom they shared with the *yogis* was the consumption of a type of grass, probably Indian hemp, and some other drugs which were popular not only in India but throughout the Middle East."

The *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad* and several other sources of Sufism in India do not regard the *Qalandariyya* and the Jawaliqi traditions as distinct from each other, both had an aversion to the settled *khanqah* life of the Suhrawardiyya and the Chistiyya. It is interesting that Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli describes Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din of Sawa as a *mufti* and a moving libarary able to give legal opinions extempore, without referring to the sources of law.

The activities of the *qalandars* in South Asia are recorded in both hagiographies and chronicles. As early as the reign of Balban we hear of the execution of the *qalandars* in Bengal following the suppression of Tughril's rebellion in 1281. The Sultan's rebel governor in Bengal was so devoted to one particular *qalandar* that, according to Ziau'd-Din Barani, he gave him and his followers a huge quantity of gold enabling them to wear gold necklaces, bangles, and earrrings.

Among the most prominent *qalandars* of India must be mentioned Shah Khizr Rumi, his disciple, Shaikh Najmu'd-Din, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Abu (Bu) 'Ali Qalandar of Panipat, Hamid Qalandar, Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din 'Iraqi, Shaikh Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Saiyid Raju Qattal, Saiyid Shah Ni'matu'llah Shah of Kirman, Haidar, Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, Sidi Maula, etc.

'Awarifu'l Ma'arif, Eng. tr. H.W. Clarke, p. 252.

Kashf al-Mahjub (Nicholson), pp. 62-9, 183-4.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 56, 70, 240.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 131-2.

Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Cambridge, I, 1958, pp. 37-9.

Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 91.

Journal Asiatic Series, VIII, VI, 1885, p. 516.

Encyclopaedia of Islam (old), III, p. 677.

H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramer, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 214-15.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, 303.

Qana'at: Contentment. According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, f. 154b), it is a stage in which everything that impedes attaining the goal to the Beloved should be hated. Not a single atom of love other than that for God should be kept in the heart.

Qasida-i Burda: This is a famous Arabic poem written by Busiri (d. 1298) in honour of the Prophet Muhammad. The poem has been translated into various languages including Urdu, Panjabi, and Pashto.

Qasim Kak: A *khalifa* of Khwaja Ibrahim Kak, he was a Sufi of fine virtues and lies buried at Shangas in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Qasim Nanautawi, Maulana Muhammad: He was the patron principal of the theological school of Deoband founded by Hajji Muhammad 'Abid Husain with the support of three scholars from the Education Department in Delhi. Along with

Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, Muhammad Qasim built-up the *Daru'l-'Ulum* in Deoband in which traditional courses were introduced to the exclusion of modern science and English; the complete course was to be for ten years, then was reduced to six. The student was required to study 106 books. Parts of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi's *masnavi* formed part of the advanced Persian course. Schimmel rightly senses a reminiscence of the early Chistiyya "aversion to official grants and the complete trust in *futuh*, unsolicited gifts" in the eight principles Maulana Nanautawi enunciated for the foundation of Deoband: "So long as the *Madrasa* does not have regular and definite source of income, it will continue to exist—insha' Allah, provided there is a honest reliance on and faith in His mercy and compassion; and when it comes to possess a definite source of income, e.g., some substantial property in the form of land or factory or a promise of permanent donation from some rich person of honest intentions, then it appears the *Madrasa* will be divested of the feelings of fear and hope—a perennial source of submission to the will of Allah—and with this, will be deprived of the hidden source of unfailing assistance; and its workers will start quarrelling among themselves. . . ."

Deoband was called the "Azhar of the East" for aiming at a synthesis of several aspects of religious learning, viz., *tafsir, hadis, fiqh,* and *kalam.*

Ziyau'l-Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan,* Bombay, 1963, p. 26.

Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* pp. 209-10.

Qasim Qadiri, Shah: The youngest brother of Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri (d. AD 1635), he migrated from Bidar to Bijapur following his eldest brother's flight to the city in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II. The Sultan who had deep veneration for the Sufis desired to see Qasim Qadiri. He was told that he could be found on Fridays in the great Jami' Mosque. A passage from the *Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda,* translated by Eaton, is worthy of quote: "On Friday Sultan Ibrahim arrived at the Jami' Mosque in all his majestic grandeur and decked in his jewelled crown." After prayers the Sultan approached Shah Qasim who, however, took no notice. "After Ibrahim's departure, Shah Qasim asked who that snake-charmer was. Shah Hashim Pir, who happened to be there then, replied that he was the monarch of the kingdom, Sultan Ibrahim." Shah Qasim Qadiri died in 1622.

Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda, Urdu edn., p. 41.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 222.

Qasr-i 'Arifan: The tomb of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband (718/1318–791/1389) near Bukhara is known as Qasar-i 'Arifan. It was a flourishing centre of the Naqshbandiyya order in Central Asia. The rulers of the region had deep reverence for Khwaja Baha-u'd-Din and often invoked the blessings of his spirit.

Qasr-i 'Arifin: Written by Maulavi Ahmad 'Ali Khairabadi (d.1281/1864), a disciple of Khwaja Sulaiman Taunsawi, it is important for the study of the Sufis of nineteenth century. The *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, published the entire work in its issues of May, August, and November 1965. The February 1966 issue contains an account of the author and an index.

Qatrat: It was written by the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Amin Dhar (d. 11 Ramdan 1099/ 1 August 1688).

Al-Qaul al-Jamil: Written by Shah Wali'ullah, the work deals with Sufi orders.

qawwali: Musical concerts (music is prohibited in Islam). It is interesting that Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya first developed a love for Baba Farid on the spur of a moment when, as a school boy, he heard a *qawwal* named Abu Bakr, narrating the experiences of his jouney to Ajodhan before his schoolmaster in the *maktab*.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 26, 294-5.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 100.

Qazi 'Abdu'l-Gani: Although the chief *qazi* of Khandesh, he was gifted with the esoteric knowledge besides being an expert in exoteric sciences. He died in 1009/1600-1 and lies entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 412-13.

Qazi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir: A disciple of the famous Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh, the Qazi was an outstanding Sufi scholar of Delhi as well as a poet. He took great delight in discussing matters related to theology with his *pir*. The Qazi was of the view that discussion on controversial issues concerning the *Shari'ah* was far superior to long hours of prayers tinged with hypocricy (*riya*). His disciples and descendants went to Jaunpur and made it an important Chistiyya centre during the reign of the Sharqi rulers.

Also a poet of considerable merit, the Qazi's *qasidas* and *ghazals* were known for their persuasiveness. According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, one of his disiciples wrote *Manaqibu's-Siddiqin* dealing with the history of he Chistiyya order in India.

Abdu'l-Muqtadir died on 26 Muharram 791/ 25 Janurary 1389.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 269-70.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1001-2.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilyat (R), ff. 185b-186b.

Qazi 'Abdu'l-Qadir: He was a *khalifa* of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Jhanjhana and a disciple of Shaikh Amanu'llah. Returning home after his extensive travels of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, he retired to Ujjain before settling in Sarangpur. He accepted several offers of local officers to act as a *qazi* but then always resigned, thereafter. He was affiliated to the Qadiriyya order and died in 1011/ 1602-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 78-80.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 422-3.

Qazi 'Abdu'l-Qadir bin 'Ali: A custodian of the tomb of Shah Miyanji Chisti Mandawi, he played host to his guests at the shrine out of his own earnings from a piece of land owned by him at a village in Dipalpur. Ghausi Shattari praises his righteousness and learning. He died in 1009/1600-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 299.

Qazi Badi 'ud-Din: He was the son of Qazi Fakhru'd-Din whose intrinsic spiritual merit has been praised by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti. His grave lies near his father's grave in Bijnaur.

Mir'at'ul-Asrar (U), p. 919.

Qazi Baksh, Shaikh: He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Qazi Daulat Shah Bukhari: He was born in Siram village in Uzbekistan and brought up in Bukhara. He obtained guidance from Maulana Mir Muhammad Sharif Bukhari al-Chikni in esoteric and exoteric sciences. After being endowed with *khilafat* and *irshad*, the Qazi guided people on the Path in Turkistan and Mavaru'n-ahr for many years. Towards the end of 1123/1711 he came to Kashmir and stayed there for three years. The well-known Kashmiri historian and Sufi, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, enjoyed his company. The Yassawiyya order spread in Kashmir, thanks to the Qazi's dedication to Sufism. It is said that a large number of learned persons in the Valley would stay in his residence in Srinagar for guidance.

Qazi Daulat Shah finally left Kashmir with the intention of performing *hajj*. At the request of some dignitaries, he stayed in Delhi for some time and died, according to Diddamari, in Delhi on 15 Shawwal 1126/14 October 1714.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 193-4.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 374-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 297.

Qazi Fakhru'd-Din bin Ruknu'd-Din: Although not mentioned in the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, nonetheless, in the *malfuzat* of Shaikh Sa'du'llah Kesawaz bin Shaikh Muhammad Kasturi, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh, he has been described as a sincere *murid* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, he was endowed with all the virtues of a Sufi.

Fakhru'd-Din belonged to Bijnaur and received his title of Bijnauri from Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Fakhru'd-Din's tomb in Bijnaur was a place of popular pilgrimage. As 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti writes, if the 'Idu'l-Azha happened to be on Friday, the devotees would circumbulate his tomb seven times out of sheer reverence.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 914-19.

Qazi Ghulamu'd-Din: He was gifted with profound knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Known for his noble and pious character, he committed the Qur'an to memory and received initiation into Sufism from Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali, Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal, Shaikh Muhammad Wali Zahgir and several other Sufis of his time. He dedicated his life to the spiritual guidance and welfare of his people.

On 17 Rabiu'l-Awwal 1307/12 November 1889, Qazi Ghulamu'd-Din died and lies buried at the cemetery of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 412.

Qazi Habibu'llah: The son and *khalifa* of Qazi Jamalu'd-Din 'Alikadli, he was endowed with exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He kept his identity as a Sufi concealed. He was married to the daughter of Shaikh Na'im Tarabali and died in Srinagar on 19 Zilhaj 1272/21 August 1856.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 396.

Qazi Ibrahim: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Qazi Ibrahim bin Qazi Muhammad: He was a pupil and *murid* of his father. Qazi Qutb Majzub was his uncle. A teacher gifted with wisdom, culture, and radiant heart, he dedicated himself to the cause of disseminating exoteric knowledge, notwithstanding his affiliation to the Sufi order. He compiled a useful work on the genealogy of his predecessors. At the age of 74, he died in Ramazan 1004/1596. He lies buried in Banwari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 396.

Qazi 'Isa: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir, he lies entombed in Akbarabad (Agra).

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Qazi Jalalu'd-Din Multani: He was a distinguished *'alim* who had leanings towards Sufism as a result of having taken lessons from Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din 'Alwi Ahmadabadi. He died in Bijapur in 999/1590-1 and is buried there.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 276-7.

Qazi Jamalu'd-Din: A descendant of Mulla Jamalu'd-Din and the son of Mulla Aslam Topigaru's daughter, he was an erudite scholar. He first received guidance from Mulla Qawamu'd-Din and later was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Shah Fazlu'llah. After obtaining *khat-i irshad* from his *murshid*, Jamalu'd-Din took to teaching. Both rich and poor are said to have had his guidance. He endeavoured not to reveal his identity as a Sufi, but was described as the Kotwal of the day and the Bayazid of the night by Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Majzub.

Qazi Jamalu'd-Din composed *na'at* under the pen-name of Jamil.

He died on 27 Sh'aban 1249/11 January 1234 and lies buried near his house at 'Ali Kadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 389.

Qazi Jamalu'd-Din Khushnavis: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi. He remained committed to *tasawwuf* after his initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Qazi Mahmud Murbi: He hailed from Murbi, a village in Gujarat. An erudite scholar, he was initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif.

'Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as a Sufi intoxicated with *sukr, zouq, 'ishq,* and *muhabbat*. His popular Hindi songs, saturated with divine love, were often sung by the *qawwals* of the region.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 337-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 289.

Qazi Mubarak: He was the son of Qazi Fakhru'd-Din of Bijnaur. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti praises his spiritual worth. He is entombed in Bijnaur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 919.

Qazi Muhammad Sawi: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud (Chiragh Dihli). Gifted with the knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, the Qazi won recognition as an excellent teacher. His leading disciple was Khwaja Ikhtiyaru'd-Din 'Umar (809/1406). Muhammad Sawi died on 14 Muharram 809/2 July 1406 and lies buried in the town of Abraj.

Akbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 154-5.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1002.

Qazi Muhi'u'd-Din Kashani: A senior *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, he was a descendant of the *qazis* of Awadh. His grandfather, Qazi Qutbu'd-Din Kashani, had been most influential. An eminent teacher, Qazi Muhi'u'd-Din, on becoming the Shaikh's disciple, tore up the farman of *idrar* or stipends granted him by the Sultans for his scholarship and lived in poverty. He was held in great esteem by his *murshid*. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya wrote Kashani's *khilafat-nama* in his own hand and added:

"Lead the life of an ascetic; pay no attention to things of this world and its authorities. Do not accept gifts from rulers. When you have visitors and have nothing to offer them, consider this a great blessing and favour from Allah."

When Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji offered the post of the Qazi of Awadh and a number of villages to Muhi'u'd-Din Kashani, the latter consulted his *pir* who, in turn, took back from him the *khilafat-namah*. However, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya conferred it on the Qazi again a year after his resignation from government service.

Once to a question of the Qazi whether a disciple in a state of *muraqaba* should contemplate God, the Prophet Muhammad and his *pir* separately, or the three concurrently, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya replied, both were possible but if he desired to contemplate the three simultaneously, he should contemplate with "the belief of God in front of him, the Prophet on his right and his '*pir* on the left.

He died in AD 1319-20.

Fawa'idul-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 45, 219.

Siyar al-Auliya, pp. 294-6.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 179-81.

Miratu'l-Asrar, ff. 365b-366a.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 126b-128a.

Qazi Mulla Husain: He was a devout disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mulla Muhammad Muqim. He strictly followed the *Shari'ah* and died in 1197/1782-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 440.

Qazi Musa Nawachu: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 190.

Qazi Musa Shahid: He was a descendant of Qazi Mir 'Ali. He was a great scholar of exoteric and esoteric sciences and held the position of *qazi* during the Chak rule in Kashmir. The Shia ruler, Ya'qub Shah Chak, put him to death in 993/1585 when he refused to comply with his order to include the name of the Caliph 'Ali in *azan*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 417-18.

Qazi Najmu'd-Din: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Ahmedabad, Shah 'Alam (d. 880/1475-6). Before his initiation into Sufism, the Qazi was so intensely opposed to music that once he broke a musical instrument into pieces. It was one that a goldsmith wished to present to Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat. When the matter was reported to the Sultan, he showed restraint and patience out of his respect for the *Shari'ah*. However, he remarked that if the Qazi was right from the standpoint of the *Shari'ah*, why he didn't dissuade Shah 'Alam from listening to *sama'*. Thereafter, the Qazi decided to debate the issue with Shah 'Alam. No sooner had he reached the *khanqah* of the Shah on one Friday afternoon than the latter asked the visitor to read out the paper that he was carrying. To the Qazi's bewilderment, the paper, on which he had himself written some points taken from the books on *Fiqh* against music, turned blank. Consequently, he became the *murid* of Shah 'Alam and, after obtaining spiritual guidance from his *pir* for some days, dedicated himself to the mission of guiding the seekers after the Truth.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1200, 1212.

Qazi Nasiru'd-Din Gunbadi: He was an ascetic and a contemporary of the famous Sufi scholar, Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi (d. 848/1444-5). Once the latter invited the comments of the former on one of his books. Since the *dervish* did not want to enter into an argument, he therefore wisely responded saying that that there was no need for him to write more.

Qazi's grave is in Jaunpur.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 322.

Qazi Nuru'd-Din Qari: He was the son and pupil of Qazi Jamalu'd-Din. After learning *'ilmu'l-qirat* from Saiyid Sa'id 'Indrabi, he obtained spiritual guidance from Khizr Saheb Khanqahi, Nurah Saheb Khanyari and Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali. On 24 Safar 1294/9 March 1877 he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 408-9.

Qazi Qazan Sindhi: Ghausi Shattari pays tributes to his exalted spiritual status. He is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 252-3.

Qazi Qutb: He was the *murid* of Qazi Musa Mujjarid Chisti and Pir Qazi Sa'dullah Sharafjahani. His spiritual qualities are highly praised by Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 277-8.

Qazi Qutb Majzub: He was the son of Qazi Kadan bin Qazi Sa'du'llah Sharafjahani. Born in Chanderi, he later migrated to Kalpi. Endowed with excellent spiritual qualities, he died in 970/1262-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 276-7.

Qazi Sadru'd-Din Lahori: An intellectual and *faqih*, he enjoyed the company of Sufis particularly that of Shaikh Musa of Lahore. During his stay in Gujarat he met Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri bin Saiyid Isma'il and several other Sufis. Gifted with the qualities of inner piety, he died on 15 Ramazan 991/22 September 1583 and lies entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 377-8.

Qazi Samau'd-Din: He was the son of Qazi Fakhru'd-Din of Bijnaur. Gifted with spiritual qualities, he was a *murid* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, a nephew of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. His tomb was a place of popular pilgrimage in Lucknow during the seventeenth century.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 918.

Qazi Shamsu'd-Din: He was a disciple of the distinguished Firdawsiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Manyari. His official duties as an administrator of Chausa in Bihar prevented him from attending Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's assemblies. It was at his request that the Shaikh wrote him a hundred letters in 747/1346-7. These letters, copied by Shamsu'd-Din's other disciples, cover a variety of topics including *Tawhid,* repentance, revelation, inspiration, *Shari'ah, Tariqa, Haqiqa, zikr, tajrid,* and *tafrid.* Written with great care, the letters aim at imparting certain basic lessons on the spiritual dimensions of Islam without giving birth to any controversy over the importance of the esoteric over the exoteric and vice versa. A fine English translation of the letters has been made by Paul Jackson under the title *Sharafuddin Maneri: The Hundred Letters,* Bombay, 1985.

Qazi Shihabu'd-Din: He was the son of Qazi Badiu'd-Din and the grandson of the Chistiyya Sufi, Qazi Fakhru'd-Din of Bijnaur. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti describes his tomb in Lucknow as a place of popular pilgrimage.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 919.

Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi: Having studied Sufism under Maulana Muhammad Khwajgi, an outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, the Qazi distinguished himself as a scholar of repute. He accompanied Maulana Khwajgi to Kalpi along with other disciples of the latter before Timur's invasion of Delhi. Subsequently, at the invitation of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, he went to Jaunpur where he was appointed the *Qaziu'l-Quzat* (Chief Qazi). He received the title of Prince of the ulama (*Maliku'l-'Ulama*).

Qazi Shihabu'd-Din authored several works of religious and literary importance. Among these, the *Bahr-i Mawwaj*, a Persian commentary on the Qur'an, dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, was the most important. The Qazi addressed questions arising out of various philosophical and mystical interpretations of the Qur'anic verses. His mastery of Arabic grammar prompted him to write numerous treatises on that subject and syntax. He could not complete his commentary on the *Usul of Bazdawi*, but penned a standard work in Persian on Sunni jurisprudence, *Usul-i Ibrahim Shahi*, dedicating it to his patron. His other work, the *Manaqibu's-Sadat*, contained eulogies of the Saiyids.

Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi provides the typical example of combining the diverse philosophies of the *khanqah* and the *madrasa* in the style of Imam Ghazali. What gave him a respectable position among Sufis was his rejection of the notion of the *'alim's* innate superiority.

He died in 848/1444-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 321-2.

Qiran: Conjunction (1) The conjunction of two planets. (2) The performance of the *hajj* and the 'Umrah at the same time.

Qissa-i Sohni Mahwal: A popular Panjabi romantic poem written by Fazal Shah and other poets. Shaikh Madu (d.1056/1646-7) used its hero Mahival as an expression of the yearning of the soul due to its separartion from the source.

Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poetry*, pp. 42-3.

Qutb: He is the pivot of the universe; therefore the highest member of the generally accepted hierarchy of Sufis. See Al-Hujwiri, *Kashaf al-Mahjub*. (Eng. tr. Nicholson). According to the *Kashshafu'l-Istilahat*, a *qutb* is one who has attained to that degree of sanctity which is a reflection of the heart of the Prophet himself. This highest member of the hierarchy of Sufis is often unknown to even the most spiritual of men.

Qutb al-Aqtab: It is a title given to some prominent Sufis by their devotees. The Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mulla 'Ali Raina, describes Shaikh Nuruddin, the founder of the Muslim Rishi order in Kashmir, as Qutb al-Aqtab in his *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin.*

Qutb-i 'Alam: He was a grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari. See Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din.

Qutb-i 'Alam, Shaikh: He was a son of the prominent Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (d. 975/1567). He was a soldier in Delhi's army but resigned his military post immediately after his father's death at the command of the latter's *khalifa*, Shaikh Cha'in Laddah. Having received *khirqa*, staff, and other insignia from Shaikh Cha'in, Qutb-i 'Alam devoted himself to Sufism. Akbar assigned him the position of caretaker of the shrine containing the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad. According to Shah Waliu'llah, Khwaja Baqi Billah is said to have been the student of Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam in the early phase of his religious career. It was, indeed, on the advice of the Shaikh that Baqi Billah went to Bukhara to improve his knowledge of Sufism.

Mutakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 110-11.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), pp. 352-3.

Qutbu'd-Din: "The axis of religion" A title given to eminent Muslim divines.

Qutbu'd-Din, Makhdum Shaikh: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Pir, who, in turn, was the son and successor of Shaikh Budh. A widely travelled Sufi, he also performed *hajj*. His disciples included Shaikh Ma'ruf Majzub, Rahmat Khan, a noble of the Emperor Akbar, and his son and successor, Shaikh Hamid. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman refers to his visit to and a spiritual experience at the tomb of Makhdum 'Ali Sabir at Kalyar.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1164-5.

R r

Radd-i Rawafiz: This treatise, written by the Mujaddid around 995/1586-7, is aimed at refuting the criticism of Shias of the first three Caliphs and the Prophet Muhammad's wife 'A'isha.

Rafi'u'd-Din, Shah: Born in 1163/1749-50, he was the son of Shah Wali'ullah. He started his education under the tutelage of his father and completed it under his elder brother, Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. He translated the Qur'an into the local dialect of Delhi which he preferred to call Hindi. But the supporters of Urdu called it the first Urdu translation of the Qur'an.

He did not consider the difference between the views of the Mujaddid on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Shuhudis* to be of any vital significance. For him, the real difference related to the interpretation. Considering that the *Shuhudis* paid greater attention to distinction as against the *Wujudis'* obsession with unity, he opined that from one standpoint creation was the essence (*'ayn*) of Being (*Wujud*), and from another the *'ayn* was distinct from Being.

He died on 5 Shawwal 1233/8 August 1818.

'Abdu'l-Hamid, "Wahdat al-Wujud we Wahdat al-Shuhud men Tatbiq", *Al-Rahim*, pp. 460-4 (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 260-1).

Rafiqu'l-'Arifin: Compiled by Farid bin Salar, a disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manakpuri (d. 853/1449-50), Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq refers to it as the *malfuzat* of the author's *pir*. 'Abdu'l-Haqq also used it as a source of information for his account of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, popularly known as Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 271.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 95.

Raf'iu'd-Din Safavi, Saiyid: His ancestral home was Shiraz where he was born in 881/1476-7. Early in life, he migrated to Mecca along with his elders where the family, known for learning, settled for many years. In Sultan Sikandar Lodi's reign he came to Delhi via Gujarat. The Sultan held him in high esteem; and at his suggestion settled in Agra.

Saiyid Raf'iu'd-Din learnt logic, philosophy and *Hadis* from Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahman Sakhavi Hafiz Misri.

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes Saiyid Raf'iu'd-Din as an embodiment of generosity, morality, and kindness. Whatever money the Saiyid received from various sources was distributed among the poor. He died in 954/1547.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 426-7.

Rahatu'l-Qulub: The alleged discourses of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din, its authorship is attributed to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Rahatu'l-Talibin: Authored by Khwaja Hasan Qari, a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, the manuscript (accession number 501) preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, contains 23 folios.

Rahma Shah: He was a peasant who received spiritual guidance from several Sufis. He lived the life a hermit at the village of Shatluwah in the *pargana* of Hamal in Kashmir and lies buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 354.

Rahma Shah: Whatever little is known about him is related to his high spiritual calibre, companionship with Shah Fazlu'llah, and sizeable Sufi following. He is entombed in Lar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 395.

Rahman Sufi: He was a peasant from the Kamraz, Kashmir and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Khwaja Fakhru'd-Din and authorized to enrol disciples. He earned his living by cultivating the land. Later, he took up his residence at Malla Bagh in the vicinity of Hazratbal. Known for his piety and spirituality, he produced disciples of high spiritual merit. He died on 7 Shawwal 1287/2 January 1871 and lies buried at Malla Bagh.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 409.

Rahmat Shuryani Chisti, Shaikh: He was a popular Chistiyya Sufi among the Afghans inhabiting the area around Peshawar and Qasur (near Lahore). Like some of the Chistiyya Sufis of the region, as for example Shaikh Hajji Uwais (d. 1016/1608) and Shaikh Ahmad Sa'id Shuryani (d. 1018/1609-10), Shaikh Rahmat was believed to have received guidance from the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar.

The Afghans believed that he could converse with birds and animals. He died in 1025/1616-17 and lies buried in Qasur.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 376b-77a.

Raji Muhammad 'Aini: Son of Shaikh Khan, he was the epitome of esoteric and exoteric knowledge. He came to Burhanpur from Hamadan in search of a *murshid*. Afterwards he travelled to Bedar and enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Multani. After being appointed *khalifa*, he was directed by his *pir* to teach in Ujjain.

In Ujjain Muhammad 'Aini married the daughter of a respectable family. A *khanqah* and a *jama'* mosque that were founded, thanks to his inspiring presence, served as a beacon of light for men of faith.

Muhammad 'Aini gave lessons on exoteric and esoteric sciences for fifty years in Ujjain. His deep learning and spiritual excellence have been commended by Ghausi Shattari.

He died on 27 Ramazan 982/11 January 1575.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 291-2.

Raji Hamid Shah: He was a disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri (d. 853/1449-50). His ancestors, the Saiyids from Gardiz, a town in modern Afghanistan, east of Ghazni, reached Delhi during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish. They were popularly known as 'Raji' on account of their long saintly lineage. Raji Hamid started his career as a soldier, but later turned to Sufism under the guidance of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din. Inspired by Raji Hamid's piety and spiritual attainments, many prominent scholars entered his discipleship; and this despite the fact that their preceptor had not received a formal education. He lived in Jaunpur for some time but later went to Manikpur, near Allahbad, the modern district of Pratabgarh. He lies buried in Manikpur and the date of his death is not known.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 343-4.

Raji Saiyid Muhammad: He was the son of Raji Saiyid Mustafa of Manikpur. Both the father and the son contributed to the popularity of the Shattariyya order in their hometown.

Gulzar-i Abrar, f. 203 as quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 163.

Raji Saiyid Mustafa: He was the son of Saiyid Mubarak bin Saiyid Mahmud bin Saiyid Nur bin Saiyid Hamid Shah. He had a passion for *sama'*. Son-in-law of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he turned Manikpur into an established centre of the Shattariyya order.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 325-6.

Raji Saiyid Nur: He lived in Manikpur and was the son of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri's (d. 853/1449-50) prominent disciple, Raji Hamid Shah. Although in military service, he was devoted to Sufism. His most prominent disciple and *khalifa* was Shaikh Hasan Tahir whose candour impressed Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 344.

Raju Qattal, Saiyid: He was the son and disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Saiyid Ahmad Kabir. His brother Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari appointed him as his *khalifa*. His original name was Sadru'd-Din; Raju and Qattal (Slayer) being his nicknames. Makhdum Jahaniyan is often reported to have remarked about himself that while God had destined him to be concerned with the welfare of people, He had chosen for his brother the life of a recluse, and of one continually absorbed in prayer and contemplation. The son of Raju Qattal, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, and the grandsons of Makhum Jahaniyan played an important role in the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order.

'Abdu'l-Haqq quotes the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* that most people are the disciples of Raju Qatal and some are the disciples of his son Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud. Raju Qattal's tomb is in Uch (Multan). He died in 827/1423-4.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 276.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1092-4.

Rang Bala'ul, Shaikh: He was a successor of Shaikh Madho (d.1056/1646-7).

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 65.

Rashahat-i 'Ainu'l-Hayat: Compiled by Fakhru'd-Din 'Ali bin Husain al-Wa'iz al-Kashifi, a brother-in-law of the great poet 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami, it is the most popular biography of the Naqshbandiyya Sufis with special reference to the life and teachings of Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din 'Ubaidu'llah bin Mahmud Shashi, also known as Khwaja Ahrar (d. 895/1490). Published in India and Tashkent.

Rashid 'Usmani Jaunpuri, Shaikh Muhammad: Born in 1000/1592, he was the most eminent disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh Taiyib of Banaras. Having the distinction of studying with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, he was originally initiated as Chistiyya by his father but after being received into the Qadiriyya order he evinced great zeal in popularizing the teachings of Ibn 'Arabi. His purpose in writing commentaries on controversial passages in Ibn 'Arabi's work was to bring home to the ulama their real meaning. He refused to sign a *fatwa* declaring both Shaikh Muhibbu'llah and his disciple, Muhammadi, heretics and infidels. His main argument was that if such Sufis could not be called Muslims, who could? He authored the *Rashidiyya* with the aim of guiding the Sunnis on Shia-Sunni polemics. This work was included in the syllabus prescribed by the well-known seminary of Deoband founded by Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi (1832-80) and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1828-1905) in 1867. Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri (b. 991/1585, d. 1062/1652), the outstanding logician and philosopher of Jaunpur, was a frequent visitor to the Shaikh's *khanqah*, notwithstanding his opposition to Ibn 'Arabi's Sufi ideas. Like Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid was a vegetarian and had advised his disciples not to cook meat at his *fatiha*. Known both as an *'alim* and a Sufi, he earned several titles, such as Shamsu'-Haqq Faiyaz Diwan and Diwan Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid.

He died on 9 Ramazan 1083/29 December 1672 after living in relative seclusion for the most part of his life. Such was his spiritual status that he declined the invitation of Emperor Shahjahan to visit him.

Ghulam Sharafu'd-Din, *Ganj-i Faiyazi*, Cambridge MS, Browne Persian Catalogue, III, ff. 12b, 112a-113a, 198a.

Shaikh Abu'l-Faiyaz Qamaru'l Haqq Ghulam Rashid, *Ganj-i Arshadi*, Aligarh University Library, ff. 50a, 105b.

Rasul:, pl. Rusul apostle. A title specially applied to Muhammad, but used also for all Prophets who brought inspired books.

Ratan Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi. Devoted to God in the true way of his *pir*, Ratan Rishi's behaviour was marked by self-denial. His grave is situated near the tomb of Baba Bamu'd-Din at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Rauzat al-Nawazir: This is a biographical account of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani which was translated from Arabic into Persian by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya: Written in 1161/1748 by Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgarami (d. 1200/1786), it gives a biographic account of ten Sufis buried at Rauza or Khuldabad, about 7 miles from Daulatabad.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 31.

Rauzatu'l-Husna: See Shaikh 'Isa.

Rauzatu'l-Qaiyumiyya: In this work Abu'l-Faiz Kamalu'd-Din Muhammad Ihsan bin Hasan Ahmad (d.1149/1736) deals with the biography of four *qaiyums* from the Mujaddid to his three successors, namely, 'Urwatu'l-wusqa Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, Shaikh Muhammad Naqshband Hujjatu'llah and Shaikh Muhammad Zubair. It was completed somewhere in the Emperor Muhammad Shah's reign (1719-48). MS. Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society, Calcutta; Urdu translation also published.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Tazkira-i Auliya-i Daru'l-Zafar Bijapur: It was compiled by the historian Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi in 1825-6 from numerous records including earlier *tazkiras* and discourses (*malfuzat*) of Sufis, as well as from oral traditions given him by descendants of some of Bijapur's more prominent Sufis. According to Eaton, the author seems to have written the work with a desire for "historical accuracy and objectivity".

Persian MS. Hyderabad: Asafiyah Library, *Tazkira* no. 266.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 21.

Rauzatu's-Salikin: Compiled by 'Ali bin Mahmud al-Abiwardi al-Kurani, a disciple of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Mu'min al-Abizhi (d. 892/1487), this work is a rich source of biographical information about the latter in addition to several other Naqshbandiyya Sufis. MS. Buhar Section, National Library, Calcutta.

Rauzatu'r-Riyazat: Written by Baba Muhammad Khalil in 1297/1879, it deals with the history of the Rishi *silsilah* of Kashmir. The author says that he made every effort to collect more and more information about the sayings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He visited several places, consulted a number of people, and put down whatever he heard about the Shaikh. The conclusion deals with Lal Ded and some Uwaisi Rishis. The manuscript, number 31, containing 855 pages, is available in the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Culture, Art and Languages.

Rauzatu'sh-Sharb: Authored by Shaikh Sharafu'd-

Din Zahgir, it deals with the life of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 364-5.

Rauzatu's-Salam: Authored by Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Zahgir, it deals with the life of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Shaikh Kaman.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 364-5.

Rawa'ih: Compiled by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, a disciple of the Mujaddid, it is a dictionary of the technical terms used in the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya teachings.

Raziu'd-Din Mansur, Maulana: He was a contemporary of Maulana Dawud Palni, a disciple of Baba Farid. From the account of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, it appears that he was a Chistiyya and that his spiritual exaltedness impressed even Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 138-9.

Regi Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Shukuru'd-Din Rishi. He succeeded his preceptor after his death. Such was his devotion to his *pir* that it was his daily practice to bring water for him after descending the hillock of Sherkoot down the bank of the Wular Lake. A story connected with his disciple, Rupi Rishi, shows that Regi was a Rishi of great mettle. He stood for the strict observance of the norms of the Rishi order. Once he was annoyed with a disciple for eating fish. Considering the erring disciple to be unworthy of being called a Rishi, he made him take off his special dress and leave. Regi Rishi is reputed to have said that a Rishi is one whose external is not in conflict with the interior.

Regi Rishi lies buried near the tomb of his *pir* at Sherkoot in Kashmir

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, f. 44b.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 161ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 86b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 116.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 297-9.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 790-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 117.

Regi Rishi: He belonged to the group of many *khulafa* of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. Described as a pious ascetic, he is entombed near the mausoleum of his *pir* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Regi Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he was a disciple of the noted Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Rehi Checha Bab: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Thag Baba. He had association with Akhwund Mulla Taiyib and often remained in a state of intoxication. After his death in 1155/1742, he was buried near his *murshid's* tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

relic worship: The veneration of relics, as for example, the footprints of the Prophet, staffs, turbans, clothes, etc., of the Sufis has found favour with a considerable number of Muslims in the subcontinent. Not only shrines, but even some major mosques like the Padishahi mosque at Lahore contain rich treasuries of such precious objects. The shrine of Hazratbal in Srinagar is famous for being the repository of the sacred hair of the Prophet Muhammad.

The essential point often ignored is that the veneration of relics was promoted by Sufis who always stressed strict conformity to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. More importantly, no less a person than Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi advised his disciples to show respect to his relics. For instance, in a letter to his disciple Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Samarqandi, his advice to his *murid* was to preserve the upper garment (*qaba*) with the respect that he had bestowed on him. Further, the *qaba* was to be worn occasionally by the *murid* after taking *wuzu* in order to derive numerous spiritual benefits from its use.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Urdu tr., p. 359.

Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, II, London, 1971, pp. 331-2.

Ishaq Khan, "The Significance of the *dargah* of Hazratbal in the Socio-religious and political life of Kashmiri Muslims", in *Muslim Shrines in India*, ed. Christian W. Troll, Delhi, 1989.

——"Religious Devotion and Politics at Hazratbal in Kashmir", in *India's Religions: Perspectives from Sociology and History*, ed. T. N. Madan, Delhi, 2004, pp. 371-82.

repentance: Arabic *taubah*. Lit. the "turning of the heart from sin". It is frequently enjoined in the Qur'an. The Prophet Muhammad is reputed to have offered *taubah* 70 times in a day. Significantly, the Sufis laid great emphasis on *taubah*. Numerous stories regarding *taubah* abound in the literature on Sufism in the Indian subcontinent. It is interesting that some Muslim Rishis of Kashmir primarily stressed the ethical and social importance of *taubah* in the face of the sufferings of the poor and exploited. See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 192-3, etc.

Risala-i Agahi-nama: Written by Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, the son of Shaikh 'Abd'ul-Haqq, in 1068/1658, the work emphasizes the importance of the revelations of Sufis in religious beliefs. The author quotes Ibn 'Arabi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din of Quniya and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq in support of his arguments. MS copy IOL.

Risala-i Ashjar-i Khuld: It was written by Khwaja A'zam Diddamari.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 403.

Risala-i Asrar-i Wahdat: It was authored by Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, but is not extant.

Risala-i Azkar-i Khanwadah-i Chistiyya: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Risala-i Fawa'ih: Written by Khwaja Khwurd, it deals with Sufism.

al-Risalat fi bayan qawl qadami: See *Tanbih al-'Arif* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis.

Risala-i Futuwwa: Authored by the Kubrawiyyah Sufi, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, it is an important work focusing on the qualities of kindness, compassion, generosity, humility, justice, affectionate concern for the weak, aggrieved and poor. The author quotes the Caliph 'Ali while asserting that *futuwwa* is based on four pillars: (1) forgiveness as against authority to wreak retribution, (2) tolerance *vis-à-vis* anger, (3) goodwill for an enemy, and (4) concern for the needs of others in preference to one's own. Deeply conscious of the *Hadis* that true believers comprised a large brotherhood, Saiyid 'Ali, nonetheless, claimed that only Sufis working under the inspiring examples of their spiritual guides had a true perception of the significance of *Akhi* (brother) in the spiritual path. He showers praise on the merits of *ahl-i futuwwa* in the context of the sayings of great Sufis of Islam. Hasan Basri, according to him, is reputed to have said that those who struggle against their lower self (*nafs*) are *ahl-i Futuwwa*. Haris Muhasibi understood *futuwwa* in being just to others without expecting the same in return. Fuzayl bin Iyaz opined that *futuwwa* demanded beneficence for all irrespective of any distinction between a Muslim and a non-believer, friend or enemy. For Junaid of Baghdad, it signified benevolence and escape from doing evil deeds. To Shaikh Sahl bin Tushtari it meant strict observance of the *Sunnah* and disdainful attitude towards all that was this-worldly only.

The teachings of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani with reference to the concepts of *akhi* and *futuwwa* had considerable impact not only on the ennobling mission of his followers in Kashmir but also on Kashmiri artisans, merchants and peasants whose Sufism undoubtedly derived sustenance from the spiritual and social ethics enunciated by him in his profuse works.

Risala-i Futuwwa, Raza Library, Rampur, ff. 45a-47a.

Risala-i Akhi, Rampur.

Risala-i Hal Khanwadah-i Chist: It was authored by Maulana Taju'd-Din, a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Imamu'd-Din Abdal. The manuscript is in the personal collection of Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. According to him, Taju'd-Din's spiritual preceptor was 'Imadu'd-Din, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din 'Ashiq. The latter was the son and successor of Shaikh Imamu'd-Din Abdal.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics, etc.*, p. 191n.

Risala-i Firaq-nama: It was authored by Khwaja A'zam Diddamari. It deals with the life and death of the author's *murshid*, Shaikh 'Ubaidu'llah Bukhari.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 411.

Risala-i Kanzu'l-Asrar: It was written by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari.

Risala-i Lahmiyya: The author of *Risala-i Lahmiyya*, Shaikh Ahmad Trali, belonged to the occupational group of oil-pressers (*telis*) in Kashmir. From his childhood, he took lessons in *tasawwuf* from Mufti Ghulam'ud-Din Jami. Later, Sidique Khan, a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Munawwar Hatbi, initiated him in the Kubrawiyya *silsilah*. He also enjoyed the company of some other Sufis from whom he learnt a great deal about *tasawwuf*. Ahmad Trali's penchant for learning drove him to Delhi, where he learnt *Ilmu'l-Hadis* from Maulavi Ishaq. He also performed *hajj* and died in 1296/1878-9.

For a greater part of his life in the nineteenth century, Shaikh Ahmad Trali led a crusade against the existing *bid'a* in his hometown. But he himself admits that the people did not like him for his attacks on their cherished false beliefs (*batil 'aqaid*).

In his *Risala-i Lahmiyya*, the author attempts to dispel the misgivings of the people about the Rishis' abstention from meat. He severely criticises the popular belief that the Rishis disliked meat and that it was their aversion for non-vegetarian food that got some people into trouble. Ahmad Trali feels particularly concerned over the belief of the people that Baba Hardi Rishi felt offended if someone visited his *ziyarat* after taking meat. So persistent was this belief that a person's natural death or if someone's house caught fire, was attributed by the folk to the sacrilege caused by that person to the shrine of Hardi Rishi. Contrary to this belief, Ahmad Trali argued in the light of Qur'an and *Hadis* that it was inconceivable that Hardi Rishi would punish his devotees if they visited his tomb after eating *halal* food.

The main reason given by Ahmad Trali for the Rishis' abstinence from meat is not their dislike for *halal* food but their determination to subdue the self (*nafs*) to seek the countenance of Allah. For the Rishis meat was a luxury, and since they abstained purely for spiritual reasons, they regarded the practice of curbing the ordinary demands of the self as *Jihad-i Akbar*.

Shaikh Ahmad Trali was undoubtedly one of the ablest Kashmiri Muslims of the nineteenth century who felt concerned over the beliefs of a people not completely absorbed in the *Shari'ah*-oriented system of Islam. This is not to suggest that people who nourished false beliefs were not Muslims; the fact is that owing to mass illiteracy and the mundane interests of the illiterate *mullahs* and custodians of the shrines, the common folk remained steeped in superstition, darkness, and ignorance. For this reason alone, Shaikh Ahmad Trali's efforts to bring the social behaviour of the folk in conformity with the *Sunnah* did not bear fruit in his own time. Nonetheless, Ahmad Trali deserves credit for his contribution to promote a better understanding of the beliefs and role of the Rishis within the framework of *Shari'ah* and Sufism.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, Appendix.

Risala-i Saiyid: Written by Khwaja Khwurd, it testifies to the firm belief of the author in the Unity of Being (*Wahdat al-Wujud*).

Risala-i Sama': A short treatise written by Khwaja Khwurd on the importance of music in arousing ecstasy. The author quotes the *Lawami'* of Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri and Maulana 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami in support of his asssertions. MS DP Collection of India Office Library.

Risala-i Shattariyya: Written by Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din bin Ibrahim al-Ansari al-Qad iri al-Husaini, this short treatise on the Shattariyyas describes forms of *zikr* popular with the order. MS India Office Library dated 13 Sha'ban 1117/30 November 1705.

Risala-i Sultania: See Shaikh Ahmad Chagli.

Risala-i Tahlilyya: Written by the Mujaddid at the end of 1007/1598 or early in 1008/1599, it is a commentary on the *kalima*. The first section of the exegesis deals with the first part of the *kalima* (There is no deity but Allah), and the second, based on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, with the rest of the confession of faith (Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah). The last section of this important Sufic treatise is a summary of the Mujaddid's earlier *Isbat al-Nubuwa*.

Risala-i Tarb'a': See Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal.

Risala-i Tufatu'l-ikhwan fi Manaqibu'l-Ni'man: Its author, Mulla Hidyatu'llah Mattu (d. 30 Sh'aban 1206/20 April 1792), was a Kashmiri by birth. He was the son of Mulla Karamu'llah Mufti, son of Mulla''Abdu'l-Hakim Mattu.

Risala-i Zaruriyya: See Shaikh Muhammad Amin Dhar.

Risala-i Zikriyya: It was authored by the distinguished Kashmiri Sufi scholar, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. It explains the importance of *zikr* and, significantly, the validity of reciting *zikr* loudly in the context of the *Shari'ah*.

Risha Ba'i: Little is known about him except that his abode was at Nawhatta in Srinagar and that whosever approached him was blessed. He lies buried at Nawhatta.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 470.

Rishi Baba: Nothing is known about him except that he lies buried at the village of Aasu in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Rishi Baba: Little is known about him except that he was known for his spiritual exaltedness and that once a trunk of famous ambri tree of Kashmir planted by him bore fruit within two months.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 308-9.

rishi jama: A dress, made of pashmina wool, first introduced by Zainu'd-Din Rishi, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 174b.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 749.

Rishi-nama: Written by Baha'ud-Din Mattu in 1248/1832, it deals with the history of the Rishi movement in Kashmir. Published by the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, it was edited by Muhammad Asadu'llah Wani and Mas'ud Samu in 1982.

Rishi-nama: Written in 1045/1635-6 by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi (d.1047/1637-8), a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki, the work throws flood of light on the role of the Muslim Rishis of Kashmir. MS available in Research Library, Srinagar.

Rishi-nama: By Baba Dawud Khaki in 988/1580-1. References from this work and used in this dictionary relate to the manuscript in the personal collection of Pir Ghulam Muhammad Khaki, Naibasti, Islamabad (Anantnag). Abbreviation used is PGMK.

Rishi-nama: Written by Baba Kamal in 1251/1835-6. The photostat copy of the manuscript (accession number 24), is available in the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. One of the chief merits of the work is the author's deep understanding of the historical role played by the Rishis under the leadership of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din for the spread of Islam in Kashmir. While he acknowledges the contribution of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and Mir Muhammad Hamadani to the cause of Islam in Kashmir, he does not fail to stress the importance of the egalitarian teachings of the Rishis on the Shahmiri sultans in rendering justice to the people. The very fact that the Rishis were spread in every nook and corner of the Valley explains that they were beacons of light.

Rishi Pir: The posthumous son of a Pandit belonging to the village of Gashti in the *pargana* of Uttar, he was brought up by his mother's father at his house at Rang Tang in Srinagar. Described as a born saint, Rishi Pir led the life of self-denial from his childhood while meditating during the nights. He became a disciple of Krishna Pir at the age of 12 and was later entrusted to the care of Zinda Pir. After the latter's death, Rishi Pir became a *majzub* and wandered relentlessly in the streets, fields, and the jungle. In a state of intoxication, he used to call himself Rishi Pir Badshah.

Rishi Pir had a multitude of the Hindu and the Muslim devotees. Almost the same incredible story about the disappearance of his corpse after his death like that of Zinda Pir (q.v.) has found currency in the Persian sources. The respect that Rishi Pir commanded in the consciousness of the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir nevertheless points to the traditions of tolerance and amity fostered by the Hindu Sufis with strong faith in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 458-9.

rishivatika: The garden-house of Rishis. The Valley of Kashmir has also been named Rishivatika in Sanskrit.

Rishwaer: Kashmiris call their Valley Rishwaer or abode of the rishis.

riyazat: to train; to discipline, religious exercise; devotion.

Riyazu'l-Auliya': Compiled by Shaikh Muhammad Baqa bin Ghulam Muhammad Saharanpuri (b.1037/1627-8, d. 1094/1683) in 1090/1679-80, it is replete with biographical information about Indian Sufis. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, the son of Mujaddid.

MS. British Museum.

Riyazu'sh-Shu'ara: Completed in 1161/1748 by Nawab Khan-i Zaman Bahadur Zafar-Jang 'Ali Quli Khan Walih Daghistani, it is a detailed and popular biographical dictionary of Persian poets. The author migrated to India from Iran in 1147/1734-5 and held high *mansabs*. He died in Delhi (1169/1756).

MS. Lib. cat. of the Asiatic Society.

riza: Accquiescence; satisfaction, the highest point of the Sufi journey. According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, f. 155b), the first nine stages for reaching the stage of understanding the *Lahut—tauba*, *zuhd*, *tawakkul*, *qana'at*, *'uzlat*, *zikr*, *tawajjuh*, *sabr* and *muraqaba*—require voluntary abandonment of something men are compelled to leave after their deaths anyway, but the stage of *riza* is a gift from God. In other word, earlier stages depend on choices made by the Sufi but *riza* is the choice of the Beloved.

Riza expresses resignation, and is defined as being pleased with the inevitable decrees of God, whatever they may be.

Rizwan: The name of the gardener or keeper of Paradise.

rozah: Persian for Arabic *saum*, fasting.

Ruba'iyat-i Khwaja Baqi-Billah: Contains the commentary of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi on mystical long poems (*masnawis*) of his *pir*. The towering spiriutal personality of Baqi Billah concerning his views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* is reflected in these poems.

Kulliyat, Lahore, n.d. See also Urdu tr., Karachi.

Rubi Rishi: Hasan calls him Ripu. He was a disciple of Baba Loli Rishi. His original home was the village of Lajura in the *pargana* of Chrath. At the time of the invasion of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat a soldier of the invading army killed him while he was praying in an open field. His corpse was buried at Rishipura in Chaku.

Nasib, *Rishi-nama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 301ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5, ff. 96ab.

Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 73b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 184a.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 717-18.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 132.

ruh: pl. *arwah* spirit; soul; life.

Ruhu'l-Qudus: The Holy Spirit.

Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l-Fath, Saiyid: He was the son of Saiyid Hamid Kabir, grandson of Makhdum Jahaniyan. *Mahbubiyya* furnishes interesting information about the encounters of the Suhrawardiyya Sufis including Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l-Fath with the Hindu *yogis* of Uch. Notwithstanding the supernatural overtones of these encounters resulting ultimatley in the conversion of the Hindus to Islam, the importance of these accounts for understanding the role of the Suhrawardiyya Sufis in Uch cannot be denied.

Najmau'd-Din Yusuf, *Mahbubiyya*, India Office, DP, ff. 94b-95a.

Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l Fath, Shaikh: He was a grandson of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya and the son and successor of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din. His relations with Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya were cordial. Such was his respect and love for the great Chistiyya Sufi that he often used to say that he visited Delhi to see him. In the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji, Ruknu'd-Din visited Delhi twice. The Sultan himself went to welcome him and rode back with him to the city. On both occasions he presented the Shaikh 200,000 tankas on his arrival and 500,000 tankas at his departure. However, the Shaikh distributed such money among the people of Delhi. During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the Shaikh received a jagir of 100 villages from the Sultan for the upkeep of his *khanqah*. True to the Suhrawardiyya tradition of maintaining personal contact with the rulers, Ruknu'd-Din believed that it was absolutely necessary for him to possess three things: money, learning, and spiritual ability. With the first he could help those who thronged round him in need of money; with the second he could solve the problems of scholars; and with the third he could satisfy those who came to him for spiritual guidance. Sultan Mubarak Shah Khalji requested Ruknu'd-Din to set up a *khanqah* in Delhi in order to undermine the influence of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya on the people, but he refused to interfere in the spiritual jurisdiction of his Chisti contemporary.

According to Nizami, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din holds the same position in the history of the Suhrawardiyya order that Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya occupies in the history of the Chistiyya order. His contribution to the growth and development of the Suhrawardiyya order in India was immense. Zia'ud-Din Barani pays glowing tribute to him and remarks that the entire population of Sindh had faith in him and a great number of ulama had entered his discipleship. His fame reached as far as Alexandria, thanks to the merchants who visited Multan. The Shaikh's *khanqah* was, in the best traditions of his father and grandfather, an important meeting ground for eminent visitors from various countries west of the Indus. Ibn Battuta, the famous Moorish traveller, also met the Shaikh and his conversation with him, on someone's recommendation, was not without any interest.

A number of works written by Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din, including his *Malfuzat*, have been mentioned by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Although none of these is extant, 'Abdu'l-Haqq's account helps us understand the teachings of Shaikh Rukn'ud-Din. According to the him, cruelty and avarice rendered the human beings to the level of beasts. He therefore urged his disciples to cultivate self-purification through humility and prayer for curbing such vices. But purification of the self, believed the Shaikh, was in the ultimate analysis dependent on divine grace. "Had it not been for the grace of Allah and His mercy unto you, not one of you would ever have grown pure" (Qur'an, xxiv, 21) was the verse often quoted by him to support his argument. And divine grace and mercy, in his view, sprang from recognition of one's faults.

Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din died in 735/1334-5.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 135-41.

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, pp. 347-8.

Futuhu's-Salatin, p. 443.

Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah, III, pp. 102, 201-13 (R, I, 102).

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, p. 140.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 126-31.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 49-52.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 818-22.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, p. 225.

Ruknu'd-Din Firdausi, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Khwaja Badru'd-Din Samarqandi who lived near Kilukhari. Although a contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, he does not seem to have enjoyed the company of the great Chistiyya Sufi of his time. Ruknu'd-Din's two sons, according to *Siyaru'l-Auliya* quoted by 'Abdu'l-Haqq, were jealous of the Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. This evidence cannot be rejected; however, hagiographers' account of the death of Shaikh 'Imadu'd-Din's sons as a result of the supposed maledictions of Nizamu'd-Din needs to be treated with a grain of salt.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 202-3.

Jamali, pp. 83-4.

Kalimatu's-Sadiqin, pp. 160-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 210.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 85.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 838.

Ruknu'd-Din Naushahi, Qazi: He was a disciple of Naushah Ganj Baksh (d. 1064/1654) of the Panjab. Although a distinguished theologian and a qazi of Wazirabad, he resigned his post under the influence of Sufic inclinations.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, p. 202.

Ruknu'd-Din Shattari, Shaikh: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Hidayatu'llah Sarmast of Bengal. After his father's death in Patna, he became a leading Sufi of the Shattariyya order.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 202.

Rum Rishi: The first Muslim to mention this legendary Rishi of the pre-Islamic times in Kashmir was Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi who eulogizes him for his spiritual attainments. Even Pir Hasan Shah, in spite of his strong roots in the *Shari'ah*, lends credulous ear to the folk beliefs about the Rishis whose historicity cannot be established. According to him, his actual name was Ramuh Rishi but was popularly known by Rum Rishi. He is reported to have come to Kashmir after performing *hajj* seven times, and settled in the village of Ramuh by secluding himself in a cave there. He lived on forest produce and ate neither meat nor grain of any kind. He took milk only towards the end of his life. Such was his friendliness with the environment that wild animals accompanied him as and when he came out of his habitat to enjoy the natural beauty of the forests. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni is said to have called on Rum Rishi in the wake of his invasion of Kashmir. The Sultan asked for his blessings and the Rishi predicted that that he would be victorious in Somnath. After living on this planet for 322 years, Rum Rishi diappeared from his grave and died mysteriously.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 108-10.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, pp. 44-9.

Rumi Rishi Baba: Kamal describes him as a disciple of Lusti Rishi.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 310.

Rupa Rishi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Known for his austerities, he was buried in the *pargana* of Uttar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Rupi Rishi: He was a disciple of Regi Rishi who in turn was the *khalifa* of Baba Shukuru'd-Din. Rupi Rishi once incurred the displeasure of his preceptor for being tempted to eat fish. [See Regi Rishi.] He lies buried at Sherkoot in Kashmir near the tomb of his preceptor. Kamal and Khalil wrongly say that Mirza Haidar's army killed him.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 161ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 86b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 299.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, p. 792.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 117-18.

Rupi Rishi: He belonged to the *pargana* of Vular in Kashmir. Fed up with wealth and family, he took to the wilderness and became a recluse for some time. His *pir* is unknown, though he is mentioned as Uwaisi in some sources. He enjoyed the friendship of Baba Nasib and Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. He finally settled near a spring at the village of Kochhamulla in the *pargana* of Vular. He constructed a mosque in his new abode and, although he spent fifty years there, would occasionally move out for two to three months.

Rupi Rishi followed the traditions of the order founded by Shaikh Nuru'd-Din with great dedication. He had committed to memory the Sufi poetry of the Shaikh and recited it with great ease. Throughout his life, Rupi Rishi observed fasts and did not eat meat.

He is entombed at Kochhamulla in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 308.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 145-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 134.

Rupi Rishi: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. His tomb lies near the mausoleum of his *pir* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Rushd-Nama: It is also called the *Alakhbani*. See Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus.

ru'ya: Dream; vision. A term used in the Qur'an for the visions of the Prophets.

S s

Saba‘-i Sanabil: Written in 969/1562 by Mir ‘Abdu’l Wahid Bilgrami (d. 3 Ramazan 1017/11 December 1608), it deals with Sufism and ethics. This treatise is replete with Hindi quotations. The Persian text was originally published in Kanpur in 1881-2. The Urdu translation of this work done by Mufti Muhammad Khalil Khan Barakati with introduction by Dr. Muhammad Ayub Qadiri (originally published in Karachi) has recently been reprinted in India by Rizvi Kitab Ghar, Maharashtra.

Sabr: Patience. According to Ja‘far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru’l-Ma‘ani*, Ethe, 1867, f. 155b), it requires Sufis to close their eyes to the enjoyment of both worlds and to remain permanently chained to divine love.

Sachal Sarmast, ‘Abdu‘l-Wahhab: Born in 1739, he studied the Qur’an at an early age and learnt it by heart. Although he had firm grounding in Islamic theology, he made his presence felt as a Sindhi Sufi poet. Sarmast’s examination of his own personality is vivid:

> I do not know, O sisters, what I really am? . . .
> Perhaps I am a doll, perhaps the thread on which it hangs,
> Perhaps a ball in the hand of the beloved,
> Perhaps a yoke with heavy burden,
> Perhaps a castle where the king sits
> And thinks and talks about many things for getting new information.
> Perhaps I am a horse which some rider guides,
> Perhaps a wave of the ocean which drowns the out ward being,
> Perhaps a henna-flower with red colouring,
> Perhaps a rose, the head full of scent,
> Perhaps I am a fountain, filled by a cloud,
> in which the sun is reflected and the moon as well.
> Perhaps I am God’s mirror from pre-eternity which is beyond all words—
> Perhaps I am not at all. . . .

Sarmast died in 1826.

A. Schimmel, Sindhi Literature in J. Gonda, ed., *A History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden, p. 22.

Sadha Rishi: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi. Described in the sources as a *fazil*, *kamil*, and *‘arif*, Sadha Rishi lies buried in Khalnarawav.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 137.

Sadiq Hamadani: He was a wealthy dignitary of Kashmir. Trained in the house of his uncle, Maulana Hasan Kashmiri, he travelled to Delhi to learn at the feet of Shaikh Faiz Dihlawi (d. 1029/1619-20) and Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi. From the latter he learnt about *Hadis* and the art of writing biographical dictionaries. Later, he became a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

As a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he wrote the *Silsilahtu’l-Sadiqin*, a biography of Naqshbandiyya Sufis, which is not extant. However, his biographies of 125 Sufis, all buried in Delhi, has survived and is titled the *Kalimatu’s-Sadiqin*. In this work the author skilfully attempts to give an authentic account of the lives of the Sufis of Delhi against their historical background. He also wrote a detailed biographical dictionary of Indian Sufis called the *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*.

On his return home, Muhammad Sadiq seems to have led a quiet life according to the *Shari‘ah* and Sufism. Besides being a poet, he was a real seeker after the Truth. He often called on the Mujaddid and sought clarifications on several issues concerning Sufism. To his question as to why contemporary Sufis had failed to perform miracles, the Mujaddid warned him against the insinuations of the devil. Although a condition of prophethood, maintained the Mujaddid, the accomplishment of a miracle was not necessarily so in case of a *wali*. True, Sufis had worked miracles, but this fact was not a criterion for establishing their superiority over others in the Path.

Muhammad Sadiq lies buried at Wantpura in Srinagar.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, nos. 22 and 107.

Kalimatu’s-Sadiqin, pp. 262-6.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (U), pp. 215-16.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 220-1.

Sadru’d-Din Hakim, Shaikh: He was a noted disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. His father had been a merchant and a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya. An erudite scholar, eloquent speaker, and physician, Sadru’d-Din wrote several treatises. Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq has reproduced excerpts from his work that bear testimony to his asceticism. He did not fail to constantly remind his readers of the Reality of death and ephemerality of the mundane existence.

In one of his letters, quoted by ‘Abdu’l-Haqq, Hakim Sadru’d-Din remarks that the road to Sufism is so long that it cannot be travelled by way of speech and writing. Nonetheless, he induces a seeker after the Truth to follow certain instructions under a spiritual master. First, identify your sins and crimes. After reflecting on their causes, lessen your expectations and desires. Second, cultivate the virtues of hunger in the true manner of *siddiqin* by controlling your *nafs* through fast; three, there is no condition laid down by Allah for granting *rizq* to his *‘abds* and it is better to absorb oneself in His remembrance than to worry about one’s livelihood. Fourth, supererogatory prayers endear an *‘abd* to Allah to such an extent that Allah becomes his ear, eye, hand, and tongue. Fifth, entrust yourself to Allah in order to shun false pride and ostentation. Sixth, give wide berth to such of your relatives, or friends as are preoccupied with mundane affairs. Seventh, do not indulge in *shirk* at the command of your parents; but in such conditions be courteous to them in all humility. Eight, strive to gain Allah’s pleasure through steadfastness in the Path under the guidance of spiritual preceptor. Ninth, only a humble servant of Allah can hope to save himself against all calamities.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), pp. 261-6.

Mir’atu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 999-1000.

Kalimat, ff. 413b-424b.

Sa’du’llah Bani Isra’il, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ishaq bin Kaku Chisti (d. 996/1588) of Lahore, a descendant of Baba Farid. During his youth, he adhered to the *Shari‘ah*; but in old age he was overcome with love for a dancing girl. He took to wine and spent all his assets on her. However, before his death the Shaikh offered *tauba* and wrote a commentary on the *Jawahiru’l-Qur’an* of Imam Ghazali and other works.

Muntakhabu’t-Tawarikh, iii, pp. 53-6.

Sa‘du’d-Din Khairabadi: He came from Khairabad in the modern district of Sitapur in Uttar Pradesh. An acknowledged scholar of Arabic, grammar, and *Fiqh*, Sa‘du’d-Din became a disciple of the well-known ascetic of Lucknow, Shaikh Mina. He wrote commentaries on popular works related to *Fiqh* as well as on the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-‘Arabi. After the death of his *murshid*, Sa‘du’d-Din completed the *malfuzat* of his *pir* and named it *Majmau’l-Suluk*. He is said to have enrolled a number of disciples, most of whom became distinguished Sufis. Allahdiya Khairabadi was the most illustrious of his disciples. He died in 993/1585-6.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar, pp. 193-4.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 261.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), Lahore, 1994, pp. 247-8.

Ma‘riju’l-Wilayat (R), f. 295b.

Sa‘du’llah, Shaikh: During the reign of Sultan Sikandar when Shaikh Muhammad Malawah came to Delhi, Sa‘du’llah took lessons from him on Sufism as pain, love, and steadfastness. He died in 917/1511-12.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), p. 309.

Safar Nama-i Makhdum Jahaniyan: Book of the Travels of Makhum Jahaniyan. India Office MS, DP. Translated into Urdu by Muhammad ‘Abbas, it has run into several editions.

Safaru’d-Din: He was a disciple of Mulla Ibrahim Ruh (d. 1025/1616-17). A Qadiriyya Sufi of high calibre, he took to trade and commerce to shun fame.

Sakinatu’l-Auliya, p. 141.

Safi Rishi: One of the disciples of Baba Zainu’d-Din Rishi, he lies entombed near the mausoleum of his *pir* at ‘Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Safinatu’l-‘Arifin: Written by Muhammad Aman bin Muhammad Yusuf bin Muhammad Rahim, it is a general biographical dictionary of Indian Sufis, and concludes with the death of Saiyid Rasul Numa, MS. British Museum.

Safinatu’l-Auliya: Muhammad Dara-Shukoh (b. 1615/d.1659), the eldest son of Shah Jahan, wrote a number of Sufic works of which the *Safinatu’l-Auliya*, containing short biographical notes and completed on 27 Ramazan 1049/21 January 1640, is an interesting and carefully executed work

Safiu’d-Din Hanafi, Makhdum: He lived in Rudauli. A descendant of Imam Abu Hanifa, Safiu’d-Din was called Abu Hanifa Sani because of his learning. First a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Khasa, he later became the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir. The latter enrolled Safiu’d-Din as his disciple during his visit to Rudauli where he stayed at the Jamia mosque for 40 days. This period was particularly utilized by Ashraf Jahangir for the spiritual guidance of Safiu’d-Din.

According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Safiu'd-Din was a Sufi of excellent qualities and imparted instruction to seekers of the Truth for many years. He appointed his son, Shaikh Isma'il, as his *khalifa*. His grandson, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, earned immense fame.

Safiu'd-Din lies entombed in the town of Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1184-5.

Sahha Rishi: A disciple of Baba Ishaq Narwari, he made his mark as a Sufi of great merit. In accordance with the traditions of the Rishi order, he tilled the land while simultaneously practising asceticism. Baba Dawud Mishkati furnishes an eyewitness account of the activities of Sahha Rishi. It is reported that once he saw the Rishi busy on his paddy field. On seeing the distinguished *faqih* of his time, Sahha Rishi remarked: "Come on Sufi! Join me." But Mishkati responded somewhat tauntingly, "I am a Rishi." To Sahha Rishi's response that he too was a Rishi, Mishkati remarked: "Had you been a Rishi, you would not have destroyed animate things like grass and insects during the course of tilling the land." Then Sahha Rishi began to weep and was so distressed at the idea of having caused harm to living things, that he fell ill and died in 1047/1637-8.

Sahha Rishi lies buried at Saiyidpura in Dara, situated near the mountain not far off from Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 234-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 142.

Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda: Urdu edn. This is the only comprehensive biography of the Qadiriyya Sufis of Bijapur. Written in 1796-7 by a Qadiriyya descendant and based on notes collected by Abu'l-Hasan's grandson in 1684-5, the *Sahifat* is an important source of information on the role of the activities of the Qadiryya Sufis in the Deccan.

Sahibiyya: Emperor Shahjahan's eldest daughter, Jahan-Ara Begum, wrote this work on 27 Ramazan 1051/30 December 1641 in honour of her spiritual guide Mullah-Shah. For an Urdu summary of the work, see *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, 1937.

Sahih: This is a study of *Hadis*. Bukhari Hafiz Muhammad Fakhru'd-Din's son, Shaikhu'l-Islam Muhammad, who was a great-grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, rendered the original into Persian.

Sahi Muslim: Shaikh Mubibu'llah wrote a Persian commentary on it. His eldest son Hafiz Muhammad Fakhru'd-Din later edited it and made some additions. The work was titled *Manba'al-'ilm Fi Sharh Sahih Muslim*.

Sahihu'l-Bukhari: The title of the first of the *Kutubu's-Sittah*, or six correct books of traditions received by the Sunnis. It was compiled by Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari, who was born in Bukharah in 194/809-10, and died at Khartang, near Samarqand in 256/869-70.

Sa'id Sarmad, Muhammad: An Armenian Jew who came from Kashan, he embraced Islam under the influence of his teachers in Iran, including two greatest scholars of philosophy, namely, Sadru'd-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Shirazi, commonly known as Mulla Sadra (d. 1050/1640-1), and his contemporary Mir Abu'l Qasim-i Findarski. As a merchant, Sarmad amassed a substantial fortune. However, he became a *majzub* and fell in love with a Hindu boy of the Vaishya caste, Abhai Chand, on a visit to Thatta in 1042/1632-3. Wandering naked like a lunatic, he composed a verse in a state of ecstasy: "I know not if in this spherical old monastery (world), My God is Abhai Chand or someone else."

After being allowed by his parents to live with Sarmad, Abhai Chand, himself something of a genius, acquired proficiency in Persian and began to compose Persian verse. He wrote: "I submit to the Furqan (the Qur'an), the Pentateuch, I am a priest, I am a ruhban (Christian monk). I am a rabbi of the Jew, I am an infidel, I am a Muslim."

Sarmad moved to Lahore in 1044/1634-5 and from there to Hyderabad. Around 1654, he reached Delhi. Dara-Shukoh considered Sarmad his *pir* and *murshid*. His reply to Dara's several questions was terse: "We have forgotten all that we had read save the story of the Friend which we repeat."

Sarmad's *ruba'is* have been translated. There are several stories regarding the execution of Sarmad under the orders of Aurangzeb. Whether he was put to death on the charge of wandering naked or his failure to recite the full *kalima*, Sarmad certainly came to be described in the same reverential terms as was Mansur Hallaj. Significantly, he had prophesied his death long before the event: "A long time since the fame of Mansur became an ancient relic. I will exhibit with my head the gallow and cord."

Sarmad's execution took place near the Jami' mosque in Delhi in 1071/1660-1 where his tomb continues to be a centre of pilgrimage.

Dabistan-i Mazahib, p. 242.

'Ali Quli Khan Walih Daghistani, *Riyazu'sh-Shu'ara*, Lucknow University MS, ff. 127; 172.

'Abdu'l-Wali, "A Sketch of the life of Sarmad", *JASB*, 1924, pp. 112-13.

F.M. Asiri, *Ruba'iyat-i Sarmad*, Shantiniken, 1950, no. 249.

Syeda Hamid Saiydain, ed., *Contemporary Relevance of Sufism*, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Delhi, 1993.

Safiu'd-Din Ibrahim Pur 'Abdu'llah Razi, Shaikh: This disciple of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti lies entombed in Ajmer.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 30.

Saifu'd-Din, Shaikh: Born in 1049/1639-40, he was the fifth son of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. He was sent to the court of Aurangzeb by his father where princes and nobles, according to several Naqshbandiyya hagiographies, obeyed his orders on religious matters. He died on 26 Jumada I 1096/30 April 1685.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh-i Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 259-72.

Saifu'd-Din, Shaikh (b. 920/1514): Son of Shaikh Sa'du'llah (d. 928/1522), he was a disciple of the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi Shaikh Aman'ullah Panipati (957/1550). From his very childhood, Saifu'd-Din's behaviour and thought were deeply influenced by the serene religious environment of his home. Poverty did not deter him from acquiring a higher education. So imbued was his impassioned soul with divine love that he saw even in the smallest particle of matter the theopany of an inifinte light. He expounded the indivisibility and inseparability of the Light by way of an analogy to a lamp that lit a multitude of lamps. According to him self-determination (*ta'ayyunat*) of the Absolute, though divided into quiddities (*mahiyya*), "was not a process which reason could comprehend using the analogy of the division of physical objects". Therefore, in spite of "self-determination", the Absolute retained His primordial Oneness. He considered all verbal forms of expression in the context of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*—"from Him" (*Azu ast*) or "by Him" (*Badu ast*), "all is from Him" (*Hama az ust*) and "all is He" (*Hama ust*) to be of "equal merit". Such expressions were only a matter of heart rather than reason. His *Shari'ah*-mindedness prevented him from making ecstatic utterances in public. A lover of *sama'*, he would also listen to Persian verses and Hindi *dohas*. He lectured particularly on themes such as Divine love, the yearning for God and the pangs of separation. The poetical verses composed by him are not extant. However, his illustrious son, Shaikh 'Adu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, has reproduced a few of his *qasidas, ghazals*, and a *masnawi* in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*. Written in the true Sufic style, his poetry eulogizes Divine love and ascetic poverty. He died in 990/1582 after performing the *pas-i nafs*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 416-22.

Saifu'llah, Shaikh: Son of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq (d. 1073/1663), he, like his father, also translated the *Shama'il al-Nabi* of Abu 'Isa Muhammad bin 'Isa bin Saurah al-Tirmizi (d. 279/892-3) into Persian and dedicated it to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 97.

Saiyaru'l-Aqtab: The author Ilah-diya who completed this work in 1056/1646-7 describes the miracles of the Chistiyyas, particularly those of the Sabriyya branch.

Saiyid: A term used for the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fatimah by 'Ali. There are two branches of Sayyids, those descended from Hasan and those descended from Husain (both the sons of 'Ali).

Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Wahid: He was the son of Saiyid Ibrahim Qannauji. Little is known about him except that he was a *murid* of Shaikh Husain Sikandarabadi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 514.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, the founder of first Qadiriyya *khanqah* at Uch in the second half of the fifteenth century. He was also a poet and a Sufi. According to Shaikh Abdul-Haqq, Maulana Abdu'r-Rahman Jami (817/1414–898/1492) used to send his poetry to him in recognition of his superior talents.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 356.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, he accompanied his *pir* to Kashmir. Along with Saiyid Muhammad Quraish, another disciple of Saiyid 'Ali, Saiyid 'Abdu'llah settled in the town of Vijabror. He is said to have lent admirable support to Muhammad Quraish who disseminated the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order.

Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15a.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Baihaqi: He was the son, disciple and successor of the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir, Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid. Besides working for the spiritual well-being of the people, Saiyid 'Abdu'llah wrote many treatises. While his *Qa'i'd-u'l-A'ma* deals with the injuctions of the *Shari'ah*, his other work, *Nahtau'l-'Urfan*, is focused on *tasawwuf*. He also wrote the *Maqamat-i 'Ashra, Nazm-i Farsi, Mi'raju's-Salikin, Badru'd-Duja*, and *Qasida-i Istaghfar.*

He died on 9 Muharram 1226/4 February, 1811 and is buried in his ancestral graveyard.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 87.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: He was the son of Saiyid Hasan Qumi and the father-in-law of Mir Mirak Andrabi (990/1582). From his relationship with Mir Mirak, it appears that Saiyid 'Abdu'llah was a Qadiriyya Sufi. He is entombed at the village of Ahmadpura (or Saiyidpura) in Zainagir, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 66.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: Known as Shait Wali, he lies buried along with his six pious brothers in Andarwari, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah: He was the brother of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din. He guided Sultan Qutbu'd-Din in matters concerning the *Shari'ah* under the instructions of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. But little is known about Saiyid 'Abdu'llah except his tomb at Chhatabal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 96.

Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Anandi Multani: He came to Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and became a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari. Although for some time he served in the army, he resigned and found solace in leading the life of *faqr*. Afterwards he went to Malwa and died there in 990/1582.

According to Ghausi Shattari, Saiyid 'Abdu'llah earned the Hindi title of 'Anandi' for his cheerful and amiable disposition.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 297-8.

Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Latif: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Saiyid Janbaz Wali. Known for his self-denial and meditation, he lies buried near the shrine of his *pir* in the district Baramulla.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 13a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 79.

Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Mir: He was the son of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Hamid Salori. He was well versed in *fiqh* and remained busy in teaching and study of books in his ancestral library. However, he gave up teaching and discussion and turned a Sufi absorbed in meditation on coming into contact with an unknown visitor to his library. He died in 965/1556-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U). p. 429.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rahim: He was initiated by Shaikh Muhammad Phulti.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 370-1.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rasul: He was a devout disciple of Khalifa Abu'l-Qasim. Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim describes him as a man of God.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 80.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rasul: He was the son of Saiyid Muahammad 'Abid and a disciple of his grandfather, Shah Muhammad Ghaus. Known for his generosity, kindness, compassion, piety, and steadfastness, Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rasul died on 25 Sh'aban 1170/16 May, 1757.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 88.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Abu Bakr: A *khalifa* of his father, Saiyid 'Atta Muhammad (d. 986/1578-9), who had initiation in the Qadiriyya, Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Maghribiyya and Bukhariyya orders. He is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 459.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Chiragh Lahori: He was the grandson of Saiyid Jiwan (d.1022/1613-14), also known as Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Salis (the third). He was called Chiragh because of his grandfather's prophecy that he would be the lamp of the family. Emperor Shah Jahan held him in high esteem. As an eminent Sufi of the Qadiriyya order, he also distingusihed himself as a scholar. He died in 1068/1657-8 in Lahore.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p.172.

Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Hajji Mir: He was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. The *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*, quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, states that 'Abdu'r-Razzaq was brought up by his celebrated *pir* from the age of twelve. A Sufi of high spiritual calibre, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq died at the ripe old age of 120. He is buried near his *murshid's* mausoleum. He had five sons who received the robe of *khilafat* from their father.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1176-80.

Saiyid Abu Sa'id bin Saiyid Raju: Ghausi Shattari describes him as *mutawakkil*, *'arif*, *'ashiq* and poet. He died in 963/1555-6 and is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 250.

Saiyid Ahmad: Little is known about him except that his grave near a bridge in the locality of Batmaloo in Srinagar was discovered by Shaikh Da'ud Batmaloo.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 132.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 49.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 47.

Saiyid Ahmad: He was a disciple of Shaikh Daniyal Khizri. The latter visited Jaunpur during the reign of Sultan Husain Sharqi and initiated him and his prominent brother Saiyid Muhammad.

Tarikh-i Muhammadi as quoted in *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), p. 1062.

Saiyid Ahmad: He was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Khudadad, son of Saiyid Sa'id and the grandson of Saiyid Hajji Khudad. As a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order, he dedicated himself to the mission of guiding the people in the Path. He is buried in the village of Kreiri.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 10b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 75.

Saiyid Ahmad Afghan: He was a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order and also an Uwaisi. He lived in the town of Bajwara in the Punjab. He received early education from his father, Shaikh Muhammad bin Ilyas and Shaikh Ilahdad Lahori. Ghausi Shattari refers to his meeting with this elevated soul in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 486-90.

Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani: His ancestral home was Kirman. He migrated to India and seems to have stayed in Uch or Multan, the hub of the activities of the Suhrawardiyyas. Belonging to the line of teachers from Makhdum Jahaniyan, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Saiyid Miyan.

Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani came to Kashmir from Kirman during either of the two periods of Sultan Nazuk Shah's reigns (1529-30, 1540-52). He played an important role in undermining the influence of the Nurbakshiyya teachings of Mir Shamsu'd-Din on the Kashmiris. Several Kashmiri Sufis including the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, interacted with him. Sultan Nazuk Shah became his devotee and built a *khanqah* for him at the *mohalla* of Narwara in Srinagar. The Sultan also assigned a handsome grant for the upkeep of his *khanqah* out of the revenues of the state.

Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani enrolled a number of disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order in the Valley. Among these must be particularly mentioned Saiyid Musafir and Saiyid Jalal. The tomb of Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani in the Mazar-i Kalan of Ganj Baksh in Srinagar has been considered to be an abode of bliss and grace.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 164-5.

Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur, *Khwarikus-Salikin*, f.182a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 186a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 54-5.

Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was the brother of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani and that both are entombed at Nawakadal in Srinagar.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 15b-16b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Ahmad Qasim: The second son of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Mir Mirak Andrabi (d. 990/1582) of Malarata in Srinagar, he disseminated the teachings of the order in the village of Parchal where he lies entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 63.

Saiyid Ahmad Qureshi: He came to Kashmir from Medina during the reign of the sultans and secluded himself at the village of Dachhun in the *pargana* of Khuyahom. Nothing is known about the Sufi order to which he was affiliated.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 67.

Saiyid Ahmad Qureshi: He was the brother of Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi. Both brothers were disciples of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. While Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi disseminated the teachings of Islam in Bijbehara, Saiyid Ahmad Quershi was stationed in the village of Littar in the *pargana* of Shawara. He died in 786/1384-5.

Muhammad A'zam Diddamari, a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir, recounts his spiritual experience during a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at-i Kashmir* (U), pp. 81-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 20.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 23.

Saiyid Ahmad Samani: This son of Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din bin Mahmud Samani, was known for his profound scholarship. He wrote the *Kitab-i Tanvir-i*

Sharh-i Sirajiyya. He lies buried at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar near the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Khawari.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (U), p. 13.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 39.

Saiyid Ahmad Shahid: He was born on 6 Safar 1201/ 28 November, 1786 in the Rae-Bareli district of UP. His letters throw light on both the *jihad* movement and attempts at reforming Sufism. An Urdu translation of the Saiyid's letters was published in Karachi. The original letters are available in the British Museum, National Museum, New Delhi, and various other libraries.

Saiyid Akbar Shah: He was a son Saiyid Rasul Shah. Little is known about him except his generosity. He died in Kashmir in 1247/1832.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 90.

Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Shaikh: 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes him as a Saiyid of lofty pedigree and a Sufi of high calibre. He was a poet and had achieved excellence in the art of Hindustani music. He died in 987/1579-80.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 397-8.

Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din: He was a descendant of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar along with his family and settled in the *pargana* of Bangil near Sikandarpura. Nothing is known about his role as a Sufi except that he first led a secluded life and later, at the request of the reigning sultan, took up his abode at the *mohalla* of Sikandarpura in Srinagar. Among his four sons Saiyid Taju'd-Din particularly commanded the deep veneration of the sultans of Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 75.

Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Sani Majzub: Born in Thaneswar, he was endowed with spiritual knowledge. Under the spell of *jazba*, he went to Ajmer and afterwards left for Gwalior in the same condition. He finally reached Agra where he died in 1008/1599-1600.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 403-4.

Saiyid 'Ali: A favourite disciple of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq (d. 949/1542-3) of Jhanjhana, east of Delhi, he lived as a Qadiriyya Sufi in Ludhiana.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 237.

Saiyid 'Ali: He was a disciple of the eminent Sufi of Jaunpur, Shaikh Adhan (d. 976/1568-9). Although he had four wives and supported them through a certain part of *futuh* received by him, his behaviour was characteristic of a *majzub*. Sometimes he wore a *khirqa*, while on other occasions he dressed in a soldier's uniform. He refused to keep the company of worldly people and spent every afternoon till dusk alone. Conversely, however, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, the father of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, had close association with Saiyid 'Ali and found him to be a wonderful conversationalist. He was fond of *sama'* and encouraged the musicians to recite *ghazals* or melodies of their own choice.

Shaikh 'Ali died in 905/1499-1500.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 232.
Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 301b.

Saiyid 'Ali: Little is known about him except that he was the son of Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din and lies buried in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 65.

Saiyid 'Ali Akbar: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of intrinsic merit and lies buried at Tashwan in Srinagar. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 76.

Saiyid 'Ali Akbar Sani: Diddamari describes his tomb at Maisuma in Srinagar as a popular place of veneration. Hasan does not mention him but Miskin says he came to Kashmir along with Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 80.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 35-6.

Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani: He was the son of Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din, the governor of Hamadan. Popularly known in Kashmir as Shah-i Hamadan, Saiyid 'Ali was born at Hamdan on 12 Rajab, 714/ 22 October 1314. His genealogy is traceable to the family of the fourth Caliph, Hazrat 'Ali. He received early education from his maternal uncle, 'Ala'u'd-Dawla, a pious Sufi, who is sometimes confused with the distinguished erudite Sufi scholar, 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani. Initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Mahmud Nizamu'd-Din Muzdaqani, he received further spiritual guidance from Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani's disciples—Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Muhammad Adkani Isfra'ni, Akhi Muhammad Dahistani, and Abu'l-Barkat Taqiu'd-Din 'Ali Dusti—at the suggestion of his *murshid*. Prior to the death of 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani in 1336, Saiyid 'Ali reached the *khanqah* of 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani and completed his spiritual education under him.

Saiyid 'Ali seems to have met Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir at the *khanqah* of 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani. Both travelled together for some time before reaching India. Ashraf Jahangir was first to reach India, while 'Ali Hamadani before his arrival deputed his cousins, Saiyid Husain Simnani and Saiyid Taju'd-Din, to Kashmir. Finding the situation in the Valley congenial for his spiritual mission, Saiyid 'Ali reached Srinagar during the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din (1373-89).

It is difficult to determine the exact dates of Saiyid 'Ali's arrival in Kashmir in view of the conflicting evidence furnished by an earlier source. Thus while the author of *Tarikh-i Kashmir* gives 786/1384-5 as the date of his arrival, he simultaneously refers to a chronogram (*maqdam sharif baju*) of Saiyid Muhammad Khawari which gives the date of the Sufi's arrival as 785/1383-4. It would be seen that in either case Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani stayed in the Valley for less than a year.

Accorded a warm welcome by the reigning Sultan and his officials on his arrival in Srinagar, Saiyid 'Ali took up residence at an inn in the newly founded part of the city called 'Ala'u'd-Din-Pura. A platform was constructed there for the purpose of prayers which were also joined by the Sultan.

Seven hundred Saiyids are said to have accompanied Saiyid 'Ali to Kashmir. The same number which has been used for the companions of other Sufis, including Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, though mythical, nonetheless, points to the seminal role played by Saiyid 'Ali and his disciples in the dissemination of Islamic teachings in Kashmir.

Far from bringing about the radical Islamization of the Sultanate of Kashmir and society, Saiyid 'Ali's success lay in creating an ambience for the orderly evolution of *Shari'ah* consciousness or what may termed *Shari'a*-oriented culture. His main concern was to ensure the viability of the *Shari'ah* by making it intelligible through reform of the behaviour of the Sultan and the ruling *elite*. In this respect, Sultan Qutbuddin's reconversion provides the best example of the seminal role played by Saiyid 'Ali in generating *Shari'ah* consciousness first among the elite and then the Kashmiri masses, who were separated from him by linguistic barriers. What is, however, of significance is that during several centuries of Islamic acculturation Kashmiris established their own channels of communication with the *khanqah* of Saiyid 'Ali in intrinsically distinctive local forms.

Although Saiyid 'Ali's life was rooted in the *Shari'ah* and *Sunnah,* his chief mission in the Valley was not to enforce the religious law through the state machinery. Had he urged Sultan Qutbu'd-Din to use force for radical Islamization of the society and the state, the caste-conscious Brahman chroniclers would have expressed their anger, both against the king and his spiritual master. The very fact that they maintained an intriguing silence about Saiyid 'Ali and his historical role points to a certain degree of solemnity and sensitivity characterizing his mission. The Saiyid's primary objective was to sensitize the ruler and a tiny minority of his Muslim subjects in respect of the *Shari'ah*. This does not, however, mean that the state had nothing to do with the *Shari'ah.* As a matter of fact, he paid great attention to its function in ordering society through the exemplary behaviour of the ruler and the ulama. In his emphasis on following the *Shari'ah*, the focus was both on the role of the individual in society, the eternal and the historical, and, above all, the state of man's heart and behaviour rather than on the state. He thought the *Shari'ah* important as a private discipline concerned with the soul or self (*nafs*) and actions guiding the person towards both transcendant and societal fulfilment. *Shari'ah*, as such, was not an abstract idea but an idea in operative practice.

The advent of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani in Kashmir along with his disciples was part of the well-thought-out mission of the Sufis of the Kubrawiyya order to bring about the Islamic orientation of various independent sultanates that existed in Central Asia and Persia. A careful study of Saiyid 'Ali's *magnum opus*, *Zakhirat al-Muluk,* and a bunch of his letters (*maktubat*) addressed to Muslim rulers brings out the importance of his historical mission more as a Sufi scholar, teacher, and missionary rather than a revolutionary. What is of significance is that Saiyid 'Ali had the intuitive ability to grasp the ethos of various cultures that he encountered on his extensive travels. While he did not want the rulers to impose the *Shari'ah* from above, it was his life-long mission to guide them within the broader framework of the *Shari'ah*. This explains the fact that the concept of *Shari'ah* in his thought emerges as a never-ceasing concern of the ruler for the welfare of his subjects irrespective of religious differences. Although he uses the phraseology of believers and unbelievers in the context of Islam, he brings home the eternal fact that the Creator makes no distinction in showering His bounties on all creatures. Thus the Muslim ruler is repeatedly advised to render justice (*adl*) and beneficence (*ihsan*) to his subjects. According to Saiyid 'Ali, only such a ruler deserves to be called the deputy or the shadow of God on earth or the successor of the Merciful as constantly endeavours to enforce the *Shari'ah* within the unbounded limits of its *adl* and *ihsan*. He is severely critical of a ruler who, guided by baser instincts or whims, violates the principles of tolerance and equity enshrined in the *Shari'ah*. He denounces such a ruler as the deputy of the enemy of God (*naib-i dajjal*). The *sine qua non* of Saiyid 'Ali's exhortations to Muslim rulers is a constant struggle, through personal piety, to establish a welfare state on the social ethics of the *Shari'ah*. His aims is not to make Islam subservient to the political interests of the state; rather it is to make the state serve the universalist aims of *din*. This is the reason that the sultans not only accorded a warm welcome to the Kubrawiyya Sufis but also encouraged them to settle in the Valley as agents of social stability.

Although the Kubrawiyya Sufis—Tajuddin, and particularly, Husain Simnani—seem to have exercised appreciable social influence at the grass roots, the same is not true of their illustrious cousin, Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Being essentially a supreme leader of a great mission, Saiyid 'Ali was always travelling from one place to another. In the course of his travels he met Sufis, kings, nobles, and dignitaries. Notwithstanding the exemplary concern he shows for commoners in *Zakhirat al-Muluk* and *Maktubat*, he does not seem to have enough time to establish contact with the masses for three reasons. First, his discourses were intended for the rulers on the one hand and for seekers in the Sufi Path (*tariqa*) on the other. Such discourses together with the spiritual tenor of his works were beyond the comprehension of commoners. Second, most of his time was spent writing and guiding rulers and the nobles through personal discourses. Saiyid 'Ali himself seems to have been conscious of the challenges to which his mission was exposed. Not only does he refer to the dearth of ulama capable of consecrating themselves for the good of mankind, he even hints at the unholy alliance between rulers and ulama for serving their selfish mundane interests. Third, he is reported to have stated explicitly that it was beyond the comprehension of his contemporaries to understand the depths of his thought or mission, and that such a task would be accomplished only a century after his death.

During his brief stay in the Valley, lasting less than a year, Saiyid 'Ali interacted with Sultan Qutb'ud-Din, the aristocrats, the Brahman ascetics, his Muslim followers, and sundry Brahmans. His contemporary biographer, Nuruddin Badakshi, does not refer to his missionary activities in the Valley, but Saiyid 'Ali's letters on the eve of his departure from Kashmir do give us an idea of work there. Two letters addressed to Sultan Qutb'ud-Din from Pakhli may be described as a testament to his skill and dedication. In the first letter, written in all humility, Saiyid 'Ali presents a sad picture of contemporary adherents of Islam in contrast to Muslims of the first century *hijra* (*suhaba* and *taabin*). While he implicitly points to the ulamas' failure to captivate the hearts of non-Muslims by the nobility of their actions, simultaneously, his humility exalts the true Brahman and his idol to such an extent that he versifies his sentiments thus: "If the Brahman peeps into my (inner) condition, he will turn me out of his sight; In that he would not allow a wicked man like me to present myself before the idol."

Saiyid 'Ali's praise for the Brahman and the idol can be understood only in the context of the sultans' respect for the religious beliefs of their Brahman subjects. The letter was written in the wake of his departure from the Valley; so it is more than an advice to the ruler whom he had enrolled as his disciple. Since neo-Muslims were bound to follow in the footsteps of their ruler, it was necessary to revitalize the consciousness of the ruling class of *tawhid*, *Shari'ah* and *haqiqa*. What further necessitated the renewal of such consciousness was the challenge to which the somewhat nascent faith of the Sultan and his Muslim subjects was exposed to in the polytheistic environment of the Brahmans and sorcerers masquerading as spiritual leaders. Signifianctly, Saiyid 'Ali does not dub the Brahman but his self as *kafir*. In a true manner of the Sufi, the Saiyid is critical of the Brahman's baser self (*nafs-i kafir*) rather than of his belief in God. It is the Brahman's outward faith in the idol as a seeker after the truth that elicits the Saiyid's praise. But then without ridiculing the Brahman, he expounds his argument in the light of the general tendency of the self (*nafs*) to follow such people as have been led astray by their own ignorance. It is necessary to dispel the mist of ignorance through the recognition of one's own self. Saiyid 'Ali further advises the Sultan to repent his past sins and invoke the help of the Creator (rather than the created) so that Allah's mercy envelops him despite his failings.

In another letter, the Sultan is advised to fulfil his duties to his subjects on the basis of equity and justice. Not only is the government expected to play a reformatory role within the encompassing limits of the *Shari'ah* to maintain a balance between the privileged (*khas*) and commoners (*'am*), it is also obligatory to protect the weak against the strong. Saiyid 'Ali's concern for the *Shari'ah* in the context of Kashmiris' medley of religious beliefs is particularly evident in his instruction to the Sultan to prevent any transgression of its limits in a state of ignorance or darkness (*zulmat*) and innovation (*bidat*). It is against this background that the importance of the mission of the prophets and ulama is brought home to the sultan. Significantly, the Saiyid does not teach blind adherence to the *Shari'ah*, but regards the judicious use of reason (*aql*) as the guiding principle for creating *Shari'ah* consciousness in order to distinguish humans from animals for the greater good of mankind.

A careful examination of Saiyid 'Ali's letters brings home to us their purport, both spiritual and social. He did not stand for the radical Islamization of Kashmiri society but for the diffusion of *tawhidic* and *Shari'ah* consciousness among the commoners through the example of his disciples, including both the kings and nobles. That Islam in Kashmir owed a great deal to his concern for human welfare can hardly be denied.

Although earlier accounts concerning Mir Saiyid 'Ali's role in Kashmir provide us useful information with a halo of sanctity surrounding historical facts, later chronicles and hagiographies attach primary significance to his miraculous exploits. Abdul Wahhab Nuri quotes a spurious work, *Israriya*, to impress upon his readers the crucial significance of a certain miraculous feat in accelerating the conversion of the masses to Islam. Little wonder, then, that later writers mix historical fact with legend to such an extent that the "triumph of Islam" in the Valley is described as a spiritual phenomenon that followed from the conversion of a monster (*dev*) or *jin*.

Saiyid 'Ali's historical role in Kashmir rests on three essential factors, his encounter with the Brahman ascetic; relations with the Sultan; and above all, his intuitive ability to seek the assimilation of commoners in Islam through an invocatory prayer called the *Awrad-i Fathiyya*. Of crucial importance is that the mode of recitation of the prayer, now popular in every nook and corner of the Valley, was adapted to the forms of local religious culture without distorting its essential meaning. Yet it must be emphasized that the Sayyid's encounter with the Brahman ascetic was a public rather than mysterious affair. The sight of Muslims visiting a temple must have caused a great deal of concern to him. However, far from getting the temple demolished he had a platform (*suffa*) raised nearby. It was here that the Saiyid performed religious duties along with his disciples. Not only was he able to attract Sultan Qutbuddin to offer prayers in congregation, but he even enrolled him as a disciple. The Sultan, himself a poet, acknowledged his gratitude to his spiritual mentor in Persian verse.

The Sultan's participation in religious assemblies is attested not only in the Persian chronicles, but even in a valuable document bearing the seal of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, and preserved in the Khanqah-i Mu'alla. His Muslim subjects, concentrated in the city, must have also joined the religious congregations held near the temple. One significant feature of these assemblies was the recitation of the *Awrad-i Fathiyya* aloud in chorus. Significantly, the *awrad* was compiled in such a manner as to embody the spiritual as well as the mundane aspirations of a people at the crossroads. Instead of taking a narrow view of the religious susceptibilities of the Kashmiris, the Saiyid showed acute mental discernment and keen practical sense in grasping the essential elements of popular culture and ethos and gave a creative expression to these in enjoining his followers to recite the *awrad* aloud in chorus.

The purpose in permitting the Sultan and his Muslim subjects to publicly glorify Allah's Majesty and invoke His help must have been twofold. First, it was to subdue the Brahman ascetic by weaning his followers away; it must also have been to attract non-Muslims towards Islam through prayers, which resulted in developing the highest emotional aptitude. That the Saiyid succeeded in his first aim during his sojourn in Srinagar is testified by documentary evidence; and that the regular practice of reciting *awrad* aloud in chorus in the early hours of the morning and in the evening played a significant role in moulding mentalities, sensibilities, perceptions, dispositions and beliefs over subsequent periods of Kashmir history can hardly be denied. Not only did the recitation of *awrad* gain favour in various Sufi circles but even Pandit Srivara seems to have been fascinated by the loud prayers in the Jama mosque of Srinagar. Thus writes the conservative Brahman chronicler: "It was here that the *yavanas* (Muslims) chanted mantras and looked graceful like the thousand lotuses with humming bees."

Notwithstanding the historical significance of Saiyid 'Ali's role, there is no reason to lend credence to the popular view that he secured mass conversions during his brief stay in the Valley. In fact, various stories woven around his personality in later times have contributed to a legend about a mission that was a historical fact.

Satisfied with the initial success of his mission, Saiyid 'Ali seems to have left Kashmir before the onset of winter season in 1384. On reaching Kunar in the neighbourhood of Pakhli, situated in the north-west of Kashmir, he remained the guest of its ruler at the latter's request for some days. Following illness that struck him in Kunar, Saiyid 'Ali died on 6 Zu'l-Hijja 786/19 January 1385 at the age of 73. His body had to be carried to Khattalan, now in Tajikistan, where the burial took place on 25 Jumadu'l-Awwal 787/14 July 1385.

Notwithstanding the exaggeration that Saiyid 'Ali wrote 170 books, he was a prolific writer and probably authored not less than 50. Most of these are short instructional booklets (*isharat*) or essays expounding Sufi technical terms (*istilahat*) or collections of *awrad*. His invocatory prayer, *Awrad-i Fathiyya*, continues to be popular in the Valley and even among the Nurbakshiyyas of Gilgit to this day. He wrote commentaries on the *'Awarif al-Ma'rif* and *Adab al-Muridin.* He translated the *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi into Persian. His *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* is an important work. Its purpose is to guide Muslim rulers in the discharge of their duties to their subjects in the light of the Qur'an and the *Sunna.* The essence of the Saiyid's admonitions to rulers—inadequately brought home in the modern assessment of his work—is his concern for justice, irrespective of religious differences. While nine chapters of the book focus on religious, social, and ethical issues, only one chapter is devoted to the government and its obligations to subjects.

His other works include *Risala-i Futuwwa* (q.v.), *Risala-i Dah Qa'ida, Maktubat, Mir'atu'l- Tai'bin, Risala-i Khawatirya, Minhaju'l-'Arifin, Mashariqu'l-Anwar, Sharh-i Asma'i-Husna, Sairu'l-Talibin, Risal-i Zikriya, Chihil-Maqamat-i Sufiya*, etc. The poetical compositions of Saiyid 'Ali are entitled the *Chihl-Asrar.* Detailed information regarding these and numerous other works of the Saiyid is given in the modern works of Syeda Zafar, Muhammad Riyaz and Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad.

Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, *Zakhirat al-Muluk*, Urdu tr. Muhammad Riyaz Qadiri under the title *Dhakhirat al-Muluk*, Indian edition, Delhi, 1989; Urdu tr. Shamsuddin Ahmad under the title *Zakhira' Sa'adat*, 2 vols., Srinagar, 1993.

Maktubat, RPD No. 1600, 1966.

Awrad-i Fathiyya, Urdu tr. with commentary by Assadu'llah Shah Dwarki under the title *Tafhim al-Awrad*, n.d. Lahore.

Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Badakshi, *Khulasat al-Manaqib*, RPD No. 658.

Haidar Badakshi, *Manqabat al-Jawahir*, RPD No. 3269.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir.*

'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50.

Mira'tu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1033-4.

Saiyida Zafar, *Saiyid Mir 'Ali Hamadani*, rpt. Delhi, 1987.

Muhammad Riyaz, *Ahwal-u Asar wa Ash'ar Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani*, Islamabad, 1985.

Ishaq Khan, "A Study of Ritual Behaviour and its Impact on the Evolution of Kashmiri Muslim Society", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 5, no. I, 1994, Birmingham, pp. 23-33.

——*Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

——"*Shari'a*, State and Conversions in Medieval Kashmir : An Assessment of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's Historical Role", in Aparna Rao, ed., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Delhi.

Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Shah-i Hamadan: Hayat aur Karnamay*, Srinagar, 1995.

Saiyid Ashraf: He was a prominent disciple of Miyan Mir. Initiated at a very young age, he would spend nights in meditation. According to Dara-Shukoh, he had the distinction of being the only companion of Miyan Mir present at the time when Emperor Shahjahan called on the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi of Lahore. The Mughal prince writes with gratitude about Saiyid Ashraf's act of giving him some of the hair of Miyan Mir's beard that the latter had vouchsafed to the former. He died in 1024/1615.

Sakinat'ul-Auliya, Urdu trans. p. 284.

Saiyid 'Atta Muhammad *alias* 'Ala'u'd-Din: He belonged to Ahmedabad and was affiliated to the Qadiriyya order. He performed *hajj* and also received initiation into the Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Maghribiyya orders. He wrote poetry and two of his *diwans* are mentioned by Ghausi Shattari.

He died in 986/1578-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 458-9.

Saiyid Badru'd-Din Sani: He was a Sufi of the Qadiriyya order. No details are available about him except that he lies buried on the western side of Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 39.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 87.

Saiyid Badru'd-Din: Son of Saiyid Jalal Mutawakkil, he was the epitome of spiritual knowledge; he lived in Agra in the sixteenth century and is entombed there.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 251-2.

Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din Sani: A Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order and a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, his tomb is in the village of Arahama in Shupian, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 21.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 26.

Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din: A companion of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, he lies buried in a village in the *pargana* of Kruhin in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 20-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 26.

Saiyid Baqir: He was one of the prominent relatives of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Husain Simnani. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din. His activities regarding the spread of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in the village of Viri Saran in the *pargana* of Duchhanpur are little known except a halo of sanctity surrounding his personality.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 10.

Saiyid Barkhurdar: Miskin wrongly considers him to be a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya of Multan. Khwaja A'zam Diddamari ranks him high among the Saiyids. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin. The Sultan built a *khanqah* for him in Danamazar in the city that was later destroyed by an earthquake. However, during the period of the Chaks the *khanqah* was reconstructed. During the time of Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, the *khanqah* of Saiyid Barkhurdar was a popular place of pilgrimage for what he calls *ahl-i manajat*.

He died on 14 Rabiu'l awwal 1020/17 May 1611.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 110-11.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 48.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 70.

Saiyid Burhan: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari (d. 785/1384), he had arrived in Kashmir from Khurasan with Saiyid Taju'd-Din Baihaqi in the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). He is buried in Sikandarpura, Srinagar.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 12a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 78.

Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din: Born either in Uch or Multan in 790/1388-9, he was the son of Makhdum Jahaniyan's son, Saiyid Muhammad. Initiated by his father as Suhrawardiyya, and also at his suggestion, Burhanu'd-Din migrated to Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Ahmad (1411-42). After settling near the new capital, Ahmedabad, founded by the Sultan immediately after his accession, he became famous in Gujarat as a Qutb-i 'Alam (Pole of the Universe). According to Sikandar bin Muhammad *alias* Manjhu, the sultans of Gujarat were extremely devoted to the Qutb-i 'Alam and attributed their victories and prosperity to his blessings and that of his son. Sultan Ahmad Shah himself wrote verses in praise of his *pir*, not unlike that of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din of Kashmir in praise of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani.

Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din died on 8 Zu'lhijja 857/10 December 1453 and was buried in Batwa near Ahmedabad.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, Bombay, 1308/1890-91.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 161.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 133-4.

Saiyid Buzurg Shah Qadiri: He was the son of Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad and a disciple of his father's *khalifa*, Baba Nuru'd-Din Pampuri. Although he owned *jagirs* and was held in high esteem by virtue of his social position, he made a mark among his contemporaries as a Sufi of generous disposition. He would never make any mention of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani except in a state of *wuzu*. In 1221/1806 Sardar 'Abdu'llah Khan, the Afghan governor of Kashmir, purchased a sacred hair of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani from a merchant and presented it to Saiyid Buzurg Shah. The latter spent a huge sum on the construction of a *khanqah* in which the relic was housed. Since then the place has been a centre of pilgrimage. He died in. 1232/ 1816-17.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 88-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, 209.

Saiyid Chanda Husaini: He was the only Sufi who lived in the kingdom of Bijapur during the reign of the Shia rulers (1502-34 and 1558-83). He migrated from the coasts of Arabia to Bidar in the late fifteenth century. Chanda Husaini joined the cavalry of Yusuf 'Adil Khan and accompanied him to Gogi, 65 miles east of Bijapur. However, the Sufi parted company with Yusuf 'Adil Khan (1490-1510) when the latter publicly stated the Shia faith. Thereater, Chanda Husaini absorbed himself in the remembrance of God. No other details are known about him beyond the fact that he died in the reign of 'Ali I (1558-80), and not in 1454 as is stated on his tomb in Gogi.

Munshi Qadir Khan Bidari, *Tazkiratu'l-Qadiri*, Persian MS, Hyderabad, Asafiyah Library, *Tazkirat* Jadid, no. 1086, f. 74b.

Yazdani, "Inscriptions of Shahpur", p. 5.

Saiyid Dawud: Nothing is known about him beyond his tomb in the village of Fajapura in Biru, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din: He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and the brother of Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din. Both brothers came to Kashmir along with their spiritual preceptor and secluded themselves in village Awanpura, in the *pargana* of Vular.

Diddamari, *Waqi 'at* (US), p. 67.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 19.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din: This son of Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Baihaqi, a Kubrawiyya Sufi, who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, is buried in the village of Kandihama.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (UGB), pp. 13-14.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 92.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 26.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din: Little is known about him except the fact that he came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He lies buried in the village of Newa in *pargana* Chrath. Sabur calls him Saiyid Sultan Fakhru'd-Din and says his burial place in Newa lies in the *pargana* of Nagam.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 96.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 16a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 30-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 58.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din: He was the brother of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din and the favourite disciple and *khalifa* of Saiyid Husain Mantaqi. His area of activities as a Kubrawiyya preacher was the village of Salora of the *pargana* of Lar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 39.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din, Shaikh *alias* Saiyid Meeth: He belonged to Amethi. He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa Taj of Jaunpur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1197.

Saiyid Farid: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi and is entombed in Jamalata, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 44.

Saiyid Farid: He was the son and *khalifa* of Hajji Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1178.

Saiyid Fazlu'llah: He was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Husain Mantaqi. As the successor of his father, he guided seekers on the Path. He lies buried near the compound of the tomb of his brother, Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi, in Avantipura, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Firuz: He was a companion of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din and settled at the village of Simpur in Vihi *pargana*. Also known as Jalau'd-Din, he lived as a recluse. He was buried in Simpur.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 19.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 18.

Saiyid Ghaus Qadiri: He was a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani who reached Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begarh of Gujarat. He was given a warm welcome by the Sultan and the *masha'ikh* of Ahmedabad. His contribution to the dissemination of Islamic teachings among the people was considerable. A *madrasa* founded by him in the city imparted education on exoteric and esoteric sciences.

Ghausu'd-Din Qadiri died on 22 Safar 895/ 20 January 1490 and is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Tazkira-i Auliya Deccan (U), II, pp. 636-7.

Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad: Born in Kashmir, in his childhood he went to Peshawar to learn at the feet of his maternal grandfather, Shah Muhammad Ghaus, the well-known Qadiriyya Sufi. Saiyid Ghulam Shah then returned to Kashmir during the governorship of Afrasiyab Khan. Here in the Valley, he met with Shah 'Atau'llah and under his guidance attained spiritual heights. Thereafter he consecrated himself to the moral good of the people.

Saiyid Ghulam Shah's pen-name as a poet was Azad. Among his several disciples Baba Qa'im Patlooni has caught the attention of several hagiographers for his ascetic exercises at a secluded place in Kaunsarnag.

On 18 Jamiu'd-Awwal 1202/25 Februray, 1788, Saiyid Ghulam Shah died. About 10,000 people attended his funeral.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 86-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir* 202.

Saiyid Habib Kashani: He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin from Kashan near Samarqand. Unlike most Kubrawiyya Sufis, he spent his life in seclusion and self-denial. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah, as a result of conflict between the nobles and Baihqi Saiyids, he was murdered. He was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 57.

Saiyid Habib Sarkhabi: Little is known about him except that he came to Kashmir from Sarkhab, a town in Tabrez, following Timur's persecution of the Saiyids. He stayed aloof from the ruling class and the rich, and spent his time in contemplation. His burial took place at the *mohalla* of Kawadara near the Mar Canal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 47.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 67.

Saiyid Habibu'llah: Little is known about him beyond his fame. He lies buried in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Saiyid Muhammad Madani in Srinagar. According to Diddamari, he founded a mosque that was maintained in its original condition until his time.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 97.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 33.

Saiyid Habibu'llah: A Sufi endowed with excellent qualities of spiritual nature, he lived in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 363.

Saiyid Habib'ullah: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of goodness and graciousness and died in 976/1568. He is entombed in the village of Amora in the *pargana* Adavin.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 44.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 81.

Saiyid Habibu'llah Kasani: He came to Kashmir from Kasan during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. Until his death in Kashmir, he lived in seclusion and subsisted on vegetables. He was a Kubrawiyya and lies buried near the tomb of Ganj Baksh.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 100.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Haibatu'llah: A descendant of Saadat-i Rizvi of Mashhad. Having lost his parents quite early, he was entrusted to the care of Khwaja Hasan, known as Mu'inu'd-Din Sani, who was a descendant of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. He came to India in the time of the Sur kings and settled in Mandu. As a *khalifa* of Khwaja Hasan, he enrolled many people as his disciples.

Saiyid Haibatu'llah died in 1004/1595-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 397.

Saiyid Haidar: As the worthy successor of his father, Saiyid Hajji Murad, he disseminated the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in the village of Kreiri in Kashmir where he is entombed near the mausoleum of Hajji Murad.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 10ab.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 42-3.

Saiyid Haidar: He was a cousin of Saiyid Husain Simnani who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din. Although a gnostic (*'arif*), he entertained visitors to his cousin's *khanqah* with various kinds of meals. The Persian sources refer to the daily consumption of one *kharwar* (an ass's load, equivalent to 177 lbs.) of rice at the public charity kitchen maintained by Saiyid Haidar.

He lies buried near the tomb of his cousin at Kulgam.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 10.

Saiyid Haidar: He was a disciple of Shaikh Bilal.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 347-8.

Saiyid Hasan Chisti Mandawi: He was the son of Ilah Baksh Chisti. He was a *murid* of Saiyid 'Ali Chisti who descended from the family of Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz. Born in Mandu, he was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 497-8.

Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa: Unable to inherit the land of his father in his ancestral home, Narnaul, this son of a Mughal official devoted himself to learning with the main aim of using his influence as an *'alim* against his relatives who had unlawfully seized his property. But after fourteen years of study and privation in Jaunpur, the Sayyid returned home with no desire for worldly possessions. Initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Diwan 'Abdu'r-Rashid during his period of study, he became a close associate of Khwaja Khwurd on reaching Delhi from Narnaul. His piety and acesticism prompted Aurangzeb to see him, but according to an authentic source the interview was not granted. Khafi Khan pays tribute to the Sayyid's profound and perceptive knowledge of Qur'anic exegesis and *Hadis* even while being an ascetic. Not unlike *malamatis*, he had an aversion for riches and would often be rude to such of his visitors as displayed their pelf. The epithet 'Guide to the Prophet' (Rasul-Numa) was earned by him as he was believed to have enabled some of his close disciples to have visions of the Prophet Muhammad.

Saiyid Hasan died in 1103/1692 and lies entombed in Delhi.

Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, I, Calcutta, 1860-74, pp. 552-3.

Muhammad Aman b. Muhammad Rahim, *Safinatu'l-'Arifin*, Persian, IOL, Delhi, f. 92b.

Tazkira-i Jami Auliya-i Dihli, Persian, IOL, Delhi, f. 78a as quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 102.

Shaikh Hajji Hamid: He was a disciple of Shah Qazan who in his turn was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Shattari. A widely travelled Sufi, Hajji Hamid would wander with a stick in his hand and a prayer mat on his shoulders. His disciples included Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and all the latter's eight brothers. He also obtained a *khilafatnama* from Shah Qa'zan's son, Shaikh Abu'l-Fatha. Emperor Humayun was a devotee of Hajji Hamid. He died in Gwalior in 967/1559-60.

Hajji Hamid wrote the *Mi'raj-Nama*, an account of the ulama of Gujarat.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 428.

Saiyid Hajji Muhammad: Nothing is known about him except his nobleness and affability as a Sufi buried at Kralayar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid Hajji Murad: He was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din Baihaqi. After his father's death, he obtained education from his uncle, Saiyid Zia'u'd-Din Zirak, and having passed through various stages in *suluk*, left Kashmir for Mecca. From the holy land he travelled to Iran and Central Asia.

During his stay in Medina Saiyid Murad had close contact with Shaikh Ishaq. The latter, a Shattariyya Sufi of considerable fame, initiated Hajji Murad into his order. On reaching Khwarazm he met Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Burzishabadi, a Kubrawiyya Sufi, who besides enrolling him as his disciple granted him the *khilafat-nama*. He returned to Kashmir in the reign of Muhammad Shah, somewhere between 1484-6. According to A'zam, Hasan and Miskin, he performed the *hajj* three times.

Saiyid Hajji Murad settled in the village of Kreiri in the *pargana* of Kruhin in Kashmir. In contrast to his ancestors, he refused grants or gifts from the state. Instead, he earned his livelihood by cultivating a piece of land and lived in relative seclusion. He is also credited with having dug out a canal, known as the Babul canal.

Hajji Murad enjoyed friendly relations with Baba Payamu'd-Din (Baba Rishi). They exchanged ideas on Sufism during their frequent meetings. Once when Baba Rishi came to know about the intentions of his Kubrawiyya friend to lead a married life, he did not approve of his idea since, in his view, it was not in conformity with the life of a Sufi. For some years after the Hajji had married, the Rishi showed his resentment by not visiting him. But when he visited his old friend after a hiatus of many years, he was pleased to see his little son reading the Qur'an.

Hajji Murad died in 895/1489 (Hasan 889/1484); his mausoleum in Kreiri, in the west of the Valley, is a place of pilgrimage.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 28b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 126-8.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 99n.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 10a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 40-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 53.

Saiyid Hamid: Little is known about him except that Sultan Ghazi Shah Chak killed him in the village of Hanjiwira. He was buried at Zaldagar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 64.

Saiyid Hasan: He was the son and khalifa of Hajji Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1178.

Saiyid Hasan Bahadur: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Taju'd-Din. Sultan Shihabu'd-Din granted him the *jagirs* of the *parganas* of Khuyahom and Manchahom in Kashmir. He was a commander of the sultan; but the chronicles of his military exploits are not credible.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 11.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 7.

Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi: He was the son of Saiyid Husain Baihaqi. His teachers in *faqr* and *suluk* were his own father and the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Baba Hajji Adham. Sultan Muhammad Shah of Kashmir, son of Sultan Hasan Shah, was his daughter's son. After the death of Hasan Shah, Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi's guidance to his nephew and his dabbling in the politics of Kashmir were resented by the Kashmiri aristocracy and they took his life along with a number of Saiyids in the royal palace at Nau Shahr in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 52.

Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 81, 103, 106-7.

Saiyid Hasan Khan Ju: This son and *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Ali Khan of Chadura in Kashmir was known for his austerities and ecstatic behaviour. He died in 1083/1672.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 241.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 71.

Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi: He was the eldest son of Saiyid Husain Mantaqi or Baihaqi. After receiving an early education and an initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from his father, he earned considerable fame in the Valley as a Sufi teacher and scholar. He travelled to different parts of Kashmir and finally settled in the town of Avantipura, dedicating his life to the dissemination of the teachings of his order.

Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi's shrine in Avantipur on the Srinagar-Jammu highway has been an object of great veneration for people of all religions.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 33-4.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 86.

Saiyid Hasan Qadiri: He was the son of Saiyid Buzurg Shah Qadiri. At home in exoteric and esoteric learning, Saiyid Hasan was known for his kindness and generosity. He married the daughter of Raja Teg Singh, the ruler of Kishtwar, but died very young, in 1241/1825-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 92.

Saiyid Hasan Qumi: He arrived in Kashmir from Qum during the reign of the sultans and settled in the *pargana* of Zainagir. Although his *silsilah* is not known, he is reported to have guided many residents of the *pargana* in the Path. His tomb at Saiyidpura in Zainagir is a place of pilgrimage for both Shias and Sunnis, notwithstanding the fact that he was a Sunni. However, Saiyid Hasan Qumi's grandson, Saiyid Ahmad, became a Shia.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 66.

Saiyid Hasan Sani: He was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Ni'amatu'llah, and the grandson of Saiyid Fazlu'llah. Consecrating his life to the spiritual uplift of the Kashmiris living in Avantipura, Saiyid Hasan is buried in the same town.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Hashim: He was initiated by Shaikh Muhammad Phulti.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 370-1.

Saiyid Hazurullah: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a relative of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Nuru'd-Din, and lies buried in the precinct of Rang Masjid, Zainakadal, in Srinagar near the tomb of the latter.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 28.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 54.

Saiyid Hibatu'llah: Popularly known as Shah Mir, he came from Shiraz to Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Mahmud I. Descending from the Saadat-i Hasani Husaini, he was a fellow student of Sadru'd-Din Muhammad Shirazi and Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Dawari in Shiraz. He was affiliated to the *silsilah* of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, known as Maghribiyya, and popularized it in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 215-16.

Saiyid Hilal Naqshbandi: Kashmir was the original home of the Naqshbandiyya order in the subcontinent. Credit for its introduction goes to Saiyid Hilal, a disciple of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Muhammad Naqshband, who entered the region in the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413).

Saiyid Hilal's arrival coincided with the migration of the Sufis of the Kubrawiyya order to the Valley in considerable number, thanks to the patronage extended to them by Sultan Sikandar. Unlike most Kubrawiyya Sufis, who took to teaching and preaching, Saiyid Hilal led a quiet life as a Naqshbandiyya. His initiation into the Kubrawiyya order as a result of the latter's pervasive influence in the Valley cannot be ruled out. But it would be wrong to deny his association with the Naqshbandiyya. As a matter of fact, two hagiographers, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari and 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, owing allegiance to the Naqshbandiyya and the Kubrawiyya orders respectively, describe Shaikh Hilal as a Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order.

Saiyid Hilal's only disciple in Kashmir was Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known as Wusi-Sahib. On 14 Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 861/10 February 1457, Saiyid Hilal died and lies buried in the village of Asham where he had settled down.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U) pp. 109-10.
Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 76a.
Qadiri, *Futuhat-i Qadiriyya*, RPD No. 30 ff. 189b-194a.
Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya*, II, p. 322.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 40.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 41.

Saiyid Husain: A companion of Saiyid Mir Muhammad Hamadani, he lies buried in the cemetery of Rang-masjid, Zainakadal, Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 93.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 28.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 55.

Saiyid Husain: Described as *hafiz, zahid, 'arif* and *dervish*, he spent most of his time reciting the Qur'an. He migrated to Khandesh from Gujarat in 982/1574-5 and, after living there in seclusion, came to Sarangpur in Malwa. He died in Sarangpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 420-2.

Saiyid Husain: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order who traced his descent to the grandsons of Saiyid Husain Simnani. He is buried in the village Saiyidpura situated in the *pargana* of Phag in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 33.

Saiyid Husain: He was the son and *khalifa* of Hajji Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq who in his turn was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1178.

Saiyid Husain: A Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order who lived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, he lies buried near the tomb of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din at Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 76.

Saiyid Husain Biladuri or Bilad Rumi: He came to Kashmir from Mecca along with Baba 'Usman and Uchap Gana'i. Like his fellow travellers, he was a disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Ishaq. After he had settled in the Valley, Saiyid Husain became the disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh. He died on 7 Rajab, 860/11 June 1456.

The tomb of Saiyid Husain Biladuri at Rajouri Kadal in Srinagar has been a great source of inspiration for seekers after the truth. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, the most redoubtable Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order in the Valley, used to visit the tomb of Biladuri for twelve years and acknowledged the spiritual benefits derived by him from there.

Asaru'l-Abrar, f. 106b.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 87-8.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 39-40.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 36.

Saiyid Husain Khwarazmi: He came to Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He was affiliated to the Kubrawiyya order. Throughout his life, Saiyid Husain remained celibate and lived in seclusion after taking up his residence at Munawwarabad in Srinagar. The demolition of a Hindu temple attributed to him at the instance of Mir Muhammad Hamadani by the chronicler Saiyid 'Ali is a latter-day fabrication. As a matter of fact, several such temples mentioned in the sources were actually deserted *viharas* of the Buddhists, which were converted into either *khanqahs* or mosques by the local population as a result of their gradual assimilation in Islam. One may ask how a number of ancient Hindu temples have survived to this day despite the alleged iconoclasm of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani.

Sultan Sikandar had deep respect for Saiyid Husain Khwarazmi so much so that he appointed him the tutor of his two sons, 'Ali Shah and Zainu'l-'Abidin. Certainly, the future sultan of Kashmir not only learnt the Qur'an from Saiyid Husain but the teacher seems to have moulded his religious outlook in consonance with the spirit of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.

Diddamari refers to the descendants of Saiyid Husain's brother who continued to live at Munawwarabad in Srinagar during the eighteenth century.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh* (U), p. 14.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 77.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 29.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 56.

Saiyid Husain Mantaqi: Along with about 40 to 50 members of the well-known Saiyid community of Baihaq in Khurasan, this son of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din Baihaqi arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He was responsible for arranging the marriage of the daughter of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi (Kandahami), son of Saiyid Taju'd-Din, with Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. On a careful examination of the Persian sources, we find that his moral support to Zainu'l-'Abidin against Sultan 'Ali Shah (1413-20) cannot be ruled out. First, Saiyid Husain migrated to India during the reign of Sultan 'Ali Shah; second, no sooner did Zainu'l-'Abidin occupy the throne than he recalled Saiyid Husain to his court. Not only did the Sultan show immense respect to Saiyid Husain and his wife, Baihaqi Begum, but he even adopted his youngest son, Saiyid Amin, as his son.

Saiyid Husain enjoyed the respect of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin for his learning and piety. Such was his fame for his deep knowledge of logic that his descendants came to be known as Mantaqi Saiyids. After his death, Saiyid Husain was buried in the graveyard of the kings of Kashmir, known as Mazar-i Salatin.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 31-2.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 38.

Saiyid Husain Paiminari: He came to India from Mashhad and settled in Delhi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Although he led a secluded life in the mosque of Paiminar near the Delhi fort, he cultivated the land inside the fort as *khud-ka'sht* and used its produce for charitable purposes. He died in 942/1535-6 and lies buried in Delhi near Minar-i Shamsi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 394-5.

Saiyid Husain Pakhli: A *khalifa* of Mir Muhammad Khalifa, as a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order, he excelled in esoteric knowledge. He performed *hajj*, and on his return to India, had an audience with Shah 'Alam Bahadur. In 1122/1710, Saiyid Husain came to Kashmir and after sojourning there for two months left for India, where he died in 1123/1711.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 173.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 360-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 71.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 65.

Saiyid Husain Simnani: He came to Kashmir at the invitation of his brother, Saiyid Taju'd-Din. The fact that he came along with his family and many disciples from Simnam shows that he had already made up his mind to settle in the Valley. The comparative peace and stability in the Valley and the patronage extended by Sultan Shihabu'd-Din to men of piety and learning must have prompted him to leave Simnan for good. But more than that, the Saiyid was imbued with a missionary zeal. This is why he preferred to make Kulgam rather than Srinagar the centre of his activities. His fame spread among the rural folk on account of his philanthropy, his spiritual wisdom, and his conversion of Salat Sanz to Islam.

Saiyid Husain Simnani maintained a large *langar*. He received a state grant for its maintenance. It was, indeed, the Sufi's concern for the poor and needy that made the state evince interest in the welfare of its subjects. That all sections of rural society flocked to the *langar*, maintained by the Sufi, also shows that he was more interested in meeting their needs than in conversion. But, then, conversion in the strict religious sense is a matter of conviction, not expediency. This also explains the fact that the Persian sources refer to only one case of conversion, that is Salat Sanz (the father of the celebrated Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi). The spiritual ties between Salat Sanz and Saiyid Husain Simnani seem to have been so deep-rooted that the latter named his disciple Shaikh Salaru'd-Din (the leader of religion). It is certain that the conversion of Salat Sanz, the village watchman, must have attracted his tribe towards Islam. And this is also the reason that his tomb at Kaimuh, seven miles from Kulgam, became a place of pilgrimage for the villagers of surrounding areas.

The popularity of Saiyid Husain Simnani among the rural folk is also attributed to a calamity that befell the residents of Kulgam. One day the Sufi asked the villagers to shift their houses away from the river Vaishnu to a safer place where he himself lived. But the villagers did not heed the advice. After some time the river was inundated, taking a heavy toll of lives. This very fact created a halo of spirituality around his personality.

Saiyid Husain died on 11 Sha'ban, 792/25 July 1390. His tomb, situated in the midst of picturesque surroundings at Kulgam, with "exquisite wood carving and painted lattice" continues to attract a large number of people on the eve of the *'urs*.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD. No. 739, f. 1a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 40, ff. 33ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 64-5.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 69b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 7b-8a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 9-10.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 9.

Saiyid Husain Zindposh: He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani who lies buried at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 95.

Saiyid Ibrahim Bhakkari: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Jalal Mattu who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Shahbaz. He died in 998/1589-90 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 360-1.

Saiyid Ibrahim Khan Baihaqi: He was the son of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. He excelled in esoteric and exoteric knowledge. According to Hasan, being the relative of Sultan Muhammad Shah, he acted as the prime minister of the sultanate of Kashmir for a year. Miskin describes his date of death as 973/1565. He is entombed at the Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 63-4.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 81.

Saiyid Ibrahim Nuri: Born in Ghiyaspur, his original name was Shaikhu. He migrated to Delhi to learn *fiqh* at the feet of Maulana Ishaq Kaku and then went to Multan to see Shaikh Kabir Bukhari. Thereafter he visited Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari.

Ibrahim Nuri travelled in Iran, Baghdad, Syria, Mecca, and Medina. After benefiting from the company of several Sufis, he came to Egypt where he improved his knowledge of *Hadis* and *Tafsir* in the company of the Ra'isu'l-Muhaddisin Shaikh Muhammad Bakri. He then visited the tomb of Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Shazilli (d. AD 1258) in Egypt. During his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina he met with Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, who endowed him with the robe of *khalifa* and bestowed on him the title of Ibrahim Nuri.

On his return home, he visited Mandu, Junagarh, Ujjain and several other places.

Ibrahim Nuri was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 490-2.

Saiyid 'Ilmu'd-Din, Mir: He was a wealthy descendant of the Saadat of Tirmiz. His ancestor, Mir Saiyid Kamal Tirmizi, came to India during the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji and settled in the town of Kathail. 'Ilmu'd-Din took up government service during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi on the advice of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed Rajgiri. The Sharqi ruler showed immense respect to him.

A *khalifa* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and a companion of Makhdum Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri, Saiyid 'Ilmu'd-Din also benefited from the company of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. The latter satiated his thirst for spiritual knowledge by writing to him. One of the *maktubat* of Ashraf Jahangir, quoted in the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar*, reveals the ability of the Sufis to expound brilliantly the spiritual dimension of Islam within the bounds of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.

The tomb of Saiyid 'Ilmu'd-Din was a place of popular veneration in the seventeenth century.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1236-42.

Saiyid Inayat 'Ali: He was a descendant of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He left Medina along with his wife and children in 1131/1718-19 and came to India. After travelling some parts of India, he reached Kashmir towards the end of his life (d. 1134/1721-2). He first took up his residence in the village of Lobhar and subsequently reached Srinagar. He is reputed to have brought the relics of the Prophet which have since 1722 been exhibited at Soura in Srinagar. His tomb is situated in the graveyard of Mirza Kamil Beg in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 76-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 170-1.

Saiyid Isma'il: Nothing is known about him beyond his burial place in the village of Zanigam in the *pargana* of Biru, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Isma'il Shami: Initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Saiyid Muhammad Qasim, he came to Kashmir in 992/1584 (*Waqi'at*, p. 215). He traced his ancestry from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, and after his education travelled widely—to Rum, Syria and across India. During his stay in Kashmir, he worked for the dissemination of the teachings of the Qadiriyya order. Significantly, the eminent Suhrawardiyya Sufi of the Valley, Baba Dawud Khaki, developed an intimate friendship with Saiyid Isma'il. Both the Sufis benefited from their friendly interaction on matters related to the

Qadiriyya and the Suhrawardiyya orders. Baba Dawud Khaki entrusted his own disciple, Mir Nazuk Shah, to the spiritual care of Saiyid Isma'il who established the Qadiriyya order on firm basis in the Valley.

After completing his mission in Kashmir, Saiyid Isma'il left for India. His nobility of character, simplicity and spiritual attainment have earned him hagiographies. Baba Dawud Khaki has eulogized his achievements in a poem composed by him.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 190a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), 215.

Futhuhat-i Qadiriyya, ff. 205a-b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 53-4.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 114.

Saiyid Ja'far: A contemporary of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin and the brother of Saiyid Mansur, Saiyid Ja'far preferred to live in seclusion in Rawalpura, now part of Srinagar. Diddamari showers a eulogy on his lofty spiritual calibre. The particular *mohalla* in Rawalpura where the Saiyid is entombed is known as Asthanpura. On the eve of the Saiyid's *'urs*, considerable number of people visit the shrine from the neighbouring areas.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 111-12.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 49.

Saiyid Ja'far: A disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Muhammad Hisari, he is considered to have been a Sufi of lofty attainments. His tomb is in the village of Chhatrahama in the *pargana* of Phag in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 44.

Saiyid Ja'far: Nothing is known about him beyond his burial place in the village of Tinu in the *pargana* of Lar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Ja'far Awwal: He was the brother of Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din and a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a Kubrawiyya Sufi of considerable merit and lies buried in Arahama in Lar *pargana*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 21.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, 24.

Saiyid Jalal, Mir: Son of Sadru'd-Din Husaini, he came to India during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and settled in Awadh. He enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Raji Shah Nur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 257-8.

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari: He was a companion of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Nothing is known about him beyond the fact that both the Sultan and several people received spiritual guidance from him. He is entombed in the Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 92.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 27.

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din: One of the chosen *khalifas* of Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani, he played an important role in the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir. Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din (called Jamalu'd-Din by Diddamari) made every effort for the dissemination of the teachings of his *silsilah*. He was buried in the Mazar-i Kalan of Ganj Baksh in Srinagar near his preceptor's tomb.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 179, 227.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 56.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 117.

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din: The son-in-law and *khalifa* of Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad, his knowledge of *tasawwuf* and *Hadis* was excellent. He remained constantly absorbed in remembrance of Allah. His generosity and kindness to the poor was exemplary. He is entombed at the *mohalla* of Khanyar in Srinagar near the *khanqah*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 90.

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din: He was the son of Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Andrabi and a *khalifa* of Shah Hafizu'llah Nuri. Such was his dedication to the cause of the Kubrawiyya *silsilah* that he worked incessantly for its propagation until his death at the ripe old age of 90. On 5 Sh'aban 1271/23 April 1855, he breathed his last.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 92-3.

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din 'Ata'i: A disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani who came to Kashmir along with his family, and settled at the village of Chhatar in the *pargana* of Khawarpara near Kachhama in Kashmir. He was an ascetic who lived in seclusion. His tomb is a place of veneration. Hasan calls him Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din 'Ata'i.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 65 and note 968.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (US), p. 17.

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Bukhari: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Dihlawi. Belonging to the lineage of Makhdum Jahaniyan, he reached Kashmir somewhere in the first half of the sixteenth century. After settling in the *khanqah* of Malik Ahmad Yattu, he became a centre of attraction for a great number of people. Among them must be particularly mentioned the renowned Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Jamalu'd-Din Bukhari drew a clear distinction between the externalist scholars (*ulama-i zahiri*) and the Sufis. According to him, the externalists were not able to comprehend the subtleties of the spiritual path. He stressed the importance of *zikr* and the sombreness of living in seclusion.

Although Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din departed for Delhi after staying in Kashmir for only six months, he left a deep imprint on the history of the Suhrawardiyya order in the Valley through his illustrious *khalifa*, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Dasturu's-Salikin, p. 69.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 116.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 211.

Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya*, II, p. 85.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 56-7.

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Hafiz: He was the son of Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din and a descendant of Saiyid Taju'd-Din. Known for his divine love and devoutness, he lies entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 53.

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Muhaddis: He was one of the most eminent Sufi scholars who accompanied Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani to Kashmir. His knowledge of both *Hadis* and the interpretation of the Qur'an (*tafsir*) was deep. He earned the title of Urwatu'l-Wusqa (True Faith).

Such was the impact of the teachings of Jamalu'd-Din that the place in Srinagar where he settled and founded a *madrasa* came to be known as 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa. The *madrasa* attracted a considerable number of pupils. Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din is entombed in a quarter of Srinagar called Arwat, previously called 'Urwatu'l-Wusqa.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 6a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 66.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, 70b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 18.

Saiyid Janbaz Wali: While some sources describe him as Saiyid Muhammad Isfahani, others call him Saiyid Muhammad Rifa'i. He was a disciple of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari of Uch, popularly known as Makhdum Jahaniyan (1308-84). On his arrival in Kashmir during the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin (1420-70), the Sultan gave him a warm welcome and made an endowment for his maintenance.

Saiyid Janbaz first stayed in Srinagar. As his fame spread in every corner of Srinagar, the citizens began to flock to his residence. Thus, in order to avoid contact with people, Janbaz left the city and settled permanently in a village, Khanpur (also Khampur), situated in the modern district of Baramulla. For his rigorous ascetic practices and austerities, he earned the title of the one who stakes life (Janbaz).

The *'urs* of Saiyid Janbaz Wali continues to be celebrated in the district of Baramulla in Kashmir.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, f. 29a.

Sabur, Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 13a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 74b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 103a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 88-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 40.

Saiyid Jeo, Shaikh: A member of the Mughal nobility of Delhi, Saiyid Jeo became a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti during his first meeting with him at Sikri. He remained a *khalifa* of his *pir* in Delhi until his death in 1015/1606-7.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 309b-310a.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 451.

Saiyid Jiwan: This son and successor of Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus Bala Pir (d.959/1551-2) was known as Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Salis (the third) for his piety and asceticism. He travelled in India extensively after his father's death. At Lahore where he settled finally he founded a quarter called Rasulpura. He died in 1022/1613-14.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 148-9.

Saiyid Kabir: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli. He is entombed near the masoleum of his *pir*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1157-8.

Saiyid Kala Shattari: Little is known about him save that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He lived in Barauda and his disciple was Shaikh Murtaza (d. 1002/1593-4).

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 427.

Saiyid Kalu: A descendant of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar, he came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. The *silsilah* to which he owed allegiance is not known, though his tomb in the Mazar-i Sangin near Saiyid

Muhammad Madani's tomb has been a venerated site.

Saiyid Kalu is also known as Shah Kaloo.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 138-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 51.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 26-7.

Saiyid Kamal: Little is known about his role beyond his distinguished ancestry and devotion to God. He lies buried in a locality called Ahlmar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 31.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 63.

Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din: He was a close relative and disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Because of his learning, Saiyid 'Ali directed him to guide Sultan Qutbu'd-Din on matters relating to the *Shari'ah*. Kamalu'd-Din also initiated considerable people in the Kubrawiyya order. His tomb is in Qutbu'd-Din-Pura, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 18.

Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Hafiz: He was a son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Hasan Bahadur. Sultan Qutbu'd-Din took care of him after the death of his father. Having gained spiritual training from Saiyid Husain Hisari, Kamalu'd-Din earned a good name as a Sufi. He is entombed at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura in Malkha, Srinagar.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No, 230, f. 7a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 8.

Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Sani: He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. He settled down in the village of Na'idkhai situated in the modern Baramulla district of Kashmir. It is doubtful whether he made any contribution to the popularity of the Kubrawiyya order because of his declining health and old age. However, it is certain that his presence in very quiet natural surroundings of the village alone was enough to create a halo of sanctity around his personality. He died on 3 Jumadu'l-Awal, 790/11 May 1388. He is entombed in Na'idkhai.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 12a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 18.

Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 92.

Saiyid Khalil: He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani who lies buried at Maisuma in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U) p. 33.

Saiyid Khudadad: He was the son of Saiyid Muhammad Sa'id and the grandson of Saiyid Hajji Murad. As a successor of his father, Khudadad continued to work among the people for their spiritual and moral uplift. He is entombed near the mausoleum of his grandfather situated in the village of Kreiri, Kashmir.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 10b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 37.

Saiyid Khwaja Khamosh: He was the son of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani and a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. The latter's disciples, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Awadhi, Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din, Qazi Muihu'd-Din Kashani, Maulana Hujjatu'l-Multani, Maulana Badru'd-Din, Maulana Sharafu'd-Din, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Maulana Husamu'd-Din often stayed with him. On such occasions Saiyid Khamosh made arrangements for their food and for *qawwali*. He died in 732/1331-2.

Siyaru'l-Auliya (U), pp. 231-2.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 812-13.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 100-2.

Saiyid Mah Roshan: He was a *khalifa* of Mir Muhammad *Khalifa* and an uncle of Saiyid Hasan Pakhli. For a considerable part of his life, Saiyid Mah Roshan travelled extensively and enjoyed the company of venerable Sufis. He acted as the custodian of the tomb of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani for some time and is said to have benefited from the spirit of the deceased Sufi. After performing *hajj*, Saiyid Mah Roshan returned to Kashmir and settled finally in Baramulla where he is entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 71.

Saiyid Mansur: A widely travelled Sufi, Saiyid Mansur, brother of Saiyid Ja'far (entombed in Rawalpura, Srinagar), enjoyed the company of other Sufis. He performed *hajj*. In the reign of Sultan Fateh Shah, Saiyid Mansur was killed by Musa Raina. He is entombed in a locality called Zaldagar in Srinagar. The bridge near the shrine of Saiyid Mansur is named after the Sufi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 49.

Saiyid Maqbul Shah: He was the son of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rasul. Hasan describes him as a lover of the proteges of Allah and a *hafiz*, the one who had committed the Qur'an to memory. His knowledge of *Hadis* was good. He died in Kashmir in 1249/1833-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 91.

Saiyid Mas'ud: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi Saiyid Taju'd-Din who, after travelling extensively in the Muslim world, came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din. Thanks to his prayers, the Sultan's son, Mirza Hasan, recovered from serious illness; and this fostered closer ties between the Saiyid and the Sultan. At the latter's persuasion, the Saiyid finally decided to settle in Kashmir after bringing his family. He lies buried near the tomb of his spiritual preceptor at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura in Malkha, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 7-8.

Saiyid Mir Khan: On his arrival in Kashmir, he entered the discipleship of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri who initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order. The place that Mir Khan selected for his meditations on the southern foot of the Hariparbat in Srinagar was turned into a fine platform, thanks to his masonry skills. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum often visited this site, now his tomb, for a fine view of the picturesque surroundings. Saiyid Mir Khan lies buried in the compound to the east side of his *pir*.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 16a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 65-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 131.

Saiyid Mir Muhammad Hashim: He came to Kashmir in 1130/1717-18. His father, Saiyid 'Ali Khan, traced his genealogy to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani.

Muhammad Hashim was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his father and succeeded him. An ascetic by temperament, it was his daily habit to complete the recitation of the Qur'an once or sometimes twice during the prescribed daily and supererogatory prayers. He remained busy in meditation during the nights and avoided the company of the people.

Diddamari, though rooted in the Naqshbandiyya order, testifies to the exalted spiritual status of Muhammad Hashim as a Qadiriyya Sufi. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Muhammad Hashim for imparting him spiritual guidance and particularly refers to his work *Samaratu'l-Ashjar* as a main source for the life and times of the Qadiriyya Sufi.

Muhammad Hashim died on 27 Shawwal 1135/21 July 1723 and lies buried at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 398-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 72.

Saiyid Mu'azzam: He was a Saiyid of Tirmiz who came to India during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. His piety is praised by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. He is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 213.

Saiyid Mubarak Haqqani: He was the second son of Shaikh Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, founder of the first Qadiriyya *khanqah* at Uch in the first half of the fifteenth century. He led an ascetic life in the Lakhi jungle in the Panjab for many years, allowing himself only the company of Shaikh Ma'ruf Chisti, a descendant of Baba Farid. He was buried near his father's tomb at Uch in 956/1549-50.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, p. 123.

Saiyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi: He was the son of Saiyid Ibrahim Khan Baihaqi. A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he is said have been a Wazir during the Chak rule in Kashmir. In 988/1580-1 he became the ruler of Kashmir for six months. After the Mughal occupation of Kashmir, Saiyid Mubarak Khan was called along with a group of the nobles to the Mughal court. Akbar offered him the government of Kashmir, but he declined the offer and earned the displeasure of the Emperor. He was deported to Bengal but died on his way to his new destination in 999/1590-1.

Mohibbu'l-Hasan, on the authority of the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, graphically describes the character of Saiyid Mubarak: ". . . led a very simple life, being averse to all pomp and show. He sold off the crown and the royal parasol (*chatr*), which were studded with precious stones, and distributed the money among the poor and the soldiers. He was just and generous, and though a good soldier, he was a man of peace, and only in the last resort unsheathed his sword. He detested the shedding of blood, and . . . always advised 'Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah to forgive the malcontents."

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 64.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 124.

Mohibbu'l-Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 164.

Saiyid Muhammad: He was born to the illustrious Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shah Qutb-i 'Alam, on 9 Zu'l-qada 817/20 January 1415. He received spiritual training from both his father and Shaikh Ahmad-i Khattu. He earned the title Emperor of the World (Shah-i 'Alam), and also came to be known as Shah Manjhan. The Sultans of Gujarat and their nobility held him in high esteem. The Saiyid was, however, accessible to them as well as the common people on Fridays only; during the rest of the days he remained engrossed in prayer and meditation. He would also give sermons on Fridays. His fondness for *sama'* attracted *qawwals* to his *khanqah*. He died on 20 Jumada II 880/21 October 1475.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, pp. 101-2, 127.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 287-8.

Saiyid Muhammad: Born in 1443 in Jaunpur, he was a disciple of Shaikh Daniyal Khizri. After performing *hajj*, he reached Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Sani. He settled at Ahmedabad and declared himself the Mahdi. A large number of ulama and Sufis accepted the Saiyid as Mahdi. Although he was banished from Gujarat in 1500, such was his influence that many people took to the path of renunciation. Following his expulsion, Saiyid Muhammad left for Mecca and achieved immense fame in Iraq and Khurasan.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1062.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, 284.

Saiyid Muhammad: Little is known about him except that he was buried in Buchhwara, Srinagar. Although his tomb has been a centre of pilgrimage, it is not known why Saiyid Muhammad is popularly known as Saiyid Ya'qub.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 210 and 915n.

Saiyid Muhammad: He succeeded his father, Saiyid Ahmad, as a Kubrawiyya Sufi. His last resting place lies near the mausoleum of his ancestor, Saiyid Hajji Murad, in the village of Kreiri in Kashmir.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f.10b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir* (U), p. 75.

Saiyid Muhammad: He was the fourth son of Saiyid Ala'u'd-Din Baihaqi, the Kubrawiyya Sufi, who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Described as a Sufi of great esteem, Saiyid Muhammad was buried in the village of Sikandarpura in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 92.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 27.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 51.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Aali: He came to Kashmir from Balkh during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. After settling down in the village of Pakharpur, he obtained training in *tasawwuf* from Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin granted him *jagirs* in the *pargana* of Nagam and left no stone unturned in serving him to the best of the latter's wishes. He lies buried in the *pargana* of Nagam along with his children and descendants.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 196-8.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 586-95.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 52.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 85.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Abid: He was a grandson of Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri and the son and *khalifa* of Shah Muhammad Ghaus. The high and the 'low' flocked to his residence because of his exalted spiritual and social position. Often he helped the poor. He played an important role in bringing about the dismissal of 'Abdu'llah Ishaq Khan Aqasi, the Afghan governor who ruled Kashmir for six months in 1753. He died on 19 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1185/2 July 1771, and was buried near the cave of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 86.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Ainposh: He came to Kashmir towards the end of Chak rule. A Sufi of high calibre, 'Ainposh led a secluded life and avoided contact with the visitors. It was because of his detachment from worldly men that he earned the title of 'Ainposh. He lies buried on the main road at Hawal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 179.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 56.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Ainposh: A disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani who settled at Kanikadal in Srinagar, he was also known as Ahanposh, and lies buried in Kanikadal.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 84.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 25.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali: He came to Kashmir along with his brother, Saiyid Muhammad, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Diddamari describes both brothers as companions of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Muhammad Madani. Their tomb is situated in Naupora, Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 80.

Saiyid Muhammad Afzal: He was a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order. Little is known about him except that, according to Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, he lies buried either near the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Madani at Naushahr in Srinagar, or near the tomb of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh.

Mulla Ahmad Sabur, however, explicitly describes Naushahr in Srinagar as his last resting place.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 97.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 12a.

Saiyid Muhammad Amin: His pen-name was "Waisi" and so he was popularly known as Wusi Sahib. He was the second son of Saiyid Husain Baihaqi (also known as Mantaqi). Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin who had great respect for Saiyid Husain and his wife, Makhduma Khatun, adopted Saiyid Amin as his son. Although brought up in the royal environment, Saiyid Amin showed no interest in the affairs of the Kashmiri kingdom. On the contrary, he kept the company of the Sufis. His earlier teacher in Sufism was Hajji Ibrahim Adham, the well-known Kubrawiyya Sufi during Zainu'l-'Abidin's time. Later, Saiyid Amin entered the discipleship of Saiyid Hilal who initiated him into the Naqshbandiyya order. Thereupon he shifted his residence from Srinagar to the village of Asham. He lived there in seclusion until the death of his *pir* in 861/1457, and after subsequently returning to Srinagar, led a quiet and meditative life, confining himself to a cell near the hillock called Koh-i Maran.

Saiyid Amin had a deep sense of the spiritual that is reflected in his poetry. He eloquently expounds his faith in the religion of love, and asserts in a verse that he would (only) guide the worshippers of God in that direction. Such was the quality of his communion with God that he could not avoid guiding the seekers even in a state of relative seclusion. Whenever visitors wished to see him, his attendant would convey the message, "The Mir is with God"(*Mir ba khuda ast*), or "The Mir is with God and with himself" (*Mir ba khuda wa khud ast*). A thoughtful seeker could, therefore, gain useful spiritual insights from the Sufi's first state that signified his ecstatic absorption in the love of God alone, but the second state indicated that notwithstanding the inner exaltedness and exultation of his soul, people could visit him. Diddamari rightly describes such rapturous moments in terms of the experience of the Unity in diversity by visitors to the habitat of Saiyid Amin.

That Saiyid Amin was a strong adherent of the *Wahdatu'l-Wujud* is evident from his following compositions:

> The universe in its entirety belongs to me,
> My dwelling is beyond *la makan*.
> O 'alim! My existence is (itself) a universe,
> Know! The soul of universe is my essence.

Such was the disdain of the Saiyid for the riches of the world that he likened human efforts in the material world to the ravenous hunger of the dogs in the true manner of a saying of the Prophet Muhammad. In yet another verse, he describes the world as an illusion in the relative sense as in the Qur'an. The real world, according to him, was the world of knowledge (*ma'rifah*).

Saiyid Amin did not believe in the division of human society on the basis of religion: "To an 'arif the differences between the mosque and the temple are meaningless. Men endowed with spiritual eminence, find both good and evil identical." Again: "Do not scorn infidelity, To those who have found out truth, It is not different from faith."

Saiyid Amin remained aloof from the royal court and its intrigues. Yet he fell victim to a political conspiracy when some frustrated Kashmiri nobles with a vested political interest while launching an offensive against the Baihaqi Saiyids killed fifteen members of the family including the innocuous Saiyid Amin on 30 Ziqa'd 889/8 December 1484.

The tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Amin is in 'Ali Kadal in Srinagar. It continues to be a place of great veneration.

Asraru'l-Abrar, RPD No. 40, ff. 101ab-103a.

Khwariqu's-Salikin, RPD No. 230, ff. 57b-58a.

Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, RPD no. 50, ff. 76a sqq.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 90-8.

Fatuhat-i Qadiri, RPD No. 30, ff. 189b-192a.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), pp. 34-8.

Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, pp. 126-9.

Saiyid Muhammad Andrabi: He was the son of Mir Saiyid Mirak Andrabi (d. 990/1582). Initiated into the Qadiriyya order by his father, Saiyid Muhammad carried on his mission as his successor. He is buried near the tomb of his father at Malarata in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 63.

Saiyid Muhammad Baghdadi: Little is known about him except that he lies buried in the *mohalla* of Diddamar in Srinagar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 52.

Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi Sani: He was the son and *khalifa* of Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi. A man of learning, Saiyid Muhammad was killed by Kashmiri nobles.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 53.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 73.

Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi: He was the son of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din and grandson of Saiyid Taju'd-din who was a well-known Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order in the town of Baihaq in Khurasan. During the reign of Sultan Sikandar, he came to Kashmir along with his family of about fifty. The most prominent member of the family who accompanied Saiyid Muhammad to the Valley was his nephew, Saiyid Husain Mantaqi.

In contrast to the Hamadani Saiyids—Saiyid 'Ali and his disciples—who consecrated themselves to teaching and preaching, the Baihaqi Saiyids initially sought to strengthen their ties with the ruling family notwithstanding their services to Islam in Kashmir. Thus Saiyid Muhammad's daughter married prince Shahi Khan (Zainu'l-'Abidin); later his great-granddaughter, Hayat Khatun, was married to Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84).

Sultan Sikandar assigned the revenues of the *pargana* of Bangil to Saiyid Muhammad. However, he settled in the village of Kandhom, and came to be also known as Saiyid Muhammad Kandhom.

Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi was known for his deep exoteric and esoteric learning. As a Sufi poet, he composed a *diwan* of forty thousand verses on the varied themes of Sufism. His tomb in Kandhom in Kashmir has been a site of popular pilgrimage.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 75a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 32-3.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 35.

Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Mahmud Kirmani: Popularly known as Amir Khwurd, he was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. Being associated with some distinguished disciples of his Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya—particularly Amir Khusraw, Amir Hasan, Ziau'd-Din Barani, and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh—from an early age, he had easy access to numerous notes, jottings, and personal memoranda of his spiritual master. His *Siyaru'l-Auliya* is an invaluable source of information for detailed biographical notices of the Sufis of the Chistiyya order. What, indeed, prompted him to write this book was his sense of guilt at having renounced the principles of his master and leaving Delhi for Daulatabad under the orders of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Following his return home consequent upon the failure of the Sultan's Deccan project, Amir Khwurd committed himself to write the history of the Chistiyya *silsilah* in order to make amends for his compliance with the Tughluq Sultan's order.

Mir Khwurd's work is an invaluable source of information about various groups in Delhi society: members of the court, princes, governing classes, ulama, merchants, agriculturists, artisans, and common Muslims. Published in Delhi in 1302/1885. Urdu translation by Dr. 'Abdu'l-Latif published by Farheen Publishing Company, Jam'ia Nagar, New Delhi, 1994.

Saiyid Muhammad bin Saiyid Mu'azzam: He was a disciple of his father. He earned a good name for his piety and knowledge. He died in 963/1555-6 and is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 248.

Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari: Little is known about him except that he is entombed in Kralpora in the *pargana* of Bangil in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 101.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 47.

Saiyid Muhammad Firuz: Also known as Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din, he was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Although he came to Kashmir along with his *pir* on a spiritual mission, he showed little interest in either preaching or teaching. Having settled down permanently at the village of Simpur, in the *pargana* Vihi, he led a secluded life as an ascetic.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, f. 6a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 80.

Wahhab, *Fathhat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 70b.

Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani: He was a son of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Born in 744/1372 at Khatlan, Muhammad Hamadani was twelve at the time of the death of his father. Saiyid 'Ali bequeathed a *wasiyat-nama* (testament) and a *khilafatnama* for his son with Maulana Sarai for onward transmission to Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani and Ja'far Badakshi. The testament contained advice urging Muhammad Hamadani to first complete his education and then embark on his travels.

Muhammad Hamadani received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Khwaja Ishaq and took a lesson from him on Sufism during a period of three years and five months. Afterwards he sought the guidance of Ja'far Badakshi for seven months. Having completed his spiritual education, he left for Kashmir along with his disciples.

Sultan Sikandar extended a warm welcome to Muhammad Hamadani when he reached the Valley in 796/1393-4. He constructed an exquisite *khanqah* for him at the place where Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani had stayed during his brief stay in Srinagar. The revenues of the three villages of Vachi, Tral, and Nunawani were assigned for the maintenance of the *khanqah*.

During his stay of seventeen years in the Valley, Muhammad Hamadani played an important role in the dissemination of the teachings of Islam. He first enrolled Sultan Sikandar as his disciple and wrote for him a treatise on Sufism, *Risala-i Sikandari*, which is not extant. Under his influence Sultan Sikandar's chief minister and commander-in-chief, Suhabhatta, embraced Islam. The convert assumed the name Saifu'd-Din and later gave his daughter to Muhammad Hamadani after the death of the latter's first wife, Bibi Taj Khatun.

There is little doubt that under the influence of Muhammad Hamadani, Sultan Sikandar took several measures for the enforcement of the *Shari'ah*. He prohibited the use of wine and other intoxicants, and banned gambling, music, and the dancing of women. Some temples were destroyed during the reign of Sikandar. But it would not be correct to hold either Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani or Sultan Sikandar responsible for vandalism. What must be emphasized is the fact that Suhabhatta, soon after his conversion, called upon the Brahmans to accept Islam. It is difficult to determine the impact of the zealous and influential convert on the Brahmans. Probably they resented his conversion and hostility to their creed and caste. Little wonder then that the Brahman chroniclers concocted stories about the wholesale destruction of temples and the resistance of their community in the form of mass exodus. While the sacrilege done to some centres of Brahmanic worship cannot be denied, nevertheless, Pandit Jonaraja's objective assessment of the character and role of Muhammad Hamadani is worthy of quote: "As the bright moon is among the stars as was Muhammad of Mera country among the Yavanas; and although he was a boy he became their chief by learning."

Saiyid Muhammad had close interaction with his illustrious Kashmiri contemporary, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, during the last phase of his historical role in Kashmir. His greatest contribution to the spread of Islam in Kashmir was the recognition that he gave to the indigenous Rishi order of the Muslim mystics, despite the opposition of some of his companions who were very proud of their Saiyid ancestry. Such Saiyids had to eat humble pie when Saiyid Muhammad himself called on Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi along with his disciples. By offering formal allegiance to Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, Nuru'd-Din not merely vindicated the honour of the Prophet's worthy descendant in the characteristic humility of a true Sufi, but he even acknowledged the debt of the Kashmiris to Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani and his father for their services to Islam in Kashmir as upholders fo the *Shari'ah*. By authorizing Nuru'd-Din, through *Khat-i Irshad*, to enrol disciples, Muhammad Hamadani dispelled the false notion of his Saiyid companions that they alone were capable of providing religious leadership to Kashmiris. Indeed, by investing a humble Kashmiri with the authority of guiding the people, Muhammad Hamadani emphasized the importance of the basic Islamic teachings about the primacy of human actions over any hereditary factor in determining an individual's social status. It is also worth noting that while Muhammad Hamadani entrusted the reigning Sultan to the guidance of his Saiyid companions, considering the problem of language, the common man was left to the care of Nur'ud-Din. Consequently, in due course both the Kubrawiyya and the Rishi orders exercised a sobering influence on the religious attitudes of the Kashmiris.

The date of departure of Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani from Kashmir is problematic. The chronicler Saiyid 'Ali writes that he left in 808/1405 whereas, according to Wahhab, he set-off in 819/1416. Hasan and Miskin on the other hand give 817/1414. Considering the fact that the *Khat-i Irshad*, the earliest document, was signed by Muhammad Hamadani himself on the 15 Rajab 814/3 November 1411 it is most likely that he left Kashmir after staying there for over seventeen years.

From Kashmir Muhammad Hamadani went to Mecca and thereafter Khatlan, where he lies buried near the tomb of his father. He died on 17 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 854/30 April, 1450.

Pandit Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini* (Eng. tr. J.C. Dutt under the title *Kings of Kashmira*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1879-98, p. 57).

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, ff. 9b-14a.

Baharistan-i Shahi, ff. 26a-27a, 35ab-36a.

Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (Rafiqi, ff. 94b-95a).

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 38ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 72-3.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, ff. 62b sqq.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 23-5.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 24-5.

Saiyid Muhammad Hisari: He was a relative of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. His ancestors had come to Kashmir from the village of Saman in Balkh. A deeply learned scholar and a Sufi, Muhammad Hisari seems to have reached Srinagar some time before the arrival of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He settled at Nauhatta in Srinagar as an ascetic rather than an active Sufi missionary, in the manner of most of the Kubrawiyya Sufis. Yet he certainly seems to have been the guide of the Sultan in more than one important respect. This is particularly illustrated by the Sultan's daily habit of visiting the residence of the Sufi every morning and evening. There is strong reason to believe that Saiyid Muhammad Hisari exercised a healthy influence on both Sultan Sikandar and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani concerning the creation of *Shari'ah*-consciousness in the Valley within the ambit of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Saiyid 'Ali, the earliest Persian chronicler of Kashmir, testifies to the spiritual exaltedness of Saiyid Muhammad Hisari and a close relationship fostered between the Sultan and the Kubrawiyya Sufis by Saiyid Muhammad Hisari on spiritual and ethical grounds. So close was the spiritual bond between Saiyid Hisari and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani that the latter's treatise, *Sharah-i Shama*, along with his letters containing deeper truths about the exoteric and esoteric knowledge were received by the former through the Sultan. Impressed by the learning and piety of Saiyid Muhammmd Hisari, Muhammad Hamadani even obtained a *khilafat-nama* from him.

Rafiqi's account of the supposed "conflict" between Saiyid Hisari and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani is only a figment of his imagination.

Saiyid Hisari remained celibate throughout his life and lies buried at Nauhatta in Srinagar.

Among his disciples is mentioned Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Hafiz.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, (U), p. 13.

Baharistan-i Shahi, ff. 37a-b.

A.A. Mishkati, f. 38b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 90-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 22.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, 29.

Rafiqi, *Sufism*, pp.101-3.

Saiyid Muhammad Husain Qazi Shirazi: He gained eminence in Kashmir as Qazi Wali. Before his arrival in the Valley in the company of Mir Muhammad Saiyid Hamadani, Saiyid Muhammad Husain served as the *qazi* of Shiraz for some time. Sultan Sikandar showed immense respect to him and granted him many villages as *jagirs*. He was a profound scholar well grounded in philosophy, theology and Sufism.

Saiyid 'Ali refers to a treatise on *Hadis* written by Qazi Wali. Based on the *Ahadis-i Rataniyya*, the Qazi presented his compilation to Muhammad Hamadani. True, the chronicler is not·unaware of the views of such ulama as doubted the authenticity of the *Hadis* contained in the *Rattaniya*; but he does make it explicitly clear that Ruknu'd-Din Alau'd-Dawla Simnani had lent them acceptance.

Qazi Wali's role in Kashmir is defined in terms of his issuing decrees for the enforcement of the laws of *Shari'ah*. He is entombed at Narparistan in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (U), p. 13.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 91.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 30.

Saiyid Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far: See Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far al-Makki, Saiyid.

Saiyid Muhammad Ikhtaj: Nothing is known about him except that he was a Sufi who is entombed near the Jama mosque in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid Muhammad 'Iraqi: He came to Kashmir along with Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1419). According to Hasan, he is entombed at Malarata in Srinagar, but Miskin identifies his place of burial in the locality of Iraqi-Hatta.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 91.

Saiyid Muhammad Khalil: Diddamari describes him as a Sufi of exalted status entombed in Sadrabal.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 97.

Saiyid Muhammad Khawari: A Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order who was at home in exoteric and esoteric sciences, he wrote a commentary on the *Lama'at* of Fakhru'd-Din 'Iraqi. Another work authored by him was called *Khawar-nama*. His oft-quoted verses composed in honour of the advent of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani have significant historical value. He lies buried at Fatehkadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 75.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: He arrived in Kashmir from Kirman with his brother, Saiyid Ahmad, to counteract the activities of the Shias. He settled in Kutartang in Yech *pargana*, where he was buried.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 34.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: He was a disciple of Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar who in due course developed deep spiritual bonds with Ṣhaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He died in 701/1301-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 18-19.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was the brother of Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani. Both the brothers are buried in Nawakadal.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he is buried on the western side of the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar. He spent his whole life in the adoration of Allah while leading a life of faithfulness.

Diddamri, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 138.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 51.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He lies buried in the locality of Tashwan in Srinagar near the tomb of Mulla Nazuk. Muhammad A'zam Diddamari describes his tomb as a place of grace and blessings.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 96.

Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 30.

Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani: Nothing is known about him beyond his burial place in the village of Haigam in Sopur, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Muhammad Loristani: He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar in the company of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani. Although affiliated to the Kubrawiyya order, Saiyid Muhammad seems to have been brought to Kashmir by Muhammad Hamadani with a mission. According to the chronicler Saiyịd 'Ali, Saiyid Muhammad was an architect by profession, whose skills were utilized by Sultan Sikandar for the construction of Jami' mosque at Sikandarpura in Srinagar, which was completed in 804/1401.

Saiyid Muhammad died on 3 Rab'iu'l-akhir 819/ 3 June 1416. His tomb at the Jildsaz *mohalla* near the Jama' mosque was a popular place of veneration until the eighteenth century.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (U), pp. 15-16.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 93-4.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 14b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 28.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 34.

Saiyid Muhammad Madani: Popularly known as "Madin Sahib" in Kashmir, Saiyid Muhammad Madani was originally from Medina. He joined the service of Timur after leaving his ancestral home and came to India along with the Central Asian invader. In 801/1399, Timur deputed Saiyid Madani as his envoy to the court of Sultan Sikandar. The Kashmiri Sultan's patronage of scholars and Sufis from outside impressed Saiyid Muhammad so much that he made up his mind to stay in the Valley after the completion of his mission as Timur's viceroy. He finally settled in the Valley along with his family.

Muhammad Madani first took up his residence at Rainawari in Srinagar and enrolled himself as a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani. Later in Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin's reign he shifted his residence to the new capital at Naushahr. There the great king built a *khanqah* near his own palace for the Saiyid whom he held in high esteem.

Muhammad Madani died on 11 Rajab 849/ 13 October 1445. His tomb in the locality called Madin Sahib at Naushahr was a popular place of pilgrimage for both the Sunnis and the Shias of the city of Srinagar until the time of the Afghan governor of Kashmiri, 'Ali Mardan Khan.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 39.

Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, f. 9a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 73b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), pp. 95-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 29-30.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 46.

Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi Sani: Little is known about him except that he lies buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Saiyid 'Ali Akbar in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 101.

Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi: He was the grandson of Saiyid Hasan Sani and a descendant of Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi. Little is known about him except that he spent his whole life in worship. He was first entombed on the bank of the river Jhelum in Chhattabal in Srinagar. But after several hundred years the body was taken out of the grave allegedly under instructions of the spirit of the deceased in a vision to a resident. The Sufi was then buried in the compound of the mosque by the river side of Chattabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 46-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 100.

Saiyid Muhammad Mudarris: He was the only son of Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rahman (d. 1618), brother of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shah Sibghatu'llah. He performed *hajj* in 1642-3, and during this period received *khilafat* in the Shattariyya order from his uncle's *khalifa* in Medina, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Azim. Sibghatu'llah, according to the author of the *Tajalliyat-i Rahmani*, had addressed 'Abdu'l-'Azim just before his death in Medina in 1606 in the following words: "My death date will be the birth date of my nephew, who will come to Mecca to perform the *hajj* and also pay homage to me. Give him my frock, handkerchief, permission, and blessings that many persons may profit from his grace and thereby gain sanctity. Be sure that his spiritual succession continues, for there will be none other in his epoch like him."

On his return home, Muhammad Mudarris founded his own *khanqah* in Bijapur, which flourished under his spiritual guidance for thirty years. A large number of people are said to have become his disciples, and nearly a hundred of them were elevated to the position of *khalifas*.

Muhammad Mudarris adhered to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Such was his fame as a Sufi scholar and exponent of Qur'anic Sufism, that he was described in reverential terms in a biography of the Sufis of the Qadiriyya order. Mudarris is said to have received Qadiriyya *khilafat* from Shah Musa Qadiri in exchange for giving the latter *khilafat* in the Shattariyya order.

Before his departure for a second *hajj* in 1672, Muhammad Mudarris enrolled a good number of disciples who went as far as the Konkan Coast to see him off.

Muhammad Mudarris died in Median in 1675, and lies buried near the tomb of Shah Sibghatu'llah.

Mishkati, copy A, fol. 77a-b.

Saiyid 'Ali Muhammad Husaini, *Tajalliyat-i Rahmani*, Persian MS, Hyderabad, Tasawwuf no. 29, fol. 61a.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, pp. 205-8.

Saiyid Muhammad Nabi: He was the brother of Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali and Saiyid Muhammad Wali. He was a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad Madani and lies buried at Naupura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 80.

Saiyid Muhammad Nuri: Little is known about him except that he came to Kashmir from Khwarazm. He was a Sufi of exalted status and took up his residence in the *mohalla* of Gojwara in Srinagar where he is entombed.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 16a.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 78.

Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi: He was a Kubrawiyya who came to Kashmir along with his spiritual guide, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. Medieval chroniclers attribute the destruction of the famous temple of Vijayesvara at Vijabror (Bijbehara) either to Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani or Muhammad Qureshi. This fact is neither corroborated by Jonaraja who gives a long list of the temples destroyed from time to time, nor by the archaeological evidence. As late as the reign of Ranbir Singh (1857-85), the Maharaja used the stone material of the temple for raising the new temple of Vijayesvara close by the site of the old temple. The fact of the matter is that Muhammad Qureshi settled in the town of Bijbehara on the advice of his spiritual preceptor with the aim of imparting lessons on Sufism within the framework of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Certainly, the establishment of a mosque in the town by Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi paved the way for the gradual dissemination of the teachings of Islam. It is no surprise, therefore, that the later chroniclers attributed the success of Islam in an important centre of the Brahmanic learning like Bijbehara to the supposed iconoclasm of the Sufi scholar.

Muhammad A'zam Diddamari, the Sufi scholar belonging to the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir, recounts his spiritual experience at the tomb of Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi when he visited it 11 years before the compilation of his *Waqi'at-i Kashmir*.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (U), f. 7a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at-i Kashmir* (U), pp. 81-2.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 15a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 19.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 22.

Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, tr. Aurel Stein, II, pp. 463-4.

Saiyid Muhammad Rifa'i: See Saiyid Janbaz Wali.

Saiyid Muhammad Sabir: Nothing is known about him beyond his resting place in the village of Habaz in the *pargana* of Biru in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Muhammad Wali: He was a Kubrawiyya Sufi who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. His tomb is situated in Zaindarhar or Harandar (Naupura), Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 80.

Saiyid Muhammad Zindaposh: He was the son of the Kubrawiyya Sufi Saiyid Zia'u'd-Din Zirak Kandhami. A contemporary of Sultan Sikandar, Saiyid Muhammad was an ascetic and lies buried in a corner of the Mazar-i Salatin, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 31.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 96.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, 62.

Saiyid Multani: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Phulti.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 372.

Saiyid Murtaza: Born in 1590, he belonged to Murshidabad. Being the Yoga Qalandar, he regarded Shaikh Abu 'Ali Qalandar as the founder of the *Qalandariyya* discipline. His attempt at drawing striking parallels between the *nasut, malakut, jabarut, lahut* and the *muladhara, manipura cakra, anahata sabda* and *anahata cakra* of the *yogis* enables us to understand his views on Sufism. He had his own perceptions. Thus *nasut*, essentially called the mundane or phenomenal world, or in other words, described by Ghazali as *'alam al-muk wa shahada*, cannot be termed the abode of the Angel of death ('Izra'il) or the *muladhara*. Likewise *malakut*, basically the invisible, spiritual or angelic world, cannot be identified with the *manipura cakra* or be simply described as the navel of the region. Nor can *malakut* be simply described as enabling the seeker to hear the mystical *anahata sabda* (sound) and see the divine light. And, the *lahut*, intrinsically the world of Godhead or indescribable world of unity, is not identifiable with the *anahata cakra* of the *yogis*.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, 352-3.

Saiyid Musa Baghdadi: He came to Kashmir from Baghdad and settled in the village of Shakha Marg. Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of great merit. He is entombed in Shakah Marg.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid Musa: He was the fourth son of Saiyid Muhammad 'Abid (d.1185/1771-2). He distinguished himself as a Qadiriyya Sufi of kind and pious temperament.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 89.

Saiyid Musafir: He was the son and disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani who initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order. He lies buried near his father's tomb at the Mazar-i Kalan of Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Saiyid Musafir enrolled several disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order. He gifted certain relics brought by his father from Mecca and Medina to his *khalifa*, Baba Mas'ud Narwari. Such relics continue to be exhibited on 10 of Muharram at the shrine of Narwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 55.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 179.

Saiyid Mustafa Mehbubu'llah: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 365.

Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din Baihaqi: He was a grandson of Sayid Taju'd-Din Baihaqi and the son of Saiyid Muhammad Kandhami. Saiyid Husain Mantaqi initiated him in the Kubrawiyya order. Throughout his life, Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din led a life of self-denial. Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin held him in high esteem and sought his blessings. Sultan Hasan Shah was married to his granddaughter, being the daughter of his son, Saiyid Hasan.

Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din left Kashmir for India along with his family following the murder of the famous Naqshbandiyya Sufi of the Baihaqi family. Later, on his way back to Kashmir, Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din breathed his last at Bhimbar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 41-2.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 69.

Saiyid Nasiru'din Khanyari: He was one of recognized Sufis of his time. His tomb at Rauzbal in Khanyar, Srinagar, is a place of adoration.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 49.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 60.

Saiyid Ni'matullah: He was a disciple of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. He is reputed to have built a mosque in Pampur. His tomb is situated in the neighbourhood of the mausoleum of Khwaja Mas'ud at Pampur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 21.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 28.

Saiyid Ni'matu'llah: He was the son of Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Hafiz. Considered to be among the chosen friends of Allah, he guided considerable people in the Path in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 53.

Saiyid Ni'matu'llah Baihaqi: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order and that his ancestors entered Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. His father, Saiyid Fazu'llah, and the son Saiyid Hasan Sani are briefly mentioned in Hasan's account on the Sufis of Kashmir. He was a contemporary of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 42.

Saiyid Ni'amatu'llah Hamadani: He was the son of Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Hafiz. Little is known about him except that as a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order, he devoted his whole life to the guidance of the seekers after Truth. His tomb is situated near that of his great ancestor Saiyid Taju'd-Din Hamadani at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 423.

Saiyid Nur Muhammad Kirmani: Nothing is known about him beyond his burial place in Sazgar *mohalla* of Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 46.

Saiyid Nur Muhammad: Nothing is known about him beyond his exaltedness as a Sufi entombed at Kralayar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid Nur Shah Baghdadi: Nothing is known about the *silsilah* to which he was affiliated, though after settling down in the village of Gund Devsar, he dedicated himself to the cause of the spiritual uplift of the people. His tomb is situated in Gund Devsar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 52.

Saiyid Nuru'd-Din: He was a close relative of Saiyid Husain Simnani and a companion of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani. As a Kubrawiyya Sufi, he seems to have earned a good name by working among the people. His burial place near Rangmasjid at Zainakadal in Srinagar, according to Pir Hasan, is well-known.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 27.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 93.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 52.

Saiyid Nuru'd-Din: He was a nephew of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Badru'd-Din. He lies buried near his nephew's tomb in Zainakadal.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 88.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 39.

Saiyidi Pir Saiyidi: He was a son of Saiyid 'Ali who descended from the family of Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz from his father's side and that of Shah Bajan from his mother's line. Born in Burhanpur, he was initiated as a Shattariyya by Shaikh 'Isa Qasm. He died in 1000/1591-2 and is entombed in Khandesh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 401.

Saiyid Qamru'd-Din: He came to Kashmir from Khwarazm. He first took up his residence in the *pargana* of Yech. Towards the end of his life, he secluded himself in the garden of Malik Saifu'd-Din (modern Shergarhi). While Miskin describes his date of death as 1097/1685-6, Hasan says it occurred on 24 Muharram 907/10 August 1501. He is entombed in Shergarhi in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 44.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 149.

Saiyid Qasim: Little is known about him except that he was a Saiyid of venerable status and lies entombed at Telagam in the *pargana* of Bangil in Kashmir

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 101.

Saiyid Qazi Habibullah Khwarazmi: He came to Kashmir from Turan during the reign of Chaks; received the title of Shaikhu'l-Islam from Husain Khan Chak. It is not known to which Sufi order he owed his allegiance. But the sources are quite explicit about his burning love for God and kindness to His creatures.

He authored several works including the *'Aqa'id-i Nusratiyya* which was dedicated to Malik Nusrat Chak. This work was regarded as authoritative on the beliefs of the *ahl-i Sunnah wa Jama'*. His comprehensive treatise on issues related to *imamat* and *khilafat* is also mentioned in the sources.

Qazi Habibu'llah lies buried in the Mazar-i Salatin near Darwaza Masjid in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 165.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 54.

Saiyid Rasul Shah: He was the son of Mir Baha'u'd-Din and a nephew of Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din. Shaikh

Ziau'd-Din Zakariyya was his spiritual guide in the Naqshbandiyya order. He died on 5 Safar 1294/19 February 1877 and was buried at the village of Gogjipathri in the *pargana* of Nagam in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 97-8.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din: He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and the brother of Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din. Both brothers came to Kashmir along with their spiritual preceptor and secluded themselves at the village of Awanpura in the *pargana* of Vular.

Diddamari, *Waqi 'at* (US), p. 67.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 19.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din Baghdadi: Nothing is known about him except that he was a revered Sufi who is entombed in the village of Rang *mohalla* of the *pargana* of Nagam.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Saiyid Sa'id *alias* "Shah Khwaja": Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi of high calibre gifted with miraculous powers. He lies buried near the Ja'ma mosque in Srinagar.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 16b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Saiyid Sa'id: He was the son of Sayid Hajji Murad. His father initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order. He remained true to his father's mission of guiding seekers in the Path. His tomb is at the village of Kreiri in Kashmir near his father's mausoleum and continues to attract the local people and those of the nearby villages on the day of *'urs*.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f.10b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 43.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 75.

Saiyid Sakhi: He was a Kubrawiyya Sufi. He came to Kashmir along with Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Baihaqi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He lies buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 45.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 91.

Saiyid Shah Mir: He was a descendant of Saiyid Sharif Jurjani, and a disciple of Shaikh Aman Panipati, and is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 258.

Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi: He belonged to the Deccan and came to Delhi, where he established himself a Qadiriyya Sufi just before the first battle of Panipat in 1526. Islam Shah Sur had great respect for him. Many of his nobles and officers became his disciples. However, the murder of two guests, Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad and Saiyid Abu Talib, in mysterious circumstances at his residence, led to his imprisonment where he died in very abject circumstances. Although the leading ulama, shaikhs, and Sufis considered Shah Muhammad to be innocent, people of Delhi at large were very hostile to him.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 365-8.

Saiyid Shah Tufail 'Ali Qadiri: He was a *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi of Mangalkot in Bengal, Saiyid Zakir 'Ali (d. AD 1778). He died in Mangalkot in 1836.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Adabi Duniya, Delhi, n.d., p. 514.

Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din: He was a descendant of Saiyid Taju'd-Din and the son of Saiyid Ni'matu'llah. Little is known about him except his devoutness. He was buried in the graveyard of Saiyid Taju'd-Din in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 65.

Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din: He was the son and *khalifa* of Hajji Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1178.

Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Naushahri: Son of Saiyid Hajji Ahmad, he was initiated as Kubrawiyya by Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri. His tomb is at Naushahr in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 65.

Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Mashhadi: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 103.

Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi: Popularly known in Kashmir as Bulbul Shah, Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din is undoubtedly the first Sufi who entered Kashmir in the early fourteenth century. He belonged to the Suhrawardiyya order of Sufis, founded by Shaikh Ziau'd-Din Abu'l Suhrawardi (d.1167), the author of *Adab al-Muridin*. The order gained popularity under his nephew and successor, the celebrated Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, the author of *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*. In India the Suhrawardiyya order was introduced by Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya (d.1262/1846). Under him and his successor and son, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif (d.1285), Multan became a sufi centre. The latter's son Shaikh Abu'l Fath Rukunu'd-Din enrolled disciples (*murids*) from different parts of the Muslim world, and imparted them lessons on *tasawwuf*. The spiritual eminence of Rukunu'd-Din even drove the Mongol ruler of Iran, Ghazan Khan, to his fold. From Ghazan Khan's letter (cf. Jung Farsi No. 573, Par 25, Laleli Collection, Aya Sofia Library, Instanbole, Turkey, ff. 222b-223b) drafted by Qazi Sai'd Fakhru'd-Din, to Rukunu'd-Din, we learn about his deep respect for the Shaikh. A robe (*khirqa*) vouchsafed by the Shaikh to the Mongol ruler was regarded as a source of spiritual bliss by the recipient. Ghazan Khan had embraced Islam long before he assumed the reins of government and while many had followed suit out of conviction, others professed their faith in Islam for his sake.

Although Kashmir does not seem to have come under the influence of the Suhrawardiyyas of Multan, its first ruler, Rinchana, embraced Islam at the hands of Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi. Rinchana was the son of a Ladakhi chief, Lha-chen-denyos-grub (Lhachen d Nagos-grub) who ruled Ladakh from 1290 to 1320. The unfavourable political circumstances prevailing in Ladakh following his father's death drove him to Kashmir along with his followers. The political instability in Kashmir, caused by the invasion of a Mongol marauder, Zulju, in 1320 and the ravages caused by the invader for eight months afforded him an opportunity to occupy the throne of the Valley by the end of 1320.

Rinchana was fond of taking part in religious discussions. Even as a king he is reputed to have spent sleepless nights in the quest for truth. It was his spiritual cravings that prompted him to hold a religious discussion with Devaswami, a Brahman priest, who lived in Srinagar. Disgusted with the spiritual pretensions and the caste-consciousness of the Brahman, Rinchana rejected Saivism. Soon after, he happened to meet Sharafu'd-Din who explained to him the simplicity of his faith. Rinchana seems to have been impressed by the personality of the Sufi, who embodied both human and divine love. Thus Rinchana accepted Islam under the influence of Sharafu'd-Din. He adopted the Muslim name of Sadru'd-Din on the advice of the Sufi.

There is little doubt that Rinchana accepted Islam at the behest of Sharafu'd-Din. Not only are the Persian sources unanimous in regard to his association with the Sufi but subsequent facts of his conversion also testify to his spiritual affiliation with the saint. The very name Sadru'd-Din (Leader of Religion) given by the Suhrawardiyya Sufi to the convert suggests that the saint wanted to make him conscious of his duties as the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. The establishment of a *khanqah* by Rinchana—the first of its kind in Srinagar, the nerve-centre of the Kashmiri Brahmans—must have contributed to the diffusion of Islamic culture. The hospice was maintained by the endowment of villages, and its income was utilized for the comfort of the travellers and the poor. A mosque was also built near the hospice by the Sultan where he offered congregational prayers at appointed times. So close were Rinchana and Sharafu'd-Din to each other that the Ladakhi tradition preserved in the "Song of Bodro Masjid" speaks of the Sufi as a friend of the Buddhist prince. The traders from Ladakh to the *khanqah* of Sharafu'd-Din must have preserved the memory of friendship between the two remarkable personalities from Turkistan and Ladakh.

The conversion of Rinchana was followed by that of his brother-in-law, Rawachandra, and possibly by a considerable number of the Buddhists who accompanied them to Kashmir. It was partly due to the support of his devoted Ladakhi followers that Richana was able to rule Kashmir from 1320 to 1323.

The impact of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din on the growth and development of Sufism in Kashmir was considerable. There is hardly a Persian chronicler and a hagiographer who does not pay tribute to him as "the founder of Islam in Kashmir". Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, a Sufi of Naqshbandiyya order and the author of *Waqi'at-i Kashmir*, advises his readers to recite prayers (*fatiha*) daily for the souls of Sharafu'd-Din and Sultan Sadru'd-Din on account of their pioneering contribution to Islam in the Valley.

Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din died in 727/1326 and lies buried in his *khanqah*.

Some of the sayings of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din are worthy of quote. He advises the wayfarer (*salik*) to strictly follow the exemplary conduct (*Sunnah*) of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of Allah be upon Him). His aphorisms reconcile the principles of Sufism and *Sunnah*. The tone of his utterances is one of restraint and earnestness. Notwithstanding his spiritual experiences, he regards adherence to the *Sunnah* a thousand times better than such forms of miracles and worship as are not in consonance with its spirit. One can attain to Reality by way of piety and devotion, discipline and inner work. There are many hardships on the Path of love but they can be easily overcome by a *salik* with a pure (*khalis*) and a safe (*salim*) tongue. Abstinence from all that is unlawful (*haram*) is a precondition of spiritual progress.

Tahir, *Baharistan-i Shahi*, IO No. 509, BM Add. 16, 1706, ff. 15a-b.

Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 83a.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 40, f. 45a.

Aba Rafi'u'd-Din, *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar*, BM No. 24029, ff. 16b-19b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 4ab-5a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 54-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 4-6.

Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din: He was one of the early Sufis who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He lies buried near the tomb of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din at Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 76.

Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din Sindhi: He came to Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah. Little is known about his *silsilah* beyond the fact that he was an erudite Sufi scholar who guided the people from every nook and corner of the Valley in the Path. He lies buried at Malikpura in the Valley.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 465.

Saiyid Sibghat'ullah bin Ruhu'llah, Mir: He was born at Bharauch and travelled to Ahmedabad where he entered the discipleship of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati. He disseminated the teachings of the Shattariyya order and forms of *zikr* in his home town. After visting Malwa in 999/1590-1, he travelled through Khandesh to reach Ahmadnagar, where he stayed for a year at the request of the ruler. He then went to Bijapur, where the Sultan arranged for him to travel to Mecca in his royal boat. Probably the sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur financed a house and a *khanqah* built by the Saiyid in Medina. The representatives of the Sultan of Turkey in Medina offered him gifts that he accepted. The Saiyid initiated disciples into the Shattariyya, Chistiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Madariyya, Khalwatiyya, Hamadaniyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Firdawsiyya orders as he had been invested with that authority by Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati, notwithstanding the fact that he had himself been initiated into all eight orders. Bascially, however, he and his disciples were Shattariyyas. Saiyid Sibghatu'llah also introduced the *Jawahir-i Khamsa* and other Shattariyya mystical treatises to the Sufis and scholars of Mecca and Medina.

He died in 1015/1606-7 and lies buried at Baqi' in Medina.

Al-Qushshashi, *al-Limt al-Majid*, Hyderabad, 1327/1909, pp. 67-82.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 515-16.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 565b.

Saiyid Siraju'd-Din: His brother was Saiyid Muhammad Hisari. A Kubrawiyya Sufi of deep learning and piety, he lies entombed at Nandpora Mir Bahri in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 22.

Saiyid Sulaiman: Little is known about him beyond his exalted ancestry. Most probably he came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and is entombed at Safakadal in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 31.

Saiyid Sultan: Born in Chittagong in 1550, he was a prominent Sufi of that region. His most important work is Nabibangsa or the Bengali translation of the *Qisas al-Ambiya*. Other titles include the *Shab-i Mi'raj* (Night Journey of Muhammad to Heaven), *Wafat-i Rasul* (Death of the Prophet Muhammad), the *Iblis Nama* and mystical poetic compositions called *Gnan Chautisa* and *Gnan Pradip*. Tarafar observes: "Saiyid Sultan who has combined history with mythology and Sufism with *Yoga* philosophy in such works as the *Navi-Vamsha* and *Jnana-pradipa* complains about [the "orthodox"] reactionary tendency of the time (against syncretism). While firmly believing that his writings represent Islamic ideas, the poet wonders at the allegation that he has Hinduized Islam." He died in 1648.

S.S. Husain, *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts*, in Munshi 'Abdu'l-Karim's Collection, Dacca, 1960, pp. 30-3, 36-42, 44-7, 222-5, 227-32, 123, 157-8.

M.A.Rahim, *Social and Cultural History of Bengal*, II, Karachi, 1967, pp. 331-2; 341-56.

Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, p. 15n.

Saiyid Sultan Bahraichi: Born in 859/1454-5, he was a Chistiyya Sufi and disciple of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Ajodhani. His way of reciting *zikr-i jahar* was, however, in tune with the Shattariya order. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's account of Saiyid Sultan is based on the information obtained by him from his father who enjoyed his company. He fell in love with a Hindu woman whom he married after she converted to Islam. Among his disciples and *khalifas*, 'Abdu'l-Haqq names only Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din

Shaikh Ibn Anbaroh who was an intoxicated soul. He died in 949/1542-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 396-7.

Saiyid Taj Mah: He was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Jawar (near Delhi), Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Jawari. His high spiritual status has been described by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 924-5.

Saiyid Taju'd-Din: He was the first Kubrawiyya Sufi who came to Kashmir in 762/1362-3 during the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din (1354-73). The Sultan extended him warm welcome and built a *khanqah* for him at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura, situated in the vicinity of his palace in Srinagar. The revenues of the *pargana* of Nagam were reserved for the upkeep of the *khanqah*.

The accounts of chroniclers and hagiographers including Saiyid 'Ali, Aba Rafiu'd-Din, and Abdu'l Wahhab Nuri bear testimony to the influence of Taju'd-Din's teachings on Shihabu'd-Din's religious and administrative policy. The Sultan often consulted Taju'd-Din on such matters. The network of *madrasas* that Shihabu'd-Din established may be attributed to the Sufi's influence on educational policy. What is of further importance to remember is that the Sufi seems to have approved of the Sultan's tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects. The attitude of the Sultan towards non-Muslims is best reflected in the account of Pandit Jonaraja, a contemporary Brahman chronicler. He writes that one day the finance minister, Udayasri, suggested to the Sultan to make coins out of the metal after breaking a brass image of Buddha. The sultan reacted, "Past generations have set up images to obtain fame and even merit, you propose to demolish them. Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them, and some by demolishing them. How great is the enormity of such a deed."

Saiyid Taju'd-Din lies buried at Malkha in Srinagar.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh* (U), pp. 1-3.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 64-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 6-7.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 8.

Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini* (tr. J.C. Dutt under the title *Kings of Kashmira*), vol. III, Calcutta, 1879-98, p. 24.

Saiyid Taju'd-Din: He was the son of Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Baihaqi who came to Kashmir in the company of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. At the request of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, the Sultan granted him the village of Sikandarpura in the *pargana* of Biru as a *jagir*. He lived there along with his family. And although he led a secluded life, he himself cultivated the soil to feed his family.

Along with Saiyid Husain Baihaqi, as a result of political disorder, Taju'd-Din fell victim to the assassin's dagger. His tomb in Sikandarpura, a place of pilgrimage for the high and low, was also frequented by most rulers of Kashmir, says Saiyid 'Ali, the earliest Persian chronicler of Kashmir.

Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (U), p. 14.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 92.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 11b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 27.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 51.

Saiyid 'Umar Hisari: He was a disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abu'r-Riza, referred to by Shah Waliu'llah.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 203.

Saiyid Yadu'llah: He was a disciple of his grandfather, Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz. His father, Saiyid Budh, having died, he was appointed *khalifa*. Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani describes his meeting with Saiyid Yadu'llah in approbious terms.

Saiyid Yadu'llah is said to have fallen in love with a girl whom he married. In accordance with the Indian Muslim tradition, he first saw his bride's face reflected in a mirror at the time of the wedding. So overwhelmed was he that he breathed his last in a state of ecstasy. The bride, after embracing the dead body of her husband, also died.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 306.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1110-11.

Saiyid Yaq'ub: He arrived in Kashmir from Siestan during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin along with the mythical number of three hundred disciples. He settled in the village of Khur. Diddamari does not mention him.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 44.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 82.

Saiyid Yatimu'llah: He was the son of Saiyid Jamal Pathri (d. 971/1564). The latter was invited to settle in a *khanqah* constructed for him by Sultan Bahadur Shah (932/1526–943/1537) in Ahmedabad. After the death of his father, Yatimu'llah succeeded to the leadership of the *khanqah* dedicated to the dissemination of Qadiriyya teachings.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, Barauda, 1930, p. 62.

Saiyid Zahuru'llah: He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He lies buried near the tomb of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din at Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 76.

Saiyid Zakir 'Ali: He was a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani who came to Bengal in AD 1764 and settled at Mangalkot in the district of Burdwan. Along with his brother, Saiyid Roshan 'Ali, he went to Purniya in Bihar and turned it into an important centre of Qadiriyya order. He founded a *khanqah* in Mangalkot and died in AD 1778.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d., p. 514.

Saiyid Zia'u'd-Din: He was the son of Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Baihaqi, who settled in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Zia'u'd-Din became famous as Saiyid Zirak and is entombed in Kandahama.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 92.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 11a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 27.

Saiyid Zuhaid Shah Budh: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa Jaunpuri. He is entombed in the town of Saran.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 239.

Saiyid Zirak: See Saiyid Zia'u'd-Din.

Sakinah: A word which occurs in the Qur'an five times. Sufis generally understand it as the tranquillity and a repose of soul, which is the meaning given in all Arabic dictionaries.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya: Written by Dara-Shukoh, the work is replete with useful information regarding the life and teachings of Miyan Mir and his disciples. Urdu trans. Maqbul Beigh Badakshani, Naz Publishing House, Delhi, 1971.

Sala Bibi I: She was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi of Kashmir. Such was her devotion, meditation, and asceticism that in the hagiographical literature she is described a gnostic. Her grave is at Chrar-i Sharif near the Shaikh's tomb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 103.

Sala Bibi II: Like Sala Bibi I, she became a gnostic after being initiated into the Rishi order by Shaikh Nurud'-Din Rishi. Her grave is near the tomb of her illustrious pir at Chrar-i Sharif.

Hasan, *Tarikh* (U), p. 103.

salat: The liturgical form of prayer recited five times a day; see also *namaz*.

salat al-istisqa: Prayers recited in times of draught, when Allah's help is invoked in supererogatory congregational prayers for rain; see *Sahi'ul Bukhari*.

Salihan: pl. of Salih, the pious.

Salik: A traveller. A term used by the Sufis for a devotee, or one who has started on the heavenly journey. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, the fundamentals of *suluk* rest on six things: solitude and control of self, physical cleanliness in a continual state of ablution (*wazu*); relax immediately if drowsy, but on rising perform *wazu* again; observance of continual fast; observance of silence as against utterance of a lie; cultivation of one's pir's love in the depth of one's heart for *zikr-i Ilahi*; removal from one's heart all that is other than Allah.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 68-9.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 165-6.

Khyaru'l-Majalis, pp. 68-9.

Salahu'd-Din Dervish, Shaikh: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din, and a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. In the latter's reign he migrated to Delhi from Multan, and lived near Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. Unlike the latter, who bore several hardships at the hands of Muhammad bin Tughluq, he strongly opposed the Sultan.

According to 'Abdu'-Haqq, the *'urs* of the Shaikh was celebrated on 22 Safar during his lifetime. He also refers to a poem called *Manajat-i Salah* composed by him.

Salahu'd-Din was kind to animals. His concern for them is particularly reflected in his outburst of anger against a youngman who had mercilessly beaten his horse.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 131-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 825-6.

Salih Khan: He was one of the *khalifas* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. His *pir-i suhbat* was Mulla Taiyib. Once Salih Khan accompanied his spiritual mentor along with the latter to the village of Chadura. Their visit synchronized with the advent of a *qalandar* in the village. All the three Sufis rushed to see the *qalandar*. While, after meeting with the *qalandar*, Baba Nasib remained steadfast in following the *Shari'ah*, his companions could not bear the impact of the metamorphosis experienced by their souls in the company of the intoxicated soul. For two years Mulla Taiyib did not remain punctilious about the performance of duties prescribed in the *Shari'ah*. It was only after that period that the Mulla acted according to the *Shari'ah*. So overwhelming was the impact of the *qalandar's* spirituality on Salih Khan that he adopted the style of living of the *qalandar* for twelve years. During this stage he roamed in the countryside and across the mountains. After successfully passing through the phase of his wanderings, Salih Khan gradually regained consciousness and began to the follow the *Shari'ah* in all the details of his life.

Salih Khan died in 1069/1658-9. Such was the influence of his meditations, austerities and piety on the people that the area around his tomb in Kashmir gradually grew into a village and came to be known as Khan Sahib.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 463.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 331.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), 1361n.

Salim Chisti Sabiri, Shaikh Muhammad: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Chisti (d. 1064/1653-4). His disciples included the Governor of Lahore. He died on 3 Zu'lhijja 1151/14 March 1739 and was buried in Lahore.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, p. 497.

Salim Chisti, Shaikh: He was the son of Bahau'd-Din Chisti. His ancestors, descendants of Baba Farid, had first migrated to Delhi and then spent some years in Ludhiana. Shaikh Salim's parents migrated to Sikri in the reign of Bahlul Lodi (855/1451–894/1489). According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, Shaikh Salim was born in 897/1491-2. ('Ali Asghar gives 884/1479-80 as his date of birth based on the family tradition.) His brother, Shaikh Musa, brought him up after the death of Bahau'd-Din Chisti. Later, Diwan Shaikh Ibrahim (Sani Farid-o Salis Farid), initiated him as a Chisti.

Shaikh Salim first left for Mecca in 931/1524-5 on a pilgrimage. After visiting Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran on a tour of thirteen years, he returned to Sikri in 944/1537-8 to live there on the uninhabited ridge which later became the site of Akbar's capital. Sikri soon turned into a rendezvous of Sufis, ulama and the poor. In 962/1554-5, the Shaikh again left on a pilgrimage to Mecca. One of his wives, many disciples and several friends, including the distinguished Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, accompanied him. After returning to Sikri in 971/1563-4, he founded a *khanqah* on the ridge.

The impact of Shaikh Salim's spiritual personality on both high and low was great. His *khanqah* drew large crowds, including the king, nobles, Sufis, scholars and the poor. Akbar believed Prince Salim's (Jahangir) birth to be the result of the Shaikh's prayer. The Emperor not only named his son after the Sufi but also founded a town on the hills of Sikri with splendid monuments in honour of the Shaikh. Under the Shaikh's personal supervision a dazzling mosque and *khanqah* were built into a complex.

Despite his fame and influence, Shaikh Salim Chisti lived a simple life. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni praises his austerities. So popular was the Shaikh among the stonecutters quarrying stone for the Agra fort that they built a small mosque around the original cell where he performed *chillas*. The eminent Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh Aman of Panipat, who used to visit Shaikh Salim Chisti once asked him whether he had achieved his goal through reasoning or revelation. The Shaikh's reply was that God had revealed Himself to his heart, drawing him nearer to Himself.

Shaikh Salim died on 29 Ramazan 979/14 February 1572 and lies buried in the exquisite tomb raised on the site of his new cell.

Among his disciples was Shaikh Husain Ahmad Chisti (d. 996/1587-8), who showed his calligraphic skills by writing inscriptions on the base of the facade of the Buland Darwaza.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 473-4.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 11-14.

'Ali Asghar, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1301/1884, pp. 333-6.

S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay, 1975, pp. 243.

Salim Shah: He was the son of a zamindar of Lar in Kashmir. After being initiated into Sufism by Karam Shah Lari, he led a pious life within the bounds of the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. However, once during a night he was struck by lightning in a pasture. Although he survived, he became a *majzub* in the aftermath of the terrible experience. He wandered across the wilderness and the mountains. Finally, he took up his residence in the village of Lissar in the *pargana* of Brang. His fame as a *qalandar* spread rapidly. People thronged to him. Among his devotees was the ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who maintained his *langar* out of the expenses of the state.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 478-9.

Saluku'l-Maraqabat: Written by Mulla 'Ali Raina, it contained information about various kinds of *zikr*, prescribed in the Suhrawardiyya order, such *zikr-i chahar zarb, seh zarbi*, etc. The manuscript, referred to by the author in his *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, is not extant.

Samad Ju Khuiami: He was a disciple of Shaikh Akbar Hadi (17 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1243/8 October 1827). Throughout his life, as a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order, he persevered to remain steadfast in the Path.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Samaratu'l-Ashjar: Authored by Khwaja Muhammad A'zam Diddamari, it deals with the life histories of Sufis.

Samaratu'l-Hayat: Compiled in 1053/1643 by 'Ali Askari bin Muhammad Taqi bin Muhammad Qasim al-Khwafi, popularly known as 'Aqil Khan Razi (d.1108/1696), it is replete with answers given by the author's *pir*, Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din Burhanpuri (d.1083/1672-3) on questions of ethical importance about Sufism. IOL MS.

Samaratu'l-Hayat: It was authored by the Shattariyya Sufi Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din. It stresses the importance of good manners in winning Divine grace in contrast to the expulsion of the Devil (Iblis) on account of his rudeness. See Burhanu'd-Din, Shaikh.

Sana Rishi: Baba Kamal describes him as a disciple of Ludi Gana'i who, in turn, was a disciple of Baba Latifu'd-Din. Sana's self-denial was remarkable.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 313.

sanad: Credential; testimonial; certificate; proof; authority.

Sanat Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Bamu'd-Din Rishi. Following his *pir* strictly in the practice of austerities, Sanat Rishi was buried near the tomb of Baba Bamu'd-Din at the village of Bumzu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Sanau'llah Qalandar: He was the son of Baba Abu'l-Baqa Shahabadi. After initiation into Sufism by his father, he attained spiritual excellence. However, in the wake of experience of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he could not control himself and in a state of mystical intoxication did not conform his behaviour to the *Shari'ah*. In spite of this, he conversed with the ulama of Kashmir with care and continued to guide the *saliks*. Many a seeker after the truth is said to have benefited from his spiritual guidance.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 476.

Sana'u'llah Panipati, Qazi: He was a descendant of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Panipati, a prominent Sufi of the Sabiriyya branch of the Chistiyyas. He authored a scholarly work on *Fiqh* concerning the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. His exegesis on the Qur'an has since run into several editions and continues to be read with avidity in the subcontinent. Sana'u'llah also wrote several treatises expounding the teachings of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He was initially initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid, and later was enrolled as his disciple by Mirza Jan-i Janan who allowed him to initiate disciples. Sana'u'llah's denunciation of the un-Islamic practices among the Indian Muslims was vehement; this led to his unpopularity at the start of his career as a Sufi reformer. However, his *pir* advised him to be more cautious in deprecation of what he regarded as *bida'*. He died in 1225/1810.

Maqamat-i Mazharriyya, pp. 66-7.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, pp. 689-90.

Khaliq Anjum, ed., *Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan ke Khutut*, Urdu, Delhi, 1962, pp. 197-209.

Sana'u'llah Sambhali, Maulavi: He came from Sambhal and studied *Hadis* and the translation of the Qur'an under Shah Waliu'llah. Later, he became a disciple of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mazhar Jan-i Janan. He lived in seclusion in Sambhal and refused gifts from the wealthy.

Maqamat-i Mazhariyya, pp. 73-4.

Sanga Bibi: Her original home was at Kachalwan in the *pargana* of Hamal. Baba Nasib describes her as one of such seven daughters of a wealthy man as renounced the world. She entered the discipleship of Baba Shukuru'd-Din. At the command of her preceptor, Sanga Bibi secluded herself at the forest of Aham in the *pargana* of Khuyahom. On learning about the presence of a young lady alone in the jungle the residents of the nearby villages beseeched her to settle in some inhabited neighbourhood. While responding to the apprehensions of the villagers that she could not live alone in the jungle, Sanga Bibi observed that since she had entrusted herself and her affairs to Allah there was no reason for her to nurse fears of any kind. Impressed by her conviction, the villagers then constructed a cottage for her in the forest.

Sanga Bibi's extraordinary piety and chastity has elicited the praise of hagiographers. It was her usual practice, after her initiation into the Rishi order, to keep herself awake during nights while remembering Allah and observe fasts during the day time.

Sanga Bibi's friendship with the wild animals of the forests is also proverbial. An anecdote regarding her supernatural feat in protecting one of her disciples against a wild animal speaks not only of the exalted status of a woman saint in the traditional Kashmiri society but her ability to make her disciples adhere to the standards of moral excellence.

Sanga Bibi's tomb at Aham situated near a karewah is a place of veneration. Her disciples were many; among whom Neki Rishi earned good name.

Baba Khalil quotes some of her sayings which are replete with wisdom.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, ff. 321ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 177b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 170b.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama*, f. 119b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111a.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 793-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 118.

Sangram Dar: He was a wealthy person who lived at Chrar-i Sharif in Kashmir during the time of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. After becoming a disciple of the Shaikh, Sangram Dar was able to persuade the Shaikh to move from Rupavan to his hometown. Sangram Dar was the main prop of the Shaikh's *khanqah*. He was buried in Chrar-i Sharif after his death. His descendants continue to render service to the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 199-201.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p.137.

Sanwat-i Atqiya: Written by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, a disciple of the Mujaddid, it briefly describes the pious from Adam to his own day. See Badru'd-Din, Shaikh.

Sarmast, Abu'l-Fath Hidayatullah: Son of Shaikh 'Ala', a leading Shattariyya Sufi of Bengal, Sarmast was trained in Sufism by his deceased father's disciple, Shaikh Baba Hajji Hamid Zuhur. He became the head of the Shattariyya order in Bengal, thanks to his own spiritual ability. While in Bengal in 1538 the Emperor Humayun who had deep reverence for the Shattariyyas pursuaded Sarmast to accompany him on his campaign against the Afghans. However, after Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at Chausa in Bihar in June 1539, Shaikh Abu'l-Fath returned to Patna where he lived a quiet life until his death.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 202.

sawab: Recompense; reward.

Sawatiu'l-Anwar: Also called the *Iqtibasu'l-Anwar*, it is a detailed biography of the Chistiyya Sufis written by Shaikh Muhammad Akram bin Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali bin Shaikh Ilabaksh al-Hanafi of Baras (a village near Karnal in the Panjab) between 1135/1722-3 and 1142/1729. Two manuscript copies of the work are preserved in the India Office Library, London.

Sarfaraz Shah: He was an Afghan who traded in Kashmir in the nineteenth century. After having a spiritual experience, he renounced the world and distributed his entire property and wealth among the poor. Thereafter, he took to the streets and bazars of Srinagar as *majzub*. Known for his spiritual powers, Sarfaraz Shah was buried at Rajori Kadal in the city and his mausoleum was raised by Akhwunzada Nuru'llah.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 477.

Seh-Rukni: Written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, it outlines the three pillars for a believer in *Wahdat*. MS Delhi Persian Collection, Indian Office Library, London.

Sha'ban Shah: He was a *khalifa* of Jamal Shah Reshdaraz who lived in Kashmir in the nineteenth century. A hot-tempered *faqir*, it was customary for Sh'aban Shah to walk the long distance from Naushahr in Srinagar to Sonamarg.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 477.

Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif: He came to India from Bukhara in search of the Truth. After being initiated by Shah Musafir, he travelled to Kashmir and settled there. His tomb is in the cemetery of Hara Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 344-5.

Shah 'Abdu'llah: He was a prominent disciple of Mirza Jan-i Janan in Delhi who was also known as Shah Ghulam 'Ali (d. 1240/1824). See Shah Ghulam 'Ali.

Shah 'Abdu'llah Qureshi: He was a descendant of Shaikh al-Islam Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya Multani. Born in 1420, he came to Delhi from Multan along with his elders in the time of Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Although he is described as a *salik-i majzub*, the Sultan gave his daughter in marriage to him. Even Shaikh Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab who wrote a commentary on the Qur'an would seek guidance from him on the esoteric meaning of the divine book. He died in 1499. His tomb was a popular place of pilgrimage during the lifetime of 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 374-5.

Shah 'Abdu'llah Salih: He lived in Ceylon and was a disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana (d. 1084/1673).

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 149.

Shah 'Abdu'l-Wahid: He lived in Karbala and was a disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 149.

Shah 'Abdu'l-Wahid: A resident of Medina he was *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 149.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman: He belonged to the business community of Kashmir. He received initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order from Khwaja Muhammad Naqshbandi in the plains, and after returning to Kashmir, took up his residence somewhere to the north of Hariparbat Hillock in Srinagar. For many years he played the role of spiritual guide in his society. He was buried in the compound of his house.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 347-8.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar: He was born an aristocrat, but owing to the blows and buffets of fortune, his father was forced to earn his livelihood as a cook. It is said that when the Shah reached adolescence, he left for India where he stayed with Shah Muhammad Roshan Qadiri for a long time. After receiving initiation and being invested with *Khat-i Irshad*, he returned to Kashmir, where he first took to seclusion on the top of a mountain in Baramulla and then at his own house in the vicinity of Saiyid Muhammad Waisi (Wusi Sahib) in Srinagar. Later, he moved to the *khanqah* of Baba Hardi Rishi in Islamabad (Anantnag). He also used a mosque founded by him in the neighbourhood of the *khanqah* as his abode for the remainder of life.

Towards the end of his life, the Shah became a *majzub* and paralytic. He did not apparently adhere to the norms of *Shari'ah*, notwithstanding the fact that he showed respect to the visitors who approached him for spiritual guidance. But he usually scolded those who sought his help for mundane desires. Significantly, he communicated with the seekers of spiritual knowledge through his woman disciple and attendant, named Suli. Thereafter, such seekers were initiated by the Shah's chosen *khalifa*, Mir Baha'u'd-Din Mantaqi, with his *murshid's* permission. For his didactic role, the Shah bestowed the title of Akhwun on Mir Baha'u'd-Din.

Several miracles are attributed to the Shah. Once Mir Baha'u'd-Din asked him who *Abu'l-Waqat* (the father of time) was and the *murshid* replied that it was he who had the authority of doing or not doing something related to the mundane world. If he intended to hit the ground with the intention of causing an earthquake, the earth would be shaken. And no sooner had the Shah hit the ground than a tremor occurred. On another occasion, Mir Baha'u'd-Din complained to the Shah that the Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Sardar 'Abdu'llah Khan, was offensive to the young Kashmiri girls. The infuriated Shah there and then predicted the dismissal of the licentious governor. Only a few days had passed after this episode that 'Atta Muhammad Khan was appointed as Governor of Kashmir.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman died in 1232/1816-17 and was buried in the vicinity of the *Khanqah-i Mu'alla'* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 473-5.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shahid: Born in 1661, he was a Kashmiri. Initiated into the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya order by Sufi Hidayatu'llah, a *khalifa* of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, he reached Dacca via Murshidabad. He was responsible for the dissemination of the teachings of his order in Bengal. His *khalifa* was the noted Sufi of Chittagon, Shah Amanatu'llah alias Miyan Sahib. Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim died on 9 Ramazan 1185/16 December 1771 after succumbing to injuries at the hands of a lunatic. He is entombed in Dacca.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d., pp. 510-11.

Shah 'Abdu'r-Rashid: He was a disciple of Akhwund Mulla Taiyib. Initially he followed the *Shari'ah* strictly as a *salik*. However, he became a *majzub* after experiencing the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Under the influence of his passionate experience, he could not conform a behaviour to the *Shari'ah* and started wandering in the streets and the jungles.

Several miracles are attributed to the Shah, including the one related to his supernal ability to cure the paralysis of one of his devotees. He lies buried at Shihampur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 464-5.

Shah Abu'l-Baqa: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Lahori. After his initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order, Shah Abul Baqa served his *pir* for many years and devoted himself to the worship of God. After coming to Kashmir, he made a steady progress in *suluk* under the guidance of Muhammad Amin Dhar. Afterwards Hafiz Inayatu'llah Qadiri Naushahri initiated Shah Abul Baqa into the Qadiriyya order.

Shah Abul Baqa had an aversion for riches. Once a visitor wished to present some goods made of gold and silver to him but he declined the offer.

Diddamari credits him with having gone on *hajj*. He further writes that Abu'l-Baqa authored some tracts on *tasawwuf*.

He died in 1136/1723-4 and was buried at the locality of Buzgarkadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 78-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 67.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 413.

Tang, *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, pp. 194-5.

Shah Abu'l-Fath Gankani *alias* Kaul: He belonged to a wealthy and respectable family of Kashmir who received initiation in Sufism from Shaikh Salih Lahori. He lived like a *qalandar* and smoked tobacco. Aurangzeb is said to have restored to him the *jagir* earlier confiscated by him.

He died in 1130/1717-18 and is entombed at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 315-16.

Shah Abu'l-Ghaib Bukhari: He was the son of Shaikh Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari. An ecstatic to the core, he entertained his guests with the bread that was always available in his house. He died in 995/1586-7 in Lucknow during the reign of Akbar.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 479.

Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri: He was the brother of Shah Muhammad Fazil, the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi of Kashmir. Both brothers, who settled in the Valley, rendered meritorious services to the Qadiriyya order by producing a number of gifted disciples.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 293-4.

Shah Afzal Chisti: Little is known about him save that he was an embodiment of good qualities and that he earned his living by making copies of the Qur'an. He lies buried at Kalashpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Shah Ahmad Shar'i: This Turk settled in Chanderi. A scholar and a recognized *dervish*, the Shah is reputed have been at home in exoteric and esoteric learning. 'Abdu'l-Haqq writes that some of his writings were available with the latter's disciple, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Gani Sanpati, who was the former's contemporary. Sultan Sikandar often visited the Shah's residence and the Shah would make the best of the opportunity by getting his grievances of the commoners redressed.

He died in 928/1521-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 381-2.

Shah 'Alam: He was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Qutb-i 'Alam (d. 857/1453). See Saiyid Muhammad.

Shah Allah Baksh: He lived in Baghdad and was a disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 149.

Shah Amanatu'llah alias Miyan Sahib: He was a *khalifa* of the Kashmiri born Sufi of Dacca, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shahid (d. 9 Ramazan 1185/16 December 1771). Born in Chittagong, he popularized the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order in his native town and Dacca. The *khanqah* of Azimpur in Dacca dates back to his times.

Rud-i Kausar, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d., p. 511.

Shah Amanu'llah: He lived in Kashmir and was initiated as Kubrawiyya by Shah 'Inayatu'llah.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 388.

Shah Anwar: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of the Chistiyya-Qalandariyya Sufi, Shah Daw'ud. His tomb in Sirhapur was a place of popular veneration in the seventeenth century. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti found the Shah's descendants engaged in serving the poor and the travellers.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1227-8.

Shah Arzani: He was a *majzub* who was a contemporary of Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim and Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Riza. The latter is said to have first received spiritual guidance from Shah Arzani who advised him to recite the *sura* Muzamil forty-one times. Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, notwithstanding an erudite *'alim* and Sufi, often played host to the *majzub* at his own residence.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 87-8.

Shah Asadu'llah: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Fazlu'llah Nuri. After his father's death, he distinguished himself as a humble and benevolent Sufi. He died in a state of prostration during the midday prayers. He is entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 388.

Shah Asadu'llah: He was the son of Shah Muhammad Hanif and a disciple of Shaikh 'Usman Radhu Chishti. During the governorship of the Afghan Azad Khan, he became a *mufti* and headed the *madrasa* of Saiyid Mansur in Srinagar.

He died in 1227/1812.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 89.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 211.

Shah Bad'iu'd-Din *alias* Badi Shah: Little is known about him except that he was *majzub* and that he lies buried at Malkah in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 182.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 453.

Shah Baqar: A *majzub* of Gogi who died in 1678-9, he was the spiritual mentor of Mahmud Bahri.

Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur, III, pp. 371-2.

Shah Bolaqi: He was a disciple of Shah 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri. Little is known about him, except that he was an ideal Sufi and lies buried at Shahabad, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 351.

Shah Budh: Also known as Shaikh Budh, he was a *khalifa* of Makhdum Shaikh Khasa bin Khizr Chisti. His progeny were many; among them was Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti who completed the history of Chistiyya order in India during the reign of Shahjahan. Shah Budh lies entombed in Amethi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1011, 1183-5.

Shah Daulat Maneri: A Sufi of the Firdausiyya order in Bihar, he was a contemporary of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti. The latter refers to the *Risala-i Mir'atu'l-Wilayat* which contains the biographical notice of Shah Daulat. One of his *khalifas* was Shaikh Amanu'llah Siddiqi who spread the teachings of the Firdausiyya order in town of Sandila.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1236.

Shah Dawud: He was a resident of Sirharpur, situated in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur. Also known as Dawud Sarmast, he was a disciple of Shah Mina. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Shah Dawud belonged to the Chistiyya Qalandariyya *silsilah*. When Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Shattari visited Sirharpur a number of people flocked to his residence. Shah Dawud is reported to have met the Shattariyya Sufi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 340-1.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1226-7.

Shah Dawud: Son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shah Budh, he died during the lifetime of his father.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1011.

Shah Dervish: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. He was noted for his miracles and lies entombed in Gorakhpur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1231.

Shah Farahu'd-Din *alias* Muhammad Farooq Mattu: He was a dignitary of Srinagar. Inspired by a vision of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, he renounced the riches and became a disciple of Shah Tahir. After his initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order, Muhammad Farooq was appointed *khalifa* by his *murshid*. Later, he also received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar and worked for the dissemination of the teachings of the order.

Notwithstanding his popularity as a Kubrawiyya and Suhrawardiyya Sufi of high attainments, the Shah was known for his simplicity, humility, friendliness and burning love for the Creator. He was passionately fond of *sama'* and was often overcome with ecstasy.

He died in 1191/1777 and was buried at Bachhbaran in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 353.

Shah Fath: He lived in Qandahar as a disciple and *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 149.

Shah Fazlu'llah: This son of the Kashmiri Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri received lessons on the books of *tasawwuf* from Mulla Muhammad Muqim. He learnt *'ilmu'l-qirat* from Mulla Akbar Yar Khan. At the age of 11 he started receiving guidance in the *tariqa* from Shaikh Ni'amatu'llah Kulu and attained spiritual heights in no time. After the latter's death, Shah Fazlu'llah met with Baba Muqim Sultan and received initiation from him in the Yassawiyya order. Thereafter Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri appointed him as his successor. Following the rise in his spiritual status in all respects, Shah Fazlu'llah dedicated himself to Sufism and made his mark as one of the most revered Sufis of his time.

Fazlu'llah died on 7 Safar 1217/9 June 1802 and was buried at the cemetery of Saiyid Nuru'd-Din near his father's grave. His funeral prayers were led by Mulla Nuru'llah Mantji, a leading theologian, who described him as a paragon of *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 370-1.

Shah Gardiz: His actual name was Shah Yusuf. He was a Saiyid of Gardiz in Afghanistan who settled in Multan in 550/1155-6 during the time of Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya. 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes the Shah as a prominent Sufi of Multan whose tomb was a place of popular pilgrimage in his own time. The Shah's exalted spiritual stature has evoked profuse praise of Ghausi Shattari and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti.

He died in 667/1268-9 and lies entombed in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 122.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 749-50.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 18-19.

Shah Ghulam 'Ali: He was also known as Shah 'Abdu'llah. Born in Batala in the Panjab in 1156/1743-4, he was thirteen years old when his family migrated to Delhi. He learnt the *Hadis* from the sons of Shah Waliu'llah. Mirza Jan-i Janan initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya after the completion of his formal and spiritual education at the age of twenty-four. He distinguished himself as the most prominent *khalifa* of the Mirza in Delhi.

Shah 'Abdu'llah lived in Delhi during a period of political crisis and anarchy. In spite of the fact that he had no permanent source of livelihood, he extended help to the needy. Tolerance, patience, and simplicity were the marked traits of his personality. Although he had deep respect for Shah Waliu'llah, he found it difficult to agree with his view that the difference between the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* was a matter of semantics. He fully endorsed the views of the Mujaddid asserting that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was part of the initial Sufi journey confined to subtle incomprehensible changes in the heart, whereas the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* was bound up with the Sufi journey in relation to the self. The exalted spiritual status of the Mujaddid *vis-a-vis* Ibn 'Arabi, therefore, in his view lay in the former's accomplishment of transcending both stages. Shah Ghulam 'Ali also highlighted the importance of the *Maktubat* in the Sufi literature and described Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's criticism as based on the latter's sense of overconfidence rather than actuality.

He died on 22 Safar 1240/16 October 1824.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 693-700.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh-i Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 307-9.

Shah Gulshan: Initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad, a great-grandson of the Mujaddid, he made his mark as an ascetic who lived in a mosque on the banks of the Jamna for twenty years. He had a passion for composing mystical verses. He died on 21 Jumada I 1140/4 January 1728-41.

Khwushgo, *Safina-i Khwushgo*, Patna, 1953, pp. 165-70.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d. pp. 643-5.

Shah Habibu'llah: He was the prominent *khalifa* of Shah Sibghatu'llah of Bijapur. Author of the discourses (*malfuzat*) of his *pir*, Habibu'llah accepted the land grant from Sultan Ibrahim II after the death of his spiritual mentor, notwithstanding the latter's ascetic piety. He died in 1632.

Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah, ff. 37a-38a.

Shah Hafizu'llah: He was the second son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri. After obtaining formal education, he received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from his father and authorization for enrolling disciples. Unlike his brother, Shah Fazlu'llah, he was fond of *sama'* like his father.

He died in 1213/1898-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 371.

Shah Hamidu'llah: He was a *khalifa* of 'Uzza Baba-i Hatabi. Little is known about him save that he was a Sufi and lies buried in the cemetery of Baba 'Abdu'l-Karim Fatehkadali in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 387.

Shah Husain Khuda-Numa: He lived in the sixteenth century in Burhanpur. He came to be known as 'Guide to God' (Khuda-Numa) for his superb ability to inspire his disciples to lead a contented life.

Mulla Sihalawi, *Manqib al-Razzaqiyya*, Lucknow, 1896/1905, pp. 8-9, 22, 25.

Shah 'Inayatu'llah: He was a disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, 'Abdu'l-Gani Lankar. He spent sleepless nights in meditations for many years and during his visit to India met with Shah Kalimu'llah, Mir Muhammad Siddiq, Shah Abu'l-Faiz, Shah Muhammad Husain and 'Allama Shahid. He died on 30 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1194/8 April 1780 and was buried at Malkah in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 360-1.

Shah Isma'il Qadiri: A Qadiriyya Sufi who arrived at Bidar from Baghdad, he died in 1456-7. He and his three sons are said to have popularized the teachings of the Qadiriyya order in the Deccan.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan, I, p. 131.

Shah Jalal: See Shaikh Jalal.

Shah Jalal Gujarati: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Piayara (d. 862/1457-8). Originally from Gujarat, he lived in affluent circumstances in Gour even as a Sufi. His style of life created suspicions in the minds of certain people who poisoned the ears of the ruler of Gour against him. Consequently, the king had him murdered in his own *khanqah* in 899/1493-4.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 307.

Shah Jalal Shirazi: A disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Nur Baksh who authored a commentary on the *Gulshan-i Raz*, he came to Delhi from Mecca during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Such was his hospitality to guests that he would always entertain them with *phirni* and *nan* along with other dishes. In Delhi the Shah entered into matrimonial alliance with the Saiyids of Bukhara by giving his daughter to Shaikh Mudasir ibn Shaikh Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Multani.

Shah Jalal died in 944/1537-8 and lies buried in Delhi near the tomb of Shaikh Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 380-1.

Shah Jamalu'd-Din Qalandar: Little is known about him except that he lived in Srinagar and Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Mattu kept his company.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 422.

Shah Jamalu'llah: He was a *majzub* who descended from a family of 'Adil Shahi nobles (*mansabdars*) of Bijapur. His behaviour, according to Eaton, was "so widely eccentric that he was considered dangerous to be near". He died in AD 1727-8.

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 275.

Shah Jani: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. Known for his miracles, he lies entombed in Gorakhpur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1231.

Shah Kaku: He was a Chisti *pir* of Shaikh 'Arif Chisti of Lahore (d. 1064/1653-4).

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 476-7.

Shah Kalu: See Saiyid Kalu.

Shah Kamalu'd-Din: Also known as Shah Kamal. He belonged to Belgaun and finally settled in what is presently called Chitoor District and wrote the *Chakki-nama* at his wife's request.

Sakhawat Mirza, "Saiyid Shah Kamalu'd-Din", *Urdu* (April 1939), pp. 263-5.

Muhiu'd-Din Qadiri Zore, *Tazkirah-i Makhtutat*, III, p. 207.

Shah Kamalu'd-Din Haqqani: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shah Ya'qub Haqqani. Whatever little is known about him relates to his spirituality, knowledge and righteousness as a Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 377.

Shah Karim: He was a famous Sindhi Sufi poet. See 'Abdu'l-Karim, Saiyid.

Shah Khaki: He was a *majzub* who was a disciple of Qadir Linga of Shahpur Hillock in Bijapur. He died in 1692.

Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah, ff. 558b-559a.

Shah Khizr Rumi: Several legends that exist about his supposed mysterious personality do not stand the test of history. However, he lived in history. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, he belonged to Antolia and reached Delhi during the lifetime of Shaikh Qubu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Although a *qalandar*, he willingly entered the discipleship of Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. It appears from Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti's account that the Shaikh allowed him to retain the dress and customs of a *qalandar*. Shah Khizr Rumi visited UP and at Surhupur, near Jaunpur, initiated Shaikh Najmu'd-Din as his disciple. Later he returned to Anatolia and died there in 750/1349-50. The latter's disciples flourished in Jaunpur and also in many towns of eatern UP and around Lucknow.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 50.

Mir'atu'l-Asarar, pp. 745-6.

Muhammad Taqi, *Nafhatu'l Anbariya*, Lucknow, 1920, pp. 54-77.

Shah Madar: His real name was Shaikh Badi'u'd-Din. Son of Abu Ishaq Shami, his ancestors were Jews from Aleppo. Born in 715/1315, he met Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani during his travels in Mecca. After his conversion to Islam at Medina, the Shah left for Hurmuz and finally reached India via Gujarat. Leaving Ajmer in the wake of his visit to the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti, Shah Madar reached Kalpi. He was forced to leave Kalpi following his refusal to grant an interview to Sultan Qadir Shah (1410-35), the son of Sultan Muhammad and a descendant of Sultan Firuz Shah. Thereupon the Shah reached Jaunpur and finally settled in Makanpur, which remained his centre.

Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis writes about Shah Madar's austerities, but dismisses many legends about him within the purview of the *Shari'ah* and even *tariqa*. Often he kept his face veiled. Such was the halo of his personality that anyone who got a glimpse of his face would unintentionally fall prostrate.

Rizvi writes: "By the time of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (1628-58) Shah Madar's image had developed in quite a different way. Like many Hindu mendicants his followers, the Madaris, wore no garments and smeared their bodies with ashes. The most perfect among them went naked even in the severest winters of Kashmir and Kabul. However they sat before fires to keep warm. Their hair was tangled, and they wound iron chains around their heads and necks. Often to distinguish themselves from other mendicants, they wore black turbans and carried black flags. They refused to observe traditional prayers and fasting and ate a large amount of hemp leaves, proudly relating stories of their excessive cosumption of this intoxicating drug. The Madaris would sit and tell each other fantastic stories involving the extensive claims of their order."

A category of the Madaris, known as Be Qaid wa Be Nawa (Without Ties and Material Concern), subsisted on a paltry amounts of food and drink. Their *khirqas* were made of shreds collected from the streets. They described God as Spirit, Muhammad His body, and the Four Caliphs His two arms and feet. According to them, *Dam Madar* signified that everything depended on *dam* and *nafs* and both words can be translated as 'breath'.

Situated in Manakpur, the tomb of Shah Madar continues to attract crowds of Hindus and Muslims on the eve of the *'urs*. Hindu and Muslim jugglers, acrobats, and those earning their bread by showing tricks of the tamed monkeys and bears revere Shah Madar. The Madaris crying 'Dam Madar'walk on burning coals without causing any injury to their feet. Significantly, even Aurangzeb visited the tomb of Shah Madar on 14 Rabi' II, 1069/9 January 1659 while campaigning against Shah Shuja.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 292.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 64.

Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir-Nama*, Calcutta, 1868, p. 241.

Dabistan-i Mazahib, pp. 214-16.

Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina* (U), Lahore, 1994, pp. 230-1.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1096-7.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 319.

Shah Mansur: He was the son of Malik Jalal and the grandson of a former prime minister of Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah. After obtaining formal religious and literary education, Shah Mansur developed a great fascination for Sufism. His esctatic temperament led him to see the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Burhanpur, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari (d. 970/1562), who appointed him his *khalifa*. Soon he gained eminence as a Sufi. He would compose verses in Persian and a number of local dialects in a state of ecstasy. Once the Sultan made a vain attempt to converse with him, but such was his ecstatic state that instead of responding to the ruler he ran towards the tomb of Shaikh Bhikari.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi testifies to the spiritual eminence of Shah Mansur on the basis of his personal meeting and experience with him.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 485-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 240-2.

Shah Makhdumi: He was a *qalandar* of great spiritual merits who lived in Kashmir and died in 1197/1782-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 472.

Shah Mina: His father, Shaikh Qutb, migrated to Jaunpur from Delhi. Later, he settled in Lucknow. Originally named Shaikh Muhammad, he was popularly known as Shaikh Mina. Brought up by Shaikh Qiwamu'd-Din from his childhood as an adopted son, he received spiritual training from him in the Chistiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. Later, he entered the discipleship of Qiwamu'd-Din's prominent disciple, Shaikh Sarang. He did not marry and resorted to extreme ascetic exercises. He would invariably sit on a fence or amidst a pile of thorns to avoid sleep. During winter he would pray at the tomb of Shaikh Qiwamu'd-Din and would wear wet clothes in order to stay awake.

The *malfuzat* of Shah Mina, written by his disciple, Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, throws useful light on his thoughts which were rooted in the Qur'an, *Hadis* and *Tasawwuf*. Athough an ascetic, he always urged his disciples to adhere to the teachings of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. He gives a lucid explanation of several Sufic terms and makes a fine distinction between *karamat* and *mu'ijizzat*.

Shaikh Mina was fond of *sama'*. On one occasion he became ecstatic after listening to a song sung on the eve of the Hindu festival of *Holi*. His devotees also included Hindus.

Shaikh Mina died in Lucknow on 23 Safar 884/ 18 May 1479. His tomb is an important centre of pilgrimage in Lucknow.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U) p. 236.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 278-80.

Shah Miyanji: He belonged to Malwa. A disciple of a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, the Shah lived in solitude for the most part of his life. Once he remained cut-off from human society for even six months. Subsisting mainly on water or syrup, he would not join congregational prayers even when forced by the Qazi of Mandu to conform to the laws of the *Shari'ah*.

Shah Miyanji died in 887/1482-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 322-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 198.

Shah Muhammad 'Arif: This son and *khalifa* of Shah Abu'l-Fath was well-known for his passionate recitation of *zikr*. Those who saw him in such a state in the morning would lapse into unconsciousness. Himself overwhelmed in a state of devotional rapture, Muhammad 'Arif once started running barefoot towards the jungles and mountains. He remained a *qalandar* until his death somewhere in the late eighteenth century and was buried near the mausoleum of his father at Shihabu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 464.

Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulti: He was a disciple of Shah Waliu'llah. Several letters of the distinguished Delhi divine addressed to Muhammad 'Ashiq throw light on the close spiritual bonds between the two in their *piri-murid* relationship.

Maktubat, pp. 491-2.

Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi: A descendant of Shaikh Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani who migrated from the Deccan to Agra, he lent spiritual support to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against Babur. But the latter on becoming the ruler of India allowed him to contiune living in the places of Firuzabad Fort, near Delhi. Humayun honoured him. Such was his fame that during the reign of Islam Shah Sur even the Sultan and nobles waited on him slavishly.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 74.

Shah Muhibu'llah: He was a favourite disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana (d. 1084/1673). He is said to have mastered the technique of breath control.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 149.

Shah Muhammad *alias* Shahi Baiyu: He was a disciple of Khwaja Habibu'llah Latoo. Little is known about him save that he spent his whole life in a mosque at Gotapura in Kashmir and was buried near his lifetime abode.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 341.

Shah Muhammad Da'im: He was from Chittagong and descended from the family of Saiyid Bakhtiyar Mahisawar who came to Chittagong in the fifteenth century. He was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya order by Shah Amanatu'llah. Known for his adherence to the *Sunnah* and *Shari'ah*, his *khanqah* attracted students and seekers after the Truth from various towns of East Bengal particularly Chatgam and Nawakhali. The students were provided clothes and meals free of cost.

Muhammad Da'im died in 1799.

Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, Indian reprint, Delhi, n.d., pp. 511-12.

Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri: He traced his ancestry to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. He came to Kashmir in 1092/1681 along with a group of nearly a hundred persons including the members of his family, disciples, and servants. He settled at Khanyar in Srinagar.

Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri was a Sufi of versatile talents. Whatever was offered to him in the form of cash or kind, he immediately distributed among the poor and travellers. His knowledge, humility, and generosity earned him a great name in Kashmir. The Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, had a close association with the Shah, and writes about his spirituality in glowing terms.

On 9 Jamidu'l-Awwal 1117/18 August 1705 Shah Muhammad died after tearing his dress into pieces in a state of ecstasy. His funeral was attended by thousands including the *fuzala*, *fuqara*, and dignitaries of the government. The tomb of Shah Muhammad Fazil at Khanyar in Srinagar is adjacent to the Qadiriyya shrine that houses the sacred hair of Shaikh Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 131-4.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 339-41.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 69-71.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 62.

Shah Muhammad Munawwar Haqqani: He was a descendant of Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani and a pupil of Mulla Abu'l-Khair. He became a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar during his early adolescence. When Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman became a *majzub*, his *khalifa*, Mir Baha'u'd-Din Mantaqi, initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order and granted him an *irshad*. Later, Muhammad Munawwar became the *khalifa* of his father-in-law, Shah Kamalu'd-Din Haqqani, and distinguished himself as a Kubrawiyya Sufi of great merit. He gained immense popularity for his spirituality and generosity. His contemporary chronicler, Hasan Shah, describes him as a compendium of exoteric and esoteric sciences. He died on 14 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1275/22 October 1858 and lies entombed at the cemetery of Shah Qasim Haqqani.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 399.

Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar: He belonged to the family of the Andrabi Saiyids of Kashmir. Diddamari calls him Hafiz Sadiq Majzub. He was a disciple of Mir 'Ali Qadiri and had committed the Qur'an to memory. As *imam* of the *khanqah* of Mir 'Ali Qadiri, he had earned good name for his erudition, piety, and the wonderful skills of reciting the Qur'an. He became a *qalandar* in a state of spiritual experience during the course of a prescribed prayer. Thereafter, he rushed to Delhi and enrolled as a disciple of Khwaja Ubaidu'llah, *alias* Khwaja Khwurd, the son of Khwaja Baqi Billah. After being initiated as Naqshbandiyya, he returned to Kashmir.

Muhammad Sadiq believed in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Unmindful of the *Shari'ah*, he did not abstain from tobacco, hemp, or wine. At his command some handsome young men shaved their beards after becoming *qalandars*. What is, however, inexplicable, is that after becoming the devotees of Shah Muhammad Qalandar such young men gave up their old habits of taking intoxicants. Remarkably, they scrupulously followed the *Shari'ah* by way of offering the prescribed prayers and reciting the Qur'an regularly.

Shah Muhammad Sadiq's strange way of not apparently observing the rules of the *Shari'ah* himself and simultaneously ennobling the behaviour of youth in conformity with the *Shari'ah* seems to have been a cause of concern to Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, a Sufi scholar of the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir. Once when the latter asked the Shah which was the Straight Path, he replied: "The Path of *Shari'ah*." To another question of his contemporary fellow Sufi as to which was the main Path of the Shah, the latter replied that it was the Path of Muhammad. After listening to his answers, the Shaikh enquired from the Shah why he had followed a path other than that of the *Shari'ah* and Muhammad. To this Shah Muhammad replied, "I am overwhelmed and crippled by the unity of existence. Do not accuse me of unbelief or irreligiosity."

What is of further significance to note about Shah Muhammad Sadiq's unique spiritual personality is that whenever any *qalandar* or intoxicated soul called on him, he would open the Qur'an and read aloud from it. Contrary to this, if any learned man came to see him, he would start taking hemp. Such a behaviour suggests disdain for the world in the true manner of *malamatis*. It also explains the fact that, in order to avoid contact with the worldly people, he later fled to a village in Lar to spend the remainder of his life as a recluse.

Several miracles ascribed to Shah Muhammad Sadiq bear an elaborate testimony to his spirituality. He also composed poetry impregnated with the verses of mystical love for the Creator.

He died in Ziq'ad 1093/October–November 1682 (Miskin gives 1090/1679 ; Mirjanpuri, zilhaj 1081/April 1671) and his tomb situated in Lar is a place of veneration.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 208-11.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 459-61.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 305-6.

Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 113b.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 329-30.

Shah Muhammad Tanboli: He came to Kashmir from Afghanistan and became a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 371.

Shah Muhammad Ya'qub Haqqani: He was the son of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shah Muzaffar Haqqani. He received initiation into Sufism from his father. Known for his piety and self-denial, Shah Ya'qub wrote *Ma'rifahtu'l-Haqqani* on the life of Shah Qasim Haqqani. He also wrote biographies of the followers of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Shah Ya'qub died on 14 Jamiu'd-Sani 1164/29 April May 1751.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 336-7.

'Azizu'llah Haqqani, *Latai'fu'l-Haqqani*, Urdu tr. Ghulam Rasul Bhat and introduction by Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Badgam, 1999, pp. 149-50.

Shah Muhammad Yusuf: He belonged to Kashmir. Whatever little is documented about him relates to his renunciation and spiritual bliss.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 353.

Shah Muzaffaru'd-Din: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shah Qutbu'd-Din Haqqani. He was a Sufi of high calibre who guided many people in the Path. In 1119/1707-8 he died and was buried at Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 309.

Shah Najmu'd-Din Mandawi: He was the son of Saiyid Nizamu'd-Din bin Saiyid Mubarak Ghaznavi. He became a Sufi at an early age. His *pir* was Shah Khizr Rumi and under the latter's influence turned a *qalandar*. He died in Malwa in 852/1448-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 139-40.

Shah Ni'matu'llah Chisti: Most soldiers of Sultan Sikandar Lodi were his followers. He lies buried in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 179.

Shah Ni'matu'llah Shah, Saiyid of Kirman: He was known as the "King of Dervishes". Many *qalandars* in South Asia traced their spiritual descent from him. He is known for his apocalyptic sayings about the "Mishchief of the Last Day" and future events in the world. He died on 22 Rajab 834/5 April 1431 in Mahan near Kirman.

The *qalandars* in South Asia who traced their spiritual lineage to Ni'matu'llah believed that their founder accompanied Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Din Sam during his campaign against Prithviraj and was killed at Hansi. A number of *qalandars* of this order who gained some prominence in India between the fifteenth and seventeeth centuries also believed that Shah Ni'matu'llah's tomb was in Hansi, not in Kirman.

Maulavi Ahmad 'Ali Khairabadi, *Qasr-i 'Arifan* (*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1965, pp. 182-7).

Literary History of Persia, IV, 463-9.

Shah Ni'amatu'llah Qadiri Hisari: Claiming to be the direct descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, he came to Kashmir from Hisar (Panjab) during the reign of the Chaks (1555–86) and was a disciple of one Shaikh Muhammad Derwish Qadiri. During his sojourn at Chattabal in Srinagar, Shah Ni'amatu'llah laid the foundation of the Qadiriyya order in the Valley on a firm basis. He did not keep the company of the elite rich. Most of his time was spent in meditation and *sama'*. He enrolled many disciples, including Mir Mirak Andrabi and Hajji Baba Qadiri.

After playing an important role as a Qadiriyya Sufi in Kashmir, Shah Ni'amatu'llah left the Valley for India.

Shah Ni'amatu'llah Qadiri is popularly known in the Valley for his predictions about the political developments that took place in northern India after the decline of Mughal rule. Some of his forecasts are recorded in the *Tarikh-i Kabir* of Hajji Muhiu'd-Din Miskin.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 61-2.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 51.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (U), p. 269.

Shah Niyaz Ahmad: Born in Sirhind in 1173/1759-60, he obtained a formal education in his hometown. From there he went to Delhi at the age of seventeen and studied under Maulana Fakhru'd-Din. Having specialized in various branches of knowledge, he started a career as a teacher. But under the instructions of the Maulana who had already initiated him as a Chistiyya, Shah Niyaz established a *khanqah* at Bareilly in Western UP. He authored several works on Sufism which excelled in Arabic and Persian verses. His ideas on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, expressed in Urdu, were most perspicacious. According to him, the Lord of the Ka'ba and the idol temple were one and the same.

He died on 6 Jumada II 1250/10 October 1834.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 512-13.

Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi, *Riyazu'l-Fusaha*, Delhi, 1934, p. 259.

Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist*, V, pp. 279-89.

Shah Nizamu'd-Din: A *qalandar* who wandered in the streets, lanes, and markets, he smoked hemp and is said to have been a man of considerable spiritual attainments. He lies buried at Gandarpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 475-6.

Shah Nizamu'd-Din: He was the son and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi of Bareilly, Shah Niyaz Ahmad (d. 1250/1834).

Nizami, *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist*, V, p. 290.

Shah Nur: He was a disciple of Shah Dawud of Sirharpur. After giving up his ancestral occupation as a washerman, Shah Nur devoted himself to meditation. His disciple and *khalifa*, Shaikh Pirak, first lived in Ambala, but after Shaikh Qattal's death, came to Delhi to enrol disciples in the *silsilah* of his *pir*.

Shah Nur was a contemporary of the Lodhi sultans of Delhi and died in the early part of Akbar's reign.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 341.

Shah Pir: Originally a Hindu Zamindar named Birbar, he accepted Islam under the influence of the famous Chistiyya Sufi, Saiyid Miran Bhikh Chisti Sabiri (d. 1131/1718-19), living in the Delhi-Saharanpur region.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 489-92.

Shah Pirak: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shah Nur. After the death of Shaikh Qattal, he came to Delhi where he devoted himself to meditation at the former's tomb.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 341.

Shah Qamees: He was a son of Saiyid Abi al-Hayat and affiliated to the Qadiriyya order through Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq. He belonged to Bengal and had settled in the town of Salura Khizrabad. His steadfastness in Sufism earned him a great name. He died in 992/1584-5 and was buried at Salura in Bengal.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 364.

Shah Qasim Haqqani: He was a grandson of Mir Shamsu'd-Din Shami. Before his initiation into Sufism, he was known in Srinagar as Mulla Qasim as well as Hajji Qasim for his didactic and reformative role within the framework of the *Shari'ah*. He did not approve of Mir Muhammad Khalifa's practice of organizing *sama'* assemblies. However, Mulla Qasim could not stick to his reform programme after a meeting with Mir Muhammad Khalifa.

One day when Mir Muhammad Khalifa was absorbed in *sama'*, Mulla Qasim entered the assembly in a rage, wanting to beat his ecstatic disciples. But on seeing the Mir he began to shiver. The Mir then turning towards one of his disciples, called Shaikh Yusuf Shouqi, and remarked: "This is the time for hunting." Yusuf responded, "Why is there an urgency for taking out the dagger? Why are you restive? We will be killed ourselves (by the dagger of submission)."

On hearing the verse, Mulla Qasim fell into ecstasy. As he regained consciousness at the time of the midday prayer, Shaikh Yusuf started singing this verse: "O the huntsman, after experiencing union, how can you turn away from Truth? Enter your own self to unravel the inner Truth."

Thereafter Mulla Qasim could see with the eyes of his heart and the Truth dawned upon him. Mir Muhammad Khalifa offered him for his ablution water brought by his disciples. After they had finished with prayers, the Mir asked Mulla Qasim: "Would you remain a Mulla or become the Shah?" The Mulla replied: "As you wish." The Mir then remarked: "You will now be called the Shah under the orders of my *pir*, Hazrat Ishan."

The initiation of Shah Qasim Haqqani in the Kubrawiyya order at the hands of Mir Muhammad Khalifa was followed by his visit to the village of Kreiri in the company of his *pir*. There he was asked to spend some time with Mir Hamza Kreiri to receive spiritual training. When Hazrat Ishan (Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi) came to Kashmir after his travels abroad he enrolled Shah Qasim as a disciple. Towards the end of his life, Hazrat Ishan bestowed on him, his favourite disciple, his *khirqa*, and appointed him his *khalifa*.

After the death of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, Shah Qasim Haqqani performed *hajj* and met a number of Sufis during his journey. At Ujjain he met Shaikh Faizu'llah Qadiri in a forest and went on a fast for 40 days. Pleased with his austerities, Shaikh Faizu'llah initiated him in the Qadiriyya order and authorized him to enrol disciples. He is also said to have vouchsafed him some gifts belonging to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani and Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani which have been preserved to this day at the shrine of Shah Qasim Haqqani at Narparistan in Srinagar. In Surat he met Khwaja Jamalu'd-Din *alias* Khwaja Diwana. From him he obtained initiation in the Naqshbandiyya order. At Fatehpur Sikri, Shaikh Salim Chisti initiated Shah Qasim Haqqani as a Chistiyya. He gifted him the turban of Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti.

On his return home, Shah Qasim Haqqani dedicated himself to the spiritual elevation of a seeker of the Truth. He is said to have enrolled innumerable disciples.

The extent of miracles attributed to Shah Qasim Haqqani is large; the only conclusion to be derived from the eulogization of his miraculous powers is his role in the dissemination of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya, Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Chistiyya orders in the Valley. His fondness for *sama'* developed into a resilient tradition of Sufism in Kashmir. Even now the *'urs* of Shah Qasim Haqqani is marked by *sama'* assemblies organized by his living descendant, 'Abdu'l-Hamid Haqqani.

Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri and Shoga Baba are said to have once called on Shah Qasim Haqqani at his abode in Narparistan.

Shah Qasim Haqqani died on 29 Rabi'al-Sani 1033/11 February 1624.

'Azizu'llah Haqqani, *Lata'ifu'l-Haqqani*, Urdu tr. Ghulam Rasul Bhat with an introduction by Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Badgam, 1999.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 211-12.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 221-6.

Shah Qubtu'd-Din: He lost his illustrious father, Shah Qasim Haqqani, at the age of twelve. But before his death, Shah Qasim had put his son under the guidance of his *khalifa*, Khwaja Qasim Tashwani. When Qutbu'd-Din was seventeen, the *murshid* authorized him to enrol disciples in the Kubrawiyya order. He is buried at his ancestral graveyard at Narparistan in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 284.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 269.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 211.

Shah Rahmatu'llah: He was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Mirza Jan-i Janan (d. 1195/1781). He led a retired life and refused gifts from the affluent.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 688.

Shah Raju: He belonged to Bijapur and was affiliated to the Chistiyya order. He later migrated to Golconda. Author of the *Suhagan-nama*, a married-woman's song, Shah Raju died in 1681 or 1685.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan, I, pp. 337-41.

Suhagan-nama, Hyderabad, Urdu MS, Pand & Nasayih no. 144, fols. 1a-5a.

Shah Ra'uf Ahmad: He compiled the *malfuzat* of Shah Ghulam 'Ali Dihlawi, the distinguished *khalifa* of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Mazhar Jan-i Janan. It was published by Maktaba-i Islamia. See *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, Urdu tr., pp. 32-3.

Shah Saidu: He was a disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din (d. 853/1449-50) of Manikpur, near Allahabad, in the modern district of Pratabgarh. Overwhelmed with the ecstactic urge, he resigned government service, distributed his whole property, and became a *khalifa* of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din. He married a girl whom he loved and she chose a life of poverty in the manner of her husband. Shaikh Saidu lies buried in Fathpur Hanswa, a town between Kanpur and Allahabad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 342-3.

Shah Shafi: He was a disciple and successor of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Taha of Kattana (d. 1084/1673), in Istanbul.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 149.

Shah Sulaiman: He was a successor of Shah Ma'ruf Chisti-Qadiri (d. 987/1579-80). Being the son of a villager in Bhilluwal near Lahore, Shah Sulaiman mixed freely with members of several so-called lowly professions including Muslim shoemakers. It was because of his social influence that the attitude of the "snobbish" Muslim *chaudhris* towards the underprivileged sections of Muslim society softened, though it did not radically change. The Shah died in 1065/1654-5.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 172.

Shah Tahir: One of the revered *khalifas* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Haja Baba, he was known for his piety and strict adherence to the *Shari'ah*. He is entombed in Darnan village in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Shah Taufiq Khwujundi: Driven by the blows and buffets of fortune, he migrated to Kashmir from Khwujund at the age of twenty-five. Here he became the disciple of Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif and, after his *murshid's* death, enrolled as the disciple of *Khalifa* 'Abdu'llah Zewani. Later, he also received spiritual guidance from the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman, and attained to immeasurable spiritual heights. After his death in 1205/1799, Shah Taufiq was buried in the cemetery of Saiyid Kabir Baihaqi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 367.

Shah Turkman Sahib: He migrated to India from Khurasan. Nothing further is known about him beyond the fact that he was a disciple of the celebrated Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi whose tomb was identified by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq somewhere on the road leading to Firuzabad from Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 48-9.

Shah 'Umar: He was affiliated to the Chistiyya order who is commended by Ghausi Shattari for his service to the cause of Sufism.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 502.

Shah Waliu'llah: Born in 1703, he was the son of Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, one of the compilers of *Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri*, the encyclopaedic anthology of religious pronouncements commissioned by Aurangeb. After studying under the care of his father, he succeeded him at the age of sixteen as head of the Rahimiyya Madrasa, founded by his grandfather. He went to Mecca in 1730, performed *hajj*, and during his two-years stay in the holy cities studied *Hadis* under the guidance of such teachers as tutored his contemporary, 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, the radical reformer of Arabia. However, Waliu'llah differed from 'Abdu'l-Wahhab in several vital respects, thanks to the development of his religious ideas (inspired by a deep study of the Qur'an, *Hadis* and *Tasawwuf*) during the crisis facing the Indian Muslims following the decline of the Mughal rule.

Deeply conscious of the social atrophe of his co-religionists, Waliu'llah did not seek to revitalize their faith in Islam in strictly religio-political terms. Being a thinker in both spiritual and historical terms, he thought that Islam in India was facing the crisis of the authority and power of the *Shari'ah* in the face of social and political degradation. Far from being exclusively theological or political or, for that matter, spiritual in his approach to the crucial question of socio-religious and political crisis, he endeavoured to formulate his ideas within the integrative and creative framework of a religious philosophy that defied blind adherence (*taqlid*) to the exoteric and esoteric tradition of Islam. Profoundly aware of the roots of Islam in India in *tasawwuf*, he aimed at conciliation (*tatbiq*) in respect of some important issues. Waliu'llah's outstanding contribution was the *Hujjat Allah al-baliga*. This work contains an elaborate discussion on theological issues, economics, priniciples of good governance, man's spiritual development etc. Central to Waliu'llah's practical theology is his concern for the welfare of the people (*maslaha*) which is based on the relationship of man's development with the creative forces of the universe. Considering that the Prophet Muhammad combined in himself all the qualities of the messenger (*rasul*), vicegerent (*khalifa*), leader (*ra'is*), scholar (*'alim*), ascetic (*zahid*) and spiritual guide (*murshid*) in himself, he played a significant spiritual and historical role in shaping the development of human society in a creative direction. As a true servant (*'abd*) of God and the follower of the Prophet, Waliu'llah took upon himself the task of checking the spiritual decadence of Islam in India. Not unlike Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi before him, he regarded himself as a *mujaddid*, a renovator. In this capacity, his duty was to cleanse his religion from the undue assumptions of "plagiarists", and "when the circle of wisdom, *hikma*, was finished for him, God invested him with the robe of renovatorship, nay, with robe of *haqqaniyya*, participation in the Divine Truth". As A. Schimmel rightly and succinctly observes: "God often addressed him, spoke through his tongue, granted him hitherto unknown wisdom and taught him a shortcut in the mystical path. The Prophet, too, blessed him that he should gather a small group of the 'nation that is forgiven' around him. He also received traditions from the Prophet in his dreams. These, however, have to be considered relevant only for the dreamer, to the exclusion of the community."

Not surprisingly, therefore, Waliu'llah sought to reconcile the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, but only after personally experiencing complete annihilation (*fana*) in the unity of Being and the unity of abiding in God's essence (*baqa*). As the religious pivot of the age (*qa'im-i al-zaman*), the title that he adopted rather unassumingly under divine inspiration to reaffirm the hierachical spiritual role of the *qutb*, Waliu'llah addressed himself to ordering the external (*zahiri*) and internal (*batini*) life of the members of his society. In this role, Waliu'llah did not simply work to restore the pristine purity of the *Shari'ah*, but also to stress the importance of resolving the differences amongst the four schools of Sunni thought. In his view, the main aim of the religious law was to cultivate the self and preach and revitalize the religious life for the service and organization of human society. Considering that a juridical formulation had only a relative rather than an absolute value, he laid emphasis on recourse to the Qur'an and *Hadis,* the two main sources of law, in a matter in which the Qur'an and *Hadis* has a clear injunction as against the legal opinion of a particular *imam.*

Waliu'llah's criticism of the evils that had crept into Sufism in India was thus based on his deeper understanding of the *Shari'ah* and Sufism. Although strongly rooted in Sufism, he did not approve of the pilgrimages of the tombs of the Sufis, if undertaken merely for the fulfilment of a material need. In *Tafhimat* his strong denunciation of visits to shrines for mere material wants actually points to the supreme importance of visiting the tombs for solemn spiritual purposes. "Everyone who goes to the country of Ajmer or to the tomb of Salar Mas'ud or similar places because of a need which he wants to be fulfilled is a sinner who commits a sin greater than murder or adultery. Is he not like those who call to Lat and 'Uzza? Only we cannot call them infidels because there is no clear next in the Qur'an on this particular matter. . . ." Waliu'llah even went to the extent of stating that the books of the Sufis were for the elite whereas for common people they were a danger. He condemns false Sufis as highway robbers and thieves of religion.

Shah Waliu'llah received initiation into the Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya, and Chistiyya orders. As he observed: "The *nisba* that I received from Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani is purer and subtler; the *nisba* that I received from Khwaja Naqshband is more overpowering and effective; the one that I received from Khwaja Mu'inuddin is nearer to love, and more conducive to the effect of the [Divine] Names and purity of thought."

Shah Waliu'llah, *al-Tafhimat al-ilahiyya*, ed. G.M. al-Qasimi, Hyderabad/Sindh, II, pp. 55-6; 181.

Bruce Lawrence (ed.), *The Rose and the Rock*, University of North Carolina, Durham, 1979.

A. Schimmel, *Pain and Grace*, Leiden 1976, Part I.

J.M.S. Baljon, 'The Qur'anic views of Ubayd Allah Sindhi and Shah Wali Allah', *Islamic Studies* XVI, 1977.

Shah Yusuf Multani: See Shah Gardiz.

Shah Zainu'd-Din Ganj Nishin: He came to India from Baghdad and settled in Bidar. The reigning sultan personally welcomed the Qadiriyya Sufi to the city. Ganj Nishin died in AD 1457.

Yazdani, *Bidar*, p. 174.

Shahpur Hillock: This was an important centre of the Chistiyya order in Bijapur in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No traces of Shah Miranji's original *khanqah* can be found on it; only a small gravestone marks the place where he was laid to rest. However, the present fame of the hill is due to Shah Miranji's son and grandson, Burhanu'd-Din Janam and particularly Aminu'd-Din. Known today as the "Amin Dargah", Shahpur Hillock's major attractions for devotees are the large tombs of Burhanu'd-Din Janam and Aminu'd-Din.

Shaikh: A title of respect given to various Sufis, or elderly Muslims in general; a Muslim professing Arab descent. While converts to Islam generally assumed this title, it is also significant to note that, generally, every Kashmiri Muslim addresses the Muslim scavenger by the title of Shaikh. In fact, the community of scavengers and cobblers in the Valley has, since its assimilation in Islam, been known as "the Shaikh community". What is more, there exists a strong tradition in Kashmir that the *Qutb* is a cobbler or a scavenger by virtue of his profession, the humblest of all. Stories about the most exalted rank of an unknown cobbler, because of his piety and humility, still current in certain circles, actually point to the spirited societal response that Sufism evoked in the caste-ridden Kashmiri Brahmanic society.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam, p. 277.

Shaikh 'Abdi: An *'abid*, *mutawakkil*, and an *'arif* of his time, he had an abundant love for the Prophet Muhammad. The assembly of *maulud* was often organized by him to show his veneration for the Prophet.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 368.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz: Popularly known as 'Azizu'l-Haqq, he was the son of Shaikh Kamalu'l-Haqq Hasan bin Tahir Jaunpuri. His father entrusted him to the spiritual care of Maulana Qazi Khan Nasihi Zafarabadi. Later, he delivered serious lessons on *Fusus al-Hikam*. He died in 975/1567-8 and is entombed in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 285.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz: A *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim of Ujjain.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 293.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Gani Lankar: He was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by Baba Hashim Paloo. He had a profound knowledge of Sufism. After the death of his *murshid*, he received initiation from 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Naqshbandi in the Naqshbandiyya order. His numerous disciples included Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadli. He died at the age of 70 and lies buried at the *mohalla* of Dukan Sangin in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 323, 355-60.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 444.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 236.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Gani Nawhatta: He was a *khalifa* of Naji Rishi of Kashmir. A venerable Sufi whose tomb is not known.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghafur A'zampuri: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi who had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 384.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghafur bin Dawud bin Khan Qadiri: Nephew of Shaikh Raji Muhammad Qadiri of Ujjain, he was born in Bayas, and received guidance form his uncle. He performed *hajj*. He died in 1005/1596-7 and is entombed in Ujjain.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 379-80.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ghafur Ghazi: He resigned from a *mansab* held by him in the Mughal imperial service to become the disciple of Shaikh Ma'sum Sirhindi. On reaching Kashmir he secluded himself in a garden in the city and later shifted to his house at Chhatabal. He wrote a tract on the Sufis of Kashmir in verse under the name of Ghazi. Known for his steadfastness in remembering Allah in accordance with the Naqshbandiyya pratice, he is said to have informed his friends about his death before the event. He is entombed in the garden of Sultan Mir Qazi to the west of 'Idgah in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 287.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Manu: He was the grandson of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din and also his disciple. He travelled in India and Khurasan widely. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as a close relative. He died in 989/1581-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 477.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ha'i: He was a senior contemporary of Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim who evoked the latter's praise for his righteousness as a Sufi.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 36-7.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hakim: Originally a soldier, he became a *khalifa* of Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab. He died in 982/1574-5 and is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 290-1.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Jalil Nagauri: A Chistiyya Sufi who generally remained in a state of *sukr*, he also conversed with the intellectuals.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 364.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim: He was a disciple of Shaikh Fathu'llah Sani. He was a Kubrawiyya Sufi of great merit who concealed his spiritual identity as a seller of a kind of braised meat, to which are added cooked rice, cinnamon, aromatic herbs and oil (*harisa*), in Srinagar. Remarkably, however, it was his daily practice to distribute half this delicious food among the poor and the needy. He shot into prominence as a Sufi at the time of a famine in Kashmir. It is said that one of the spiritual elite had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad who directed him to request 'Abdu'l-Karim to pray for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people. Accordingly, 'Abdu'l-Karim led the *namaz-i istisqa* at the 'Idgah in Srinagar. His supplications are said to have moved the grain merchants to such an extent that they sold everything in the market that they had hoarded in their stores.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim lies buried in the cemetery of Saiyid Muhammad Khawari in 'Ala'u'd-Din-Pura, Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 191-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 200-7.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim: He was the son and successor of Raji Muhammad 'Aini of Ujjain. His moral excellence, righteousness, truthfulness, friendliness and hospitable temperament have earned the encomium of Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. He died in 1005/1596-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 292-3.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shahbaz Qalandar. He died at the age of 96 in 982/1574-5. He is entombed in Khandesh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 399-400.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim Chisti: Described as a Sufi of great merit, this disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti lies buried at Baghwanpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 362.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif Bak: He was a Kashmiri Sufi who was a disciple of Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 366.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif bin Shaikh Nur Muhammad Ahmedabadi: He was a Shattariyya Sufi who lived in self-abnegation. He was a contemporary of Muhammad Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 492-3.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif Kaul: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Faizu'llah Zargar in the Qadiriyya order, he was noted for his spiritual excellence and culture. His tomb is somewhere at the foot of the Hariparbat Hillock in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 318.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 240.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif Qadiri: He belonged to one of the wealthiest families of Srinagar. After obtaining knowledge of exoteric sciences, he sought the spiritual guidance of an unlettered Sufi of the village of Anburhel, Shaikh Isma'il Ummi. Often, he kept the company of Khwaja Abu'l-Fath Kulu, and derived immense spiritual benefit from him concerning the teachings of the Qadiriyya order. Later, he settled at the village of Anburhel in Anchar.

Diddamari speaks highly of 'Abdu'l-Latif's spirituality and knowledge of the Qur'an and *Hadis*, notwithstanding his self-denial and recourse to frequent *chillas*. He is said to have enjoyed an exalted position in the hierarchy of the Sufis because of his steadfastness in the Path within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*. Diddamari refers to his meeting with the Shaikh along with his *murshid*, Muhammd Murad Tang. So indelible was the impact of this meeting on Diddamari that he later kept the company of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif for many years for his own spiritual well-being.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif died on 15 Sha'ban 1134/ 20 May 1722. He lies buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid* at the village of Anchar in the Kashmir Valley.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 400-1.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 314.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif Tambaku Farosh: A Kashmiri who was a relative of Baba 'Abdu'n-Nabi Kubrawi, he kept his identity as a Sufi concealed.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 318.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik: Although rooted in exoteric learning, his heart was filled with the light of spiritual knowledge. He is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 369.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Abbasi: Born in Ahmedabad, he received a good education in *Hadis* by the standards of the time. Always absorbed in prayers, he was a Sufi scholar with a radiant heart. He died in 972/1564-5 and is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 284.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mumin: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad bin Shaikh Khalil Chisti. He succeeded his father, performed *hajj* and is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 276.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus: He came from Rudauli and was born in AD 1456. His father, Shaikh Isma'il, was an *'alim* and a friend of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. He was initiated into the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya order of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Despite the fact that Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus received a formal education from distinguished ulama, he preferred to live like an ascetic. His parents forced him to marry, but he spent most of his time at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Ahmad at the cost of his family, in prayer and meditation.

At the invitation of 'Umar Khan Sarwani, the *wazir* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, the Shaikh migrated to Shahabad, in Ambala near Delhi, in 1491. He did not accept either financial assistance or land grants.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus enjoyed cordial relations with Sultan Sikandar. His letter to the Sultan is written with the main aim of making him conscious of his duties as a ruler. Unlike the traditional Chistiyya practice of dissociation from politics, the Shaikh seems to have been inspired by the Perso-Islamic principles of government defined by Ghazali. Considering the sultan to be the Shadow of God on Earth, the Shaikh's advice to the ruler is to protect the weak, the holy, the ulama and Sufis on the basis of good governance. For him an hour spent by a ruler in pursuit of justice was more praiseworthy than sixty hours of prayer by others. The strong ruler was an answer to anarchy; hence both religion and state could derive strength under the fostering care of rulers. Societies required kings just as the body needed the soul.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus, his son, and a Saiyid servant had accompanied the rear of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi's army at the time of the first battle of Panipat on 20 April 1526. After the defeat they were taken to Delhi as captives. Since Babur had great respect for Sufis, he released the Shaikh.

Thereupon he retired to Gangoh where he lived for the rest of his life.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus's letter to the Emperor beseeching him to honour ulama, and holy men (*aima*), as against Babur's plans to impose one-tenth of the produce (*'ushr*) on their rent-free grants shows his concern for the community that he considered vital for social stability and the enforcement of the *Shari'ah*. He was of the view that land revenue (*jama'*) should be realized in accordance with the traditions of the Khulfa-i Rashidun and their successors. The appointment of officers for the enforcement of Islamic law in urban areas (*muhtasibs*) was therefore pleaded by the Shaikh in order to ensure the success of Islam. True, the Shaikh did not favour the appointment of Hindus to high administrative posts; but it is certain that his attitude towards them was not entirely borne out by religious considerations. Like many, he regarded the Hindu officers of the *diwan* responsible for the financial troubles of the upper strata of Muslim society. One cannot describe the attitude of the Shaikh against the Hindus as wholly hostile on the basis of this letter. One has to carefully consider Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus's Hindi compositions in his *Rushd-Nama* under the *nom de plume* Alakh. The latter, known as *Alakbhani*, reveals the Shaikh as a Sufi making the deepest truths intelligible in Hindi idiom. Notwithstanding Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus's and his son's criticism of *kufr*, the latter's explanation in favour of Indian religions as founded on the *Tawhid* against the Qur'anic dictum of a messenger for each nation lends a certain degree of objectivity to his argument.

A Hindi verse, *Giri Parbat Bich Base Hamaro Mit*, "Our Love crosses Obstacles of Obstacles of Mountains" so passionately stirred Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus to contemplate God's omnipotence, that he was impelled to write a long letter to Bahlul Sufi for the elucidation of the subtleties contained in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. In his view, *kufr* and sin alone do not blur the perception of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, but faith, submission, prayer, goodness and so on, could also be obstacles in the Path.

Love was described by the Shaikh as the primary factor behind the whole creation. In a letter to Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari, he quotes several Hindi verses in support of his argument. In a different letter to Shaikh Jalal, 'Abdu'l-Quddus quotes the verse: "Had the idol worshippers been able to comprehend the truth about the idol, they would have not been led astray." He goes on to say that one who had learnt to recognize God saw nothing but Him. Such being the case, the worship of stone was an act of vanity. He then referred to a Persian verse of Shaikh Bu 'Ali Qalandar, and had recourse to a *doha* from the *Chanda'in* to support it. Rizvi translates the verse as "Whatever form You assume, people prostrate, But they don't eat any fruit from the garden of your Love."

'Abdu'l-Quddus's *Anwaru'l-'Uyun* and the *Rushd-Nama*, probably written at Rudauli, deal with Sufism. Other works include Persian poetical translation of the *Chanda'in*, which is not extant. *Nuru'l-Huda* is a short treatise intended to supplement the *Rushd-Nama* (Ethe, 1924 (14)). The *Qurratu'l-'Ain* contained a lengthy discussion of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* (Ethe, 1924 (16)). 'Abdu'l-Haqq mentions the *Risala-i Qudsiyya* as one of his treatises. The Shaikh's letters were compiled by his disciple, Buddhan, the son of Rukn Siddiqi of Jaunpur, under the title the *Maktubat-i Quddusiyya*. Containing 189 letters, the compilation covers more or less every major Sufi theme. It also contains several Hindi verses.

Humayun visited the *khanqah* of the Shaikh in Gangoh.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus died on 23 Jumada II 944/27 November 1537.

Maktubat-i Quddusiyya, Delhi, 1871.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 383-7.

A'in-i Akbari, III, p. 176.

Lata'if-i Quddusi, Delhi, 1311/1894, p. 70.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 216-17.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 339-49.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Shukur: He was a Kashmiri *khalifa* of Nur Muhammad Parwana.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Afghan: A *murid* of Shaikh Fazlu'llah bin Husain Multani Chisti. A soldier by profession, he was once overcome with divine love. Subsequently, he devoted himself to God. Known for his generosity and concern for orphans, he died in 990/1582-3. He lies entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 327-8.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri: He was the grandson of Baba 'Usman Ucchap Gana'i. On completing his formal education, he became a disciple of Mirza

Akmalu’d-Din. After being initiated into the Kubrawiyya order, he obtained the *khat-i irshad* and *khilafat*. He also benefitted from the company of Qazi Daulat Shah Yassawi. Later, the Qazi’s *khalifa*, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Toba’i, initiated him into the Yassawiyya order.

‘Abdu’l-Wahhab Nuri spent his life in relative seclusion devoting himself to meditations, self-denial, and writing. His *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya* deals with the history of the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir. Another work authored by him was *‘Ainu’l-‘Irfan*.

On 11 Rabi‘u’s-Sani 1186/12 July 1772 ‘Abdu’l-Wahhab Nuri died and was buried at Zainakadal, Srinagar near the shrine of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Badru’d-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 343.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Wahid: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad. He was initiated into the Chistiyya order by ‘Abdu’l-Awwal during the days of his youth. Later he entered the discipleship of Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah Shattari (d. 1002/1594). Such was his burning love for the Creator that while in his early thirties he remained in spiritual rapture for three years. He died in 1017/1608-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 445.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah: His ancestral home was Ahmedabad but he was brought up in Medina where he gained excellence in *Hadis* and *fiqh*. He came to India in 977/1569-70 and after staying in Ahmedabad for some time left for Mecca.

‘Abdu’l-Haqq quotes Khwaja ‘Abu’l-Shahid ‘Ubaidu’llahi in praise of Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah for his profound knowledge of *Hadis* and moral excellence. Both Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah and Shaikh Rahmat-u’llah were close friends and were the favourite disciples and *khalifas* of Shaikh ‘Ali Muttaqi.

Akhbaru’l-Akhyar (U), pp. 468-9.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba ‘Abdu’llah Garziyali. True to the traditions of his order, Shaikh ‘Abdullah founded many mosques in the *pargana* of Lar and crusaded against reprehensible *bid‘a*. He took great care to bring home to the people the importance of following *Sunnah* in everyday life. He is entombed at Kangan in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 321.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah *alias* Aba Baiyu: He was an ascetic who followed the way of life of the Rishis after becoming a disciple of Hajji Bahram Kamraji. He often visited the tomb of Saiyid Ahmad at Batmaloo (a locality of Srinagar) and derived spiritual bliss from the spirit of the deceased Sufi. Notwithstanding his austerities and spiritual ecstasy, Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah followed the *Shari‘ah* strictly, and elicited the praise of his contemporary Naqshbandiyya writer, Khwaja Muhammad A‘zam Diddamari.

Diddamari, *Waqi‘at* (US), p. 440.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah: Originally a Hindu Kayastha from Asiwan (in the Unnao district), he embraced Islam and went into a state of ecstasy upon reading some Arabic verses in the *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa‘di, eulogizing the Prophet Muhammad. The young boy approached Shaikh Jalalu’d-Din Kasi (d. 1013/1604-5), a leading Sufi of the Afghan origin settled in Bangarmao (present-day district of Unnao, UP) for guidance. The Shaikh initiated this convert to Islam as a Chistiyya and appointed him a *khalifa*.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah proved to be a true successor of his *pir*. Most of his time was spent in meditation and prayer. For most of his life after his conversion, he stayed awake at night reciting the Qur’an. One of his disciples was Shaikh Taha of Rae-Bareilly who gained considerable fame.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah died in 1034/1624-5.

Ma‘ariju’l-Wilayat (R), ff. 307b-308b.

Mir’atu’l-Asrar (U), pp. 834-5.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, p. 292.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah: Son of the distinguished Shattariyya Sufi scholar, Shaikh Wajihu’d-Din (d. 997/1589), he was devoted to learning and teaching at his father’s *khanqah*. As an ascetic, he subsisted on sugarcandy and syrup. He earned a living by copying manuscripts. Mirza Koka, Akbar’s foster brother, believed that he owed his victory over Sorath in 999/1591 to his spiritual prowess.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 430-1.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah: Little is known about him except that he was a perfect *Wali* and that he lies buried at the town of Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’llah Bayabani: The son of Shaikh Sama u’d-Din (d. 901/1496). His ascetic temperament was in conflict with conjugal life; hence he deserted his wife, regarding her a distraction to meditation. He once urged either Sultan Sikandar Lodi or Ibrahim Lodi to order the release of some Saiyids imprisoned by the government. Considering the sultan to be cruel for ignoring his advice, the Shaikh left Delhi for Mandu where he spent the rest of his life as a hermit.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 372.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 203-4.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Chak: He was a disciple of the noted Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shah Qasim Haqqani. He was endowed with the *ma'rifah*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 268.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Kathwas: He was an Uwasiyya Sufi who is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 358.

Shaikh 'Abdullah' ***alias*** **Abli Baiyu:** He was a *khalifa* of Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi. Like many Kubrawiyya Sufis of Kashmir, he had a passion for Sufi music and loved beauty. Often, he was overwhelmed with rapture. He did not build a house for himself but spent his whole life in the houses of his friends and followers. His tomb lies at Malarata in the cemetery of Mir Mirak Andrabi in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 287.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 219.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Majzub Qadiri Baghdadi: This disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Burqaposh was a descendant of Saiyid Muhiu'd-Din Jili. He came to India from Baghdad and lived for some time at Fatehpur in Sialkot. He then took up his residence in the town of Dasur in 980/1572-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 499-500.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Makhdumi: He belonged to Kashmir; initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. After gaining excellence in exoteric and esoteric knowledge, his *murshid* entrusted him to the care of his disciple, Baba Ayatu'llah. From the latter he received *irshad*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 385.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Qadimi: Sunk in the ocean of divine love, he died in the place of his birth, Mandu, in 999/1590-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 361.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Salari ***alias*** **Dawud Ba'i:** He belonged to the family of Chaks of Trahgam in Kashmir. After being initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Isma'il Qadiri, he cut-off all relations with the world and, instead, served his mentor for 27 years. Throughout this period he adhered to the *Shari'ah* and remained steadfast in following the practices of his *silsilah*. For eight years after the death of his *murshid*, Dawud Ba'i lived in Kamraz and engaged in various kinds of austerities and meditations at different places. However, so overwhelming was the impact of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* on him that he transgressed the limits of both *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. After wandering through the wilderness for some time in such a state, he ultimately died on 9 Zilhaj 1079/1 May 1669 at the age of ninety. He lies buried the village of Salar in Kashmir.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 177-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 467-8.

Shaikh 'Abid: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. Initiated as a Chistiyya, Shaikh 'Abid earned respect for his affable manners and spirituality. He lies buried in the graveyard of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 322.

Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus. After obtaining education in religious sciences he went to Mecca early in his life. There he learnt at the feet of the ulama and *fuqaha*. After returning home, he first wrote a book in favour of *qawwali* but later produced a treatise justifying the injunctions of the ulama and some Sufis against *qawwali*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 384-5.

Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi Mirjanpuri: Proficient in *Hadis*. It was from his grandfather, Maulavi Mahmud Misri, that he received initiation into Sufism and guided people in the Naqshbandiyya order at the house of Khwaja Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi. He was buried at Mirjanpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 377.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim: He obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Dihlawi. Later, he received *khat-i irshad* from Baba 'Usman Qadiri. His tomb lies at Soura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 337.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim: He was a Kashmiri Hindu who belonged to the tribe of the Chaudris. He embraced Islam at the hands of Naji Baba Rishi. Having resigned from government service, he devoted himself to the worship of one God. Later in life he was initiated by Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Naushahri into the Kubrawiyya order, and, after living in solitude for many years, got married and finally settled at Rainawari in Srinagar. He dug his own grave during his lifetime near the mausoleum of Miyan Manak Shah on the bank of the Nalla Mar. It was his usual practice to engage in *muraqaba* after the *'asr* prayers until evening.

Known for his spirituality and miracles, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim died in Shawwal 1120/December 1708.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 164-5.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 360.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 295-6.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 227.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim/Daribali: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Nur Muhammad Parwana.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 221.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim Gujarati: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ibrahim Qari Sindhi. He died in 1005/1596-7 and is entombed in Adilpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 380.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri: He was the son of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri and a *khalifa* of Miyan Mir Lahori. From Akhwund Mulla Shah and Khwaja Hasan Buchh he received initiation into the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Suhrawardiyya orders. Most of his time was spent giving lessons on the Qur'an. His contemporary, Muhammad Amin Dhar, had a high opinion of his spiritual calibre. Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, another contemporary of 'Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri, testifies to the latter's spiritual excellence. He reverentially refers to his constant visits to the residence of the Qadiriyya Sufi during the days of his youth in order to seek his blessings.

On 2 Safar 1115/6 June 1703, 'Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri died. He lies buried near the shrine of Saiyid Sadru'd-Din at Zainkadal in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 165.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 338-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 292-3.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Owngami: He was the son of Baba Muqim. He received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Salih. Known for his strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* and the *Sunnah*, he was a Sufi of finest qualities. Although he is credited with having performed several miracles, he was also a physician and treated his patients with the herbs of the forest. On 7 Rajab 1271/26 March 1855 he died and was buried at Owngam in the tehsil of Bandipura in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 390-1.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid: Son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, he first received guidance in Sufism from his father. Later he was initiated as Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi. For several years he served his *murshid* until he returned to Kashmir. Again, he left the Valley and accompanied his *murshid* to Shahjahanabad. When 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi died at Shahjahanabad, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid brought his corpse to Sirhind for burial. After some time he returned to Kashmir and addressed himself to the task of popularizing the Naqshbandiyya order among his compatriots. In spite of an illness he went on *hajj* at the age of 54. On his return to India from the holy land, he died on 27 Rajab 1155/17 September 1742 at Shahjahanabad and was buried there.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 445-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 242.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid Chikni: He left the Valley for the plains to seek a spiritual guide, and received initiation into the Qadiriyya order from Shah Badru'd-Din Qadiri. After returing to Kashmir, he secluded himself in a cave dug out by him inside the Hariparbat Fort in Srinagar. Notwithstanding his acesticism, the Shaikh once proceeded to the shrine of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi on a pilgrimage. He died on 29 Zilhaj 1119/11 March 1708 and is entombed near the cave at the Hariparbat Fort.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 346.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 295.

Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 324.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid, Diwan: This son of Shaikh Mustafa 'Abdu'l-Hamid 'Usman lived in Jaunpur and was initiated as a Chistiyya by his father. Later he also became a Qadiriyya.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, iii, pp. 98-100.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rasul *alias* Lasa Baiyu: He was a disciple and chosen *khalifa* of Shah Abu'l-Fath. He was also devoted to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim Maantju and benefited from this association. A Sufi of intrinsic worth, the Shaikh is said to have fallen into rhapsody on watching the waterfall at Ahrabal in Kashmir. So overwhelming was his spiritual experience that he fell into the river and had a miraculous escape. The date of his death is not known, though he is entombed at Qalashpura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 347.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kamalu'd-Din Kashani: He was the son of 'Abdu'l-Ghana'im al-Kashani. The prominent Sufi Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, before coming to India, studied Sufism under his guidance in Kashan. What prompted Simnani to move to Kashan was a study of the controversial letters exchanged between Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq and Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani. The latter was a brilliant interpreter of the works of Ibn al-'Arabi and wrote a dictionary of Sufism called *Istilahat al-Sufiyya*. Simnani introduced this work to several Sufis in India and emphasized its importance for understanding Sufism.

'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kamalu'd-Din Kashani died in 730/1329.

Jami, *Nafahatu'l-Uns*, Newal Kishore, 1915, pp. 482-91.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Naqshbandi: Born in Sopur, he went to Pakhli at a young age where he kept the company of a revered Sufi for six years. However, when the latter left his abode for Kashmir, the former proceeded to Lahore against the wishes of his *pir*. After visiting the Valley, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq's initial teacher went to Lahore and advised his pupil to move to Srinagar. It was there that 'Abdu'r-Razzaq was initiated into Sufism by Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil and he also appointed him his successor. He died in 1209 and was buried at Wantpora in the city.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 369-70.

Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sabur *alias* Bastal: A *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, he was a Sufi of excellent merits and popularized the Qadiriyya order. Such was his *taqwa* that he did not feel shy of grazing cattle in order to earn his livelihood. His tomb at Gandarpura in Kashmir is a place of veneration.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 416.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 319.

Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sabur Zargar: He was originally a disciple of Shaikh Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri. Later he was initiated as Naqshbandiyya by Miyan Muhtaram Lahori and authorized to enrol disciples in the order. He lies buried at the cemetery of Baba Hajji Adham in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Shaikh 'Abdu's-Salam: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sabur. He secluded himself in the mosque of Mir Muhammad Amin Uwaiysi for 40 years. A Sufi of great merit, 'Abdu's-Salam lies buried in the cemetery of Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 367.

Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sattar: He was a Shattariyya Sufi whose knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences elicits the praise of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 493-4.

Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sattar: Little is known about him save that he was a Kashmiri Sufi of piety and pleasant manners.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Shaikh 'Abdu'sh-Shukur: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hakim (d. 982/1574-5) of Kalpi. Such was the quality of his faith and *tawwakul* that he did not accept any gift from the government. Like his father, he led a secluded life.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 290-1.

Shaikh Abu Jeev: He was the son of Khizr. Born in Gujarat, he was a Sufi gifted with numerous virtues. Initiated by Shaikh Fazlu'llah Gujarati, he is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 314.

Shaikh Abu Muhammad: A descendant of Shaikh Salah Sufi and a contemporary of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Awadhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 827.

Shaikh Abu Yazid: He was the son of Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. Initiated into Sufism by Saiyid Ibrahim Bahkkari, he died in 999/1590-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 361-2.

Shaikh Abu'l-Fath: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who enjoyed the company of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (d. 975/1567-8) and Shaikh Nizam Narnuli. Shah Waliu'llah refers to a tract containing invocatory prayers and other *waza'if* authored by Abu'l-Fath.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 358-60.

Shaikh 'Abu'l-Fath: Born on 14 Muharram 772/8 August 1370, he was a grandson of Qazi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir. Having been trained by the latter, 'Abu'l-Fath proved to be an excellent scholar and devoted himself to teaching and the dissemination of knowledge.

He migrated to Jaunpur in the wake of Timur's invasion of Delhi. It appears from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's account that 'Abu'l-Fath lived in poverty and did not accept any government office. His disagreements with Qazi Shihabu'd-Din over the interpretation of the controversial aspects of *Fiqh* were compiled into treatises.

He died on 13 Rabi' I 858/13 March 1454.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 310-12.

Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Dihlawi: He was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz who came to Gujarat from Gulbargh after obtaining permission from his *pir.* He was a source of spiritual guidance for several venerable Sufis.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 448-9.

Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl: He was a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Abu'l-Fath. Shah Waliu'llah is all praise for his deep understanding of several dimensions of exoteric and esoteric learning. Although lived a secluded life, Abu'l-Fazl popularized the *Ihyau'l-'Ulum*. His notes on the margins of *'Ainu'l-'Ilm*, according to Shah Waliu'llah, were marked by his insightful comments based on research.

He died at a ripe age somewhere in the seventeenth century.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 360.

Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali: He was the son of famous Sufi and teacher of Bijapur, Shaikh 'Alamu'llah Muhaddis (d. AD 1616). Unlike his father, Abu'l-Ma'ali adopted the life of *majzub.*

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 212-15.

Shaikh Abu'l-Malik Qari'Ghausi: Shattari describes him as the guardian of a treasure of *ma'rifa.* He is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 119.

Shaikh Abu'l-Qasim Suhrawardi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ya'qub. A Sufi gifted with humility, care, and kindness, he lies buried at the village of Mala'i in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 319.

Shaikh Adam Sufi: He was a soldier who turned to Sufism.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 382.

Shaikh Adhan Dihlawi: His original name was Zainu'l-'Abidin but he was popularly known as Shaikh Udhan. His grandson, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, describes him as a Sufi of culture, humility, and influence. He was a disciple of Maulana Sama'u'd-Din and a student of Miyan 'Abdu'l-Latif Talbi. A paragon of learning and piety, he would often observe fasts and ate sparingly. Although Sultan Sikandar Lodi offered him a government job, he spurned it. He died in 934/1527-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 387-8.

Shaikh Adhu Hisari: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya and Chistiyya. He is entombed in Hisar.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 249.

Shaikh Aftab: Originally a Hindu, he embraced Islam at the hands of Shamsu'd-Din Naushahri. Being initiated into the Kubrawiyya order, he achieved fame for his righteousness and austerities. He is entombed at Rainawari in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp.163-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 317-18.

Shaikh Ahmad: He was the son and *khalifa* of Hajji Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 117.

Shaikh Ahmad: He was the son of Ni'matu'llah, born in Chanderi. He was the Shaikh al-Islam of Malwa during the reign of Qadir Shah. Entombed in Ujjain, his *khulafa* were as Shaikh Jamal and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 235-6.

Shaikh Ahmad: He was the son of 'Ali bin 'Abdu'l Quddus bin Muhammad 'Abbas Shinnawi. His ancestors had distinguished themselves as Sufis who had traditionally received their literary and religious education from Egypt's foremost *'alims*. Originally he obtained initiation from his father in Medina, but later entered the discipleship of Saiyid Sibghatu'llah in the Shattariyya order. Among the latter's disciples who disseminated his teachings in the Arabic-speaking world, Shaikh Ahmad's name stands prominent. He finally settled in Medina and died there on 8 Zu'lhijja 1028/16 November 1619. His earthly remains were laid to rest at Baqi' near those of his *pir*. The *khalifa*s of Shaikh Ahmad Shinnawi carried on the mission of the Shattariyya order throughout various regions of the Islamic world.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 374-6.

Shaikh Ahmad Bihari: He was a friend and fellow Sufi of the most eminent Firdawsiyya Sufi of Bihar, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Munyari. The reigning Sultan, Firuz Shah Tughluq, gave orders for his execution along with Shaikh 'Izz Kaku'i for their views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Manaqibu'l-Asfiya, pp. 338, 345-6.

Shaikh Ahmad bin Shaikh Jalal Champaneri: He was *murid* of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. A Sufi of intrinsic merit, he died in 988/1580-1 and is entombed in Barauda.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 320.

Shaikh Ahmad Chagli: He was born in the village of Chagal in the *pargana* of Kamraj in Kashmir.

After obtaining a formal education at the place of his birth, he came to Srinagar in pursuit of knowledge. Here in the city, a rendezevous of the ulama and the Sufis, he not only satiated his quest for knowledge but received initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. At the command of his *murshid*, he first secluded himself at a cave on the hill of Harwan for six years. Later he remained in the company of his *pir* and accompanied him during his travels across the villages of Kashmir for the dissemination of Suhrawardiyya teachings. Afterwards Shaikh Ahmad settled down at his native village under the instructions of his *murshid* for guiding the people in the Path.

Shaikh Ahmad wrote in prose and verse. His *Risala-i Sultania* deals with the life and miracles of Shaikh Hamza. It also brings home to the *salik*s the importance of *zikr*.

Shaikh Ahmad Chagli, *Risala-i Sultania*, RPD No. 502.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD Nos. 741 and 1108.

Shaikh Ahmad Chisti: He was a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Hakim, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh, who is entombed in the town of Baran.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 999-1000.

Shaikh Ahmad Dihlawi: Belonging to one of the wealthiest families of Delhi, he was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sunnami. He had a profound knowledge of Ibn 'Arabi's *Fusus al-Hikam* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*. As a teacher he divided his time between the Kangra hills and Delhi. Dara-Shukoh took lessons on certain portions of the *Fusus* from Shaikh Ahmad. Besides being a skilled archer, he had a good knowledge of medicine.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 218-19.

Shaikh Ahmad Farid: He was a *khalifa* of La'l Shah Majzub. Hasan, a contemporary of Ahmad Farid, describes him as an inflamed Sufi. He was the embodiment of benevolence. His goodness attracted many Hindus to Islam. On 3 Jamiu'd-Sani 1288/20 August 1871 he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 408.

Shaikh Ahmad Khattu: Notwithstanding the halo of mystery surrounding the question whether he was the son of a Brahman named Mahesh, it is certain that Abu Ishaq Maghribi brought him up with considerable care and affection and appointed him as his *khalifa*. It is stated in the *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis* that after the death of his *murshid* in 776/1374-5, the Shaikh secluded himself for forty days in prayer, eating only four dates during that period. He then left Khattu, near Nagaur, for Delhi where he took up residence in a corner of the mosque of Khan-i Jahan. The well-known Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, who happened to be in Delhi at that time, called on Ahmad Khattu and hugged him, telling him he reminded him of his friend, Baba Ishaq.

Ahmad Khattu subjected himself to severe ascetic exercises during a period of 12 years in Delhi. Thereafter, he left for Mecca, returning as Hajji to Delhi prior to the invasion of Timur. He warned his disciples of the imminent catastrophe fifteen days before the event, but stayed in Delhi to suffer along with the commoners while many Sufis escaped to Jaunpur. Taken prisoner by the invaders with forty people in a house, he was, however, released along with other prisoners because of his spirituality. Timur later became his disciple. The Shaikh accompanied the invader to Samarqand from where he travelled through Khurasan and Mecca before finally reaching Gujarat which had then emerged as an independent sultanate.

After reaching Naharwala in Gujarat in 1403, the Shaikh was persuaded by the reigning sultan to stay in his kingdom. He finally settled at Sarkhij in Gujarat. As large amounts of *futuh* began to flow to the *khanqah*, the Shaikh was obliged to employ a steward (*baqqal*) to handle and disperse the unsolicited grants. Some nobles donated such huge amounts as 25,000 *tankas*. Not surprisingly, therefore, the author of the *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis* states that two hundred thousand *tankas* were dispersed by the *khanqah* as gifts each year.

After Muzaffar Shah's death in 814/1411, his grandson Shihabu'd-Din Ahmad Shah Gujarati (1411-41) showed immense respect to Shaikh Ahmad Khattu and paid daily visits to him. His successor, Sultan Muhammad Shah (1441-51), was also a devotee of the Shaikh. The *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis* gives much credit to Shaikh Ahmad Khattu for the foundation of Ahmedabad on the banks of the river Sabarmati, notwithstanding the mention of four different men called Ahmad, in the same source for being responsible for such a venture.

Ahmad Khattu's asceticism in the earlier part of his spiritual career has been extolled in the sources. He is himself reported to have remarked that for twelve years in his early life he had travelled alone and bare-foot with no water pot. His nights were spent in mosques. He always fasted during his travels. He believed that the hazards and adversities of travelling had given him spiritual equanimity and mental peace. His spiritual mentor, Baba Ishaq, taught him to be generous. On one occasion he was asked by his teacher to give four copper coins to a *dervish,* a drug-addict. When the disciple hesitated on the ground that the *dervish* would spend the money on hemp, Baba Ishaq observed that everyone would be responsible for his own actions and all that the *dervish* did was of no concern to them.

Shaikh Ahmad lived in affluent circumstances in Gujarat. Although most of the *futuh* received by his *khanqah* was spent on charity all through the year, huge sums were spent on such occasions as the *‘urs* of Baba Ishaq Maghribi.

Shaikh Ahmad loved *sama‘* and is said to have convinced even the ulama of Khurasan of its legality while in the company of Timur's army. The *Hindawi dohas* sung by the *qawwals* at his *sama‘* assemblages were, in fact, composed by him.

Ahmad Khattu inspired two *malfuzat*, namely, the *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis,* compiled by a disciple, Mahmud bin Sa‘d Iriji, and *Malfuzat-i Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi,* compiled by another *murid,* Muhammad bin Abu'l-Qasim.

Shaikh Ahmad died at a ripe old age on 14 Shawwal 849/13 January 1446. The edifice of a gorgeous mausoleum over his mortal remains was commenced by Muhammad Shah at Sarkhij and completed in the reign of his successor Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad (1451-9).

Mahmud bn Sa‘d bin Sadr Sufi Iraji, *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis,* India Office, DP, 977, ff. 4a, 51b-52a, 56b-57a, 62b-63a, 69b-72b etc.

Ma ‘ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 530a-b, 531a, etc.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, p. 181.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, pp. 16-18.

Tabaqat-i Akbari, pp. 90-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 280-7.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1132-7.

Nizami, "Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a Great Historical Personality of Medieval Gujarat", *Medieval India—A Miscellany,* vol. 3, Aligarh, 1975, pp. 234-59.

M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat,* I, Madras, 1938, pp. 131-3.

Shaikh Ahmad Khwushkhwan: He was a Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir. His father, Shaikh Sulaiman, was originally a Brahman who after converting to Islam, went to Samarqand in pursuit of knowledge, and subsequently became a disciple of Mir Saiyid ‘Ali Hamadani. Shaikh Ahmad also embraced Islam along with his father. There are conflicting views as to whether he accompanied his father to Samarqand or not. Whatever the truth, Saiyid ‘Ali Hamadani took personal care of Shaikh Ahmad and bestowed upon him the title of "Khwushkhwan" for reciting the Qur'an with the captivating rich tones of his tenor voice.

It goes to the credit of Saiyid ‘Ali Hamadani that he appointed the young Shaikh Ahmad, rather than Shaikh Sulaiman, as his *khalifa.* Being rooted in the soil, Shaikh Ahmad certainly contributed to the spread of the teachings of the Kubrawiyya order in the Valley. Little wonder that Diddamari and Wahhab speak highly of his role in moulding the religious attitudes of many people.

Shaikh Ahmad is buried in the vicinity of the Jama‘ mosque in Srinagar near the cemetery of Saiyid Muhammad Lorastani. Diddamari refers to the visits of venerable Sufis to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad for spiritual bliss in the eighteenth century.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar,* f. 111a.

Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin,* RPD No. 230, f. 556.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 68-9.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya,* f. 72b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 150-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 138.

Shaikh Ahmad Langar Darya: He was a Sufi of the Firdausiyya order and a *khalifa* of his uncle Shaikh Muzaffar Balkhi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1236.

Shaikh Ahmad Pishlu: He was a son of Mulla Haidar Pishlu who lived in Srinagar. He obtained knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences from his father. For some time he received guidance in spiritual matters from a *qalandar*. Later Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali initiated him into the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Kubrawiyya orders. Following Shaikh Ahmad's death, he went to Peshawar and received initiation into the Chistiyya order from Jan Muhammad. After obtaining *irshad* from the latter, he returned to the Valley and led a life of self-denial in seclusion. He died in Zilhaj 1296/1879 and was buried at the village of Kanihama in the *pargana* of Bangil.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 410.

Shaikh Ahmad Sardabi: He was a tailor by profession, initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri (d. 625/1227-8).

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 829.

Shaikh Ahmad Shuryani, Maulana: His grandson, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi Chisti, the author of the *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat*, describes him as the first Afghan who was both an outstanding *'alim* and Sufi. Such was his humility that he often regretted that he had not been born an accursed weaver instead of one of the proud Afghan class. After completing his education, Shaikh Ahmad was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Ishaq bin Shaikh Kaku Chisti (d. 996/1588) of Lahore, a descendant of Baba Farid. Not only the ulama of Lahore but also such leading Sufis as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, Shaikh 'Isa Sindhi, and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif Burhanpuri held him in high esteem because of his high spiritual calibre. The Mujaddid often discussed Sufism with him. At Burhanpur, Shaikh 'Isa Sindhi attended his lectures on the *Shari'ah*. His deep knowledge of Sufism and *Shari'ah* together with his eloquence prompted Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif of Burhanpur to remark that the Maulana was the greatest contemporary *'alim* and Sufi of his association. Although Maulana Ahmad refused to put his ideas in writing, he wrote the *Sawalat-i Ahmadi*. Extracts from this work reproduced in the *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat* (R) attest to his belief in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Shaikh Ahmad died in 1030/1620-1.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, p. 52.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 369ab-374b.

Shaikh Ahmad Sunnami: He was a senior disciple of Miyan Mir in Sunnahm (Panjab). Originally an *'alim* of considerable repute, he turned into a *qalandar* after being initiated into the Qadiriyya order. As an ascetic he preferred the loincloth and a shawl over his shoulders to the cloak. He would retire into the forest and refuse offerings of food from visitors except that of his *pir*. Such was his *faqr* that he kept only a piece of dry bread tied into one corner of his shawl, and when offered food he would bite off morsel, saying that he had eaten and still had some left.

He died on 11 Sha'ban 1059/20 August 1649.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 216-17.

Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali: He was a son of Shaikh Muhammad Na'im and obtained early education from his grandfather, Maulavi Shaikh Muhammad Muqim. Under his able guidance Shaikh Ahmad not only became at home in Arabic and Persian but also gained a deep knowledge of religious sciences. He committed the Qur'an to memory and then obtained spiritual guidance from Shaikh 'Ibadi Qari. Such was his spiritual progress that, after being initiated into the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, Kubrawiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Chistiyya orders by several disciples of Shaikh Ashraf, including Shaikh Akbar Hadi, he came to be known in Kashmir as the Junaid and the Bayazid of his time. In particular he gained full mastery of the Naqshbandiyya practices including *hosh dar dam*, *khilwat dar anjuman*, *nazr bar qadam*, *yadashat*, *nigahdasht*, etc.

The fame of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali spread as far as Turkistan, Khurasan, India and several other regions. Visitors from such areas flocked to him for guidance. The Sikh governor of Kashmir, Shaikh Ghulam Muhiu'd-Din, was his devotee and it was by virtue of his guidance that he earned good name for his equitable justice. Such was the influence of Shaikh Ahmad on Shaikh Ghulam Muhiu'd-Din that he made a lavish distribution of *shali* among the poor and the needy besides restoring ancestral *jagirs* to certain Muslim families. In spite of the immense popularity enjoyed by Shaikh Ahmad among the rich and the poor, he led a life of self-denial. He observed fasts regularly but took great pleasure in entertaining two to three hundred guests and visitors from early morning to the noon with tea and bread. Whatever was offered to him in cash or kind was spent on *langar*.

Shaikh Ahmad followed the *Shari'ah* strictly and did not approve of reprehensible innovations (*bid'a*). In a letter addressed to Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, chief superintendent of the department of shawls, he not only rebuked him for his oppressive policy, but also warned him either to face the wrath of God for exploiting the shawl weavers or seek His countenance by alleviating their sufferings. During famine Shaikh Ahmad himself took personal care of the old and distressed.

One of the abiding contributions of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali to Sufism in Kashmir was that he repeatedly urged the people to realize the spiritual and historical role of the Sufis in the depths of their faith and practice. His visits to some shrines in Srinagar were undertaken with the solemnity of the mission.

In his letter to Maulana Hajji Muhammad Yahya Mir Wa'iz-i Kashmir, Tarabali is keen to preserve the legacy of Sufism in the Valley. He impresses upon the chief preacher of Kashmir that *waz'aif, riyazat, mujahadat, zikr*, and *muraqaba* are in consonance with the spirit of the *Shari'ah* and *Sunnah* and hence a balm for the soul. Such practices, urges Tarabali, should not be described as *bid'a*. The letter also brings out the importance of undertaking a pilgrimage to the shrines, *khanqahs*, and abodes of the Sufis with spiritual solemnity.

Shaikh Ahmad wrote in both prose and verse. His treatise *Afzalalu'l-Tara'iq* deals with Sufism. He died on 13 Rajab 1278/14 January 1861 and was buried at Tarabal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 403-7.

Danish, no. 17, 1999-2000, pp. 61-6.

Shaikh Ahmad Trali: He belonged to the family of Telis or oil-pressers in Tral, Kashmir. After obtaining a formal education from Maulavi Ghulamu'd-Din, he sought the spiritual guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Munawwar Hatabi's disciple, Siddiq Khan, who initiated him into the Kubrawiyya order. After receiving *irshad*, he went to Delhi and studied *Hadis* under the guidance of Maulavi Ishaq. He also received guidance in *tasawwuf* from Ahmad Sa'id. On his return home he strove to play the role of both a Sufi and a reformer. While in one treatise he condemned the practice of *naswar*, in another, the *Risala-i Lahmiyya*, he was critical of the superstitious beliefs common among the folk concerning the supposed vengeance of Baba Hardi Rishi against the persons who visited his tomb after eating meat. In both respects the strivings of Ahmad Trali did not produce positive results owing to the indifference of the ulama to the question of social reform. (See *Risala-i Lahmiyya*.) Ahmad Trali performed the *hajj*. After his death on 10 Jamidu'l-Awwal 1296/2 May 1879, he was buried at his hometown Tral.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 410-11.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*.

Shaikh Ahmad Wa'iz: He was a noted scholar of *fiqh* and *Hadis* in Kashmir who not only preached in the mosques but also authored several tracts in refutation of the beliefs of the Wahhabis. He also debated the issues pertaining to Sufism with the Wahhabis. On 7 Muharram 1290/7 March 1873 he died and was buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 446.

Shaikh Ahmad Yassawi: He was the son of Baba 'Ali Yassawi and a disciple of Qazi Jamalu'd-Din. Little is known about him except that he was a Kashmiri Sufi of considerable merit who died on 24 Rabiu'l-Awwal 1282/18 August 1865.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 411.

Shaikh Ahmad Zahid *alias* Kaul: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i, he was known for his exalted spiritual calibre by virtue of his struggle against the pestering self. He died on 10 Shawwal 997/12 August 1589.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 251-2.

Shaikh Ahsan *alias* Nuna Haka Baba: He was a *murid* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, known for his self-denial and *ma'rifah*. Shaikh Ahsan subsisted on the Kashmiri green vegetable called *hak*. His tomb lies at the village of Wusan in the *pargana* of Lar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 147.

Shaikh 'Ainu'd-Din: A butcher by profession, he was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri. He lived in Delhi. Such was his spiritual standing that even Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya kept his company for some time. Several other visitors to the residence of 'Ainu'd-Din included Qazi Fakhru'd-Din Nafala, Maulana Wajihu'd-Din, and Maulana Ahmad.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, p. 151.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 830.

Shaikh 'Ainu'd-Din Mubin: He was a contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi. He was an intellectual gifted with inner piety. Once in an assembly of *sama'*, he was overwhelmed with ecstasy and enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Sulaiman Mandawi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 222-3.

Shaikh Akbar Hadi: He was the son of Shaikh Rahmatu'llah's son, Shaikh Mahmud. He obtained education from his grandfather, and learnt the skills of *'ilm-i qirat* from his father-in-law. It was under the guidance of Shaikh Ashraf Fatehkadli that he received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order. His mother, who was affiliated to the Qadiriyya order, was not happy about this. In a state of distress, therefore, during one night Akbar Hadi appealed to Allah. The same night his mother had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad and saw him entrust her son to the care of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The following day Akbar Hadi's mother invited Shaikh Ashraf and his friends and whatever she had earned from spinning wool was spent on a feast for them.

Shaikh Akbar Hadi made his mark as the most towering Suhrawardiyya Sufi of his time. Often he was absorbed in the study of the books on Sufism. He is said to have written notes on the margins of several works including *Awarifu'l-M'arif*. In his *Afzalu'l-Tara'iq* Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali describes in glowing terms Shaikh Abar Hadi's practice of reciting *zikr-i chahar zarb*. His contemporaries, Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal and Qazi Jamalu'd-Din, held him in high esteem. Once a high official of the state offered him 1000 rupees for curing his son. No sooner had the Shaikh received the money than he distributed the entire amount among the poor and the needy and did not spend even a penny for himself.

On 17 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1243/8 October 1827, Shaikh Akbar Hadi died following an outbreak of cholera in the city. He was buried in the cemetery of Saadat-i Parsiya near the tomb of Mir Mahmud Pampuri.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 379-82.

Shaikh Akhdar Rishi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Rishi of Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 123.

Shaikh 'Alamu'llah Muhaddis: Born in north India to a family descended from the Prophet Muhammad, he was affiliated to the minor 'Aidarusi order, based in Hadramaut, Arabia. He finally settled in Burhanpur, Khandesh, where he made his mark as a Sufi and a learned teacher of Islamic theology. His fame prompted Sultan Ibrahim II to extend him a personal invitation to Bijapur. Responding to the latter, he gained considerable reputation as a Sufi and teacher in Bijapur. The noted Shattariyya Sufi, Shah Hashim Pir 'Alawi, is said to have been his pupil.

'Alamu'llah died in AD 1616.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, pp. 212-15.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din: He was the son and successor of Baba Farid's third son, Badru'd-Din Sulaiman. Like his grandfather, Baba Farid, he spent his life in self-mortification, prayer, and fasting. For 54 years he looked after the shrine of the renowned Chistiyya Sufi, did not visit any place else, or meet any officers or the rich. Amir Khusraw showers praise on him. Considered one of the great Sufis during Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji's reign, his fame spread as far as Syria. The erection of memorial and mausoleums by people at several places in Ajodhan, Dipalpur, and some mountainous area near Kashmir to commemorate his name testifies to his popularity. Muhammad bin Tughluq, who seems to have held the Shaikh in esteem, had a tomb raised over his grave near Baba Farid's mausoleum.

Ibn Battuta confuses him with Shaikh Faridu'd-Din.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 193-6.

Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 347.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 175-6.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 114b.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din: Son of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Ajodhani, a descendant of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar, he was born in 872/1467-8. Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din made his mark as a Sufi of culture, maturity, compassion, generosity, and moderation. His contemporaries remembered him as Farid-i Sani. He died in 948/1541-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 396.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Ibn Anbaroh: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Saiyid Sultan Bahadaichi (d. 949/1542-3), and whose guidance was sought by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's father.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 397.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Arzani: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi, who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Shah Mina.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Dihlawi: The son of a Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. He died in 947/1540-1 and is entombed in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 225.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Isa Dihlawi: A descendant of Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar, he obtained exoteric knowledge from Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din Kanbu and esoteric knowledge from Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Hansavi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 210.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Majzub: He was a son of Saiyid Sulaiman. Also known as Shaikh 'Ala'u'l Bala'ul, he lived during the reign of the Lodi Sultans in Samana and later in Agra. Such was his popularity as an intoxicated soul that a large number of people became his devotees. Some of them gave him slaves, both male and female, as gifts. He is reported to have married his female slaves who gave birth to children. The celebrated authority on *Hadis* during the Mughal period, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, recounts the miracles of Ala'u'd-Din Majzub convincingly.

Shaikh Mubarak Nagauri is reported to have called on Shaikh 'Ala'u'l. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Balau'l died in 947/1540-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 479-80.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 231-2.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 472.

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad Chisti: See *Chistiyya-i Bahishtiya*; also called *Firdausiya-i Qudsiya.*

Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Ali bin Ahmad Sabir: He was a disciple of Baba Farid who founded the Sabiriyya branch of the Chistiyya order. Unfortunately, no contemporary or near-contemporary source refers to him. From 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi's account, it becomes clear that Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din's tomb in Kaliyar, near Roorkee, had already begun to attract a considerable number of pilgrims.

There is no truth in the legendary account furnished by Ilahdiya in *Siyaru'l-Aqtab* about the redisovery of the Shaikh's tomb in Shah-Jahan's reign or the miracles described therein. The fact of the matter is that Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Ali was a Sufi of a high calibre.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti throws considerable light on the life of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din. According to him, the Shaikh died on 13 Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 690/16 March 1291 during the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji.

The *dargah* of Kaliyar (commonly known as Kalyar Sharif, i.e. holy Kaliyar) shot into prominence in the sixteenth century, thanks to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus's migration from Radauli to Shahabad in 1496. He celebrated the *'urs* of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din every year and the adherents of the order came from far-off places to participate in the ceremony. Siddiqui observes: "Before 1947, his *'urs* was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Though the number of pilgrims from Pakistan has [today] considerably diminished, those from different parts of UP and other provinces in north India still turn up in large numbers. A city of tents arises, extending over miles, on the occasion of the *'urs*. Shopkeepers also arrive on this occasion to sell their wares."

The affairs of *dargah* of Kaliyar Sharif are managed by the Sunni Central Waqf Board.

Abraru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 135-6.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 851-8.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 104a.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab, Lucknow, 1881, pp. 177-84.

I.H. Siddiqui, "The Early Chisti *Dargahs*", in *Muslim Shrines in India*, ed. Troll, p. 20.

Simon Digby, 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi (1456-1537A.D.): The personality and attitude of a Medieval Indian Sufi', *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. 3 A, Aligarh, pp. 4-9.

Shaikh 'Ali: He was a disciple of Aiba Bayo and belonged to the *pargana* of Vihi. Throughout his life he remained celibate and did not touch meat, in the best tradition of the Rishis and some Suhrawardiyya Sufis of Kashmir. He died in 1117/1705-6.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 171-2.

Shaikh 'Ali: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi and lies entombed at Khunmoh, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 290.

Shaikh 'Ali: Little is known about him except that he was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti (d. 1086/1676). Initiated as Chistiyya by his father, he lies entombed in the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 322.

Shaikh 'Ali Afghan: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who was also an Uawaisi. His *murshid* is not known, though he spent 50 years as a *mujjawir* at the tomb of Maulana Mughis Chisti Ujjaini. Like a *qalandar*, he remained celibate and did not accept gifts or offerings from pilgrims. He died in Ujjain in 1011/1602-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 424.

Shaikh 'Ali Baraudah: He lived in Gujarat. A Sufi scholar endowed with the esoteric and exoteric knowledge, Shaikh 'Ali is said to have written several works including a commentary on the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* as well as *Tafsir-i Rahmani.*

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1216.

Shaikh 'Ali Kard: He lived in Hansi—known as Hansi Hissar, situated at a distance of 80 miles from Delhi. Although earlier sources do not write much about him, his spiritual status may be estimated from the fact that Baba Farid once invited him to break a superogatory fast with him. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya was present on that occasion.

Shaikh 'Ali is entombed in Meerut.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 143.

Shaikh 'Ali bin Khairu'd-Din: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of his father, Makhdum Khairu'd-Din Ansari, who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir. After the death of his father, he went to Jaunpur where he obtained further guidance from Makhdum Sadha, a *khalifa* of Shamsu'd-Din Awadhi. After completing his spiritual training and being invested with the robe of *khalifa* by Makhdum Sadha, he returned to his home town, Sadhur, where he achieved considerable popularity.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1182-3.

Shaikh 'Ali Bengali: Known as 'Ali Sher Bengali, he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Mujjarid. His *Sharh-i Nuzhatu'l-Arwah* contains an account of Shaikh Jalal in the preface. Ghausi Shattari's summary of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi's role in Bengal is based on this work. He died in 972/1564-5 and is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 282-3.

Shaikh 'Ali Lahiqq: He was a disciple of the great Chistiyya Sufi Baba Farid.

Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 68n.

Shaikh 'Ali Muhammad Chisti: He hailed from Sultanpur (Uttar Pradesh) and settled in Kashmir. Whatever little is known about him pertains to his knowledge of exoteric and esoterice sciences besides his fondness for *Sufiana kalam* and music. He wrote a treatise on *Tawhid* and died in 1086/1676. One of his prominent disciples in Kashmir was Shaikh Muhammad Chisti Radhu.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 293.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 373.

Shaikh 'Ali Pahlavan: He was a companion of Sufi Sarmast. He migrated to a town near Kurnool from Mabar. Like Sufi Sarmast, he blessed the invading army of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji under Malik Kafur in 1311, but it would be wrong to aver on that account that he was a militant Sufi.

Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad, *Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur*, III, p. 377.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 31.

***Shaikh al-Islam*:** Title of the highest religious official.

Shaikh Amanu'llah: He was the son of Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din Qureshi Kalpiwal. His spiritual life was marked by *zuhud*, *faqr*, *tawwakul*, sincerity, and truthfulness. A *murid* of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir Shattari, he died at the age of 63 in 1005/1596-7. He is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 386-7.

Shaikh Amjad Dihlawi: Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was a Chistiyya Sufi who led a secluded life during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 387.

Shaikh Amanu'llah Siddiqui: He was a Firdausiyya Sufi who popularized Sufism in the town of Sandila. He was a *khalifa* of Shah Daulat Maneri who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Badhan Maneri.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1236.

Shaikh Amin bin Ahmad Naharwala: He was a pupil of Maulana Muhammad Tahir Muhaddis in exoteric sciences. He came to Malwa from Gujarat in 983/1575-6, subsequently spent a year in Mandu, and then enjoyed the company of Shaikh Raji Muhammad Qadiri, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghaffur, Shaikhu'l-Islam Jamal bin Ahmad, Qazi Baba, etc., in Ujjain. Endowed also with spiritual knowledge, he visited his ancestral home in Burhanpur in 1017/1608-9 with the intention of seeing Qazi 'Abdu'l-Aziz, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim bin Raji Muhmmad Qadiri. However, he died the same year in his home town.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 441-2.

Shaikh Anwar: He was the son of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam (d. 813/1410-11) of Bengal, who took great care about the education of his son. According to him, only those were overwhelmed with love who opened their eyes inwardly—meaning that they alone could perceive the Beloved and think of Him alone. According to Rizvi, the *de facto* ruler of Bengal, Raja Ganesa, expelled him to Sunargaon and then had him tortured to death in order to get at his ancestral treasury.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 294.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1175.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 260.

Shaikh Anzanu: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi Khushhal Mir, he spent his whole life as an intoxicated soul.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Shaikh 'Arif: He was the son and successor of the well-known Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1434). A man gifted with the virtues of tolerance, 'Arif also composed poetry. He died in 855/1451-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 191-2.

Shaikh 'Arif: He was a disciple of Baba Farid who deputed him to Siwistan (Sehwan) in Sindh. He accepted the office of Imam of an official dignitary (Malik) of Uch and Multan. Once the governor sent him a hundred *tankas* for onward transmission to Baba Farid. Shaikh 'Arif gave only 50 *tankas* to his *murshid*, retaining the rest for himself. The Sufi master addressed him smiling: "Arif ! You have divided the amount on a brotherly basis." Feeling ashamed in a state of bewilderment, the disciple begged for forgiveness. As atonement 'Arif was asked to shave his head and renew his discipleship. True, following his pentinence and devotion to the Path, 'Arif was granted a *khilafatnama* by Baba Farid; but considering himself unworthy of the office of *khilafat*, he returned the *khilafatnama* to his spiritual master and submitted: "This responsible work is beyond the capacity of a weak person like myself; I cannot undertake the duties of the work of the great Shaikhs." Subsequently the Shaikh advised him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca from where he never returned.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, pp. 215-16.
Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 184-5.
Asraru'-Abrar (U), p. 135.
Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 806-7.

Shaikh Asadu'llah Rafiqi: He was the son of Shaikh Aslam Rafiqi's son, Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim. He lived in Kashmir and spent his life of devoutness in solitude and celibacy.

He died on 8 Muharram 1305/26 September 1887.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 411.

Shaikh 'Attan: He came to India from Turkistan during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He died at the ripe age of 120 and lies entombed in Nagaur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 203.

Shaikh 'Atta'u'llah: A *khalifa* of Khwaja Muhammad Shaf'i Kuku Suhrawardi, and known for his piety, he lies buried at Malkha in Srinagar near the cemetery of Khwaja Isma'il Chisti where his *murshid* is also entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Shaikh 'Atta'u'llah: Little is known about him save that he was the grandson of Mir Muhammad Khalifa and that he was initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by the prominent Kashmiri Sufi, Mirza Akmalu'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 344.

Shaikh 'Attau'llah Drabagami: His father was a convert to Islam and died very young. When 'Attau'llah attained adulthood, he is said to have been initially guided by the spirits of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and Saiyid Muhammad 'Aali Pakhrpuri. Later, he became disciple of Shah Abu'l-Baqa. Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhli Wali (d. 8 Zilhaj 1282/24 April 1866), a noted disciple of Shaikh 'Attau'llah, speaks high of the spiritual accomplishments of his *pir*.

Shaikh 'Attau'llah is entombed at Drabagam.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 364.

Shaikh 'Ata'u'llah Sani: He was the son of Shaikh Mumin and the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aasmi. He held the post of a *darogah* in the court. Notwithstanding his official position, he enrolled as a disciple of Mirza Akmalu'd-Din and obtained permission from him to enrol disciples in the Kubrawiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 324.

Shaikh Auliya: He was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 338.

Shaikh Auliya: He was the son of Shaikh Siraj. Known for his generosity, he came from Kalpi to Ujjain. He had three sons, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din, Shaikh Maudud and Shaikh Nizam. A Sufi of versatile endowments, he went on *hajj* and learnt *Hadis* at the feet of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab in Mecca. He is entombed in Mecca.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 379.

Shaikh Baba 'Abdu'llah: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Mas'ud Narwari. He was considered to be the fountainhead of learning, goodness, benevolence, besides being unparalleled in broad-mindedness and courteousness. When people urged him to divorce his bad-tempered wife, he responded, "It is good that this mad biting bitch should remain tied (to me); otherwise she will harm others." After his death, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah was buried near his father's grave in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 207.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 233-4.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 195.

Shaikh Baba Hajji: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He was an enraptured soul and became famous for his burning love for the Creator. His tomb is situated in the village of Goripura in the village of Lar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Baba Hajji: Little is known about him except that he was the son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Mas'ud Narwari and that he did not lag behind his famous father in spiritual excellence. He is entombed near his father's grave in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 234.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 205.

Shaikh Baba 'Usman: He was an ascetic who lived in a cave in the Kashmir Valley. Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri refers to the visit of his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, to the hermit's dwelling place.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, *Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan*, Persian text with Urdu tr., Srinagar, 1997, pp. 288-91.

Shaikh Baba Wali: He was a disciple of Shaikh Husain Khwarzimi. After travelling across the Muslim world, he reached Kashmir in 999/1590-1. His high spiritual calibre attracted a number of people to his abode whom he initiated in the Kubrawiyya order. His most notable disciples included Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah and the latter's close companion, Shaikh Farid Bukhari who derived immense spiritual knowledge from him during their two years stay in the Valley.

Baba Wali sojourned in Kashmir at a time when the Valley was marked by internal political conflicts. During this period he succeeded in resolving the differences between the Mughal officers and the nobility of Kashmir. But some Kashmiris who were against peace conspired and poisoned Baba Wali. He died on 15 Safar 1001/13 November 1592.

Baba Wali lies buried at the famous Kubrawiyya shrine in Srinagar called the Khanqah-i Mu'alla.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 191-2.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 169.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 175-6.

Shaikh Babu: The son of Jeevan and a *murid* of Saiyid Rajan Shahu, he led the life of an ascetic and dressed like a *yogi*. He lived in Burhanpur and seems to have been a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 498.

Shaikh Babu Chisti: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 99.

Shaikh Babu Jeev: Son of Shaikh Jeev, he was born in Pattan and descended from the family of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Gifted with excellent knowledge of the divine book, most learned persons benefited from his guidance. Affiliated to the Chistiyya order, he died in 2006/1597-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 404.

Shaikh Babu Shersawar: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Kesadar. Before being initiated into the Chistiyya order, he is said to have been in the habit of roaming about riding a lion, with a snake in his hand. But, according to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, he offered *tauba* for his behaviour.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1008.

Shaikh Babu Sindhi: A disciple of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif Shattari, he had chosen the life of poverty (*faqr*) and lived in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 519.

Shaikh Badhan Maneri: He was a Sufi of the Firdausiyya order who was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sultan.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1236.

Shaikh Badru'd-Din: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya sufi, Baba 'Abdullah Garziyali. Known for his austerities, he was buried at Kangan in the *pargana* of Lar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 321.

Saikh Badru'd-Din: See Pir Badr-i 'Alam.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din 'Abdu'l-Haqq: Describes him as a great and graceful scholar of impeccable integrity. Known for his generosity, he was a descendant of Shaikhu'l-Islam Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya. He died in 767/1365-6.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 427-8.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj-i Rawan: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din Sani.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 174-5.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Mufti: He was the son of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Multani Qureshi, a descendant of Bahau'd-Din Zakariya. Initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by his father, he became his *khalifa*. He migrated to Multan during the reign of Babur and is entombed there.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 288-9.

Shaikh Bahlul: His original name was Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq but he became famous as Shaikh Bahlul. He was a disciple and *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya Sufi Shah Qamees (d. 992/1584). He had deep knowledge of *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. While guiding *saliks*, he laid great stress on strict adherence to the *Sunnah*. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as a Sufi of rare exemplary conduct.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 364-5.

Shaikh Bahmaru Multani: He was described as a wandering Sufi by Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 49.

Shaikh Bahram: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli of the Sabiriyya order.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1157.

Shaikh Bahram Gourtangi: He was a disciple of the noted Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhum. After passing through several stages of *suluk* and *'irfan* in the Suhrawardiyya order under the spiritual guidance of his *pir*, he was directed to settle down in a cave near a spring at the village of Gourtang, his place of birth, situated in the *pargana* of Uttar, Kashmir. Zeti Shah Majzub used to serve him. Entombed in the same village.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 195-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 181.

Shaikh Bahram Qadiri: He left Kashmir for India in search of a spiritual guide. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Chisti initiated him. After spending many years in the service of his *pir* at Thaneswar and, also, after being granted *irshad*, Shaikh Bahram returned to Kashmir. He stayed at Jamalata in Srinagar in order to popularize the Chistiyya order in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 298.

Shaikh Bakhshu: He has been described as a protege of God by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. His three sons, namely, Shaikh Badan, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Mui'nu'd-Din were gifted with inner piety.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 203.

Shaikh Bakhtiyar: He was a disciple of the prominent Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1434) of Rudauli. Before entering the Path, he was the slave of a jewel merchant. However, even after his initiation, Shaikh Bakhtiyar continued to earn his bread by the sweat of his labour.

Anwaru'l-'Uyun, pp. 31-2, 52.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 190-1.

Shaikh Barkhurdar: He was a contemporary of Muhammad Ghausi Shattari whose spirituality merits the Shattariyya hagiographer's attention in his well-known work.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 504-7.

Shaikh Batak: He was a Chistiyya Sufi belonging to the tribal area around Peshawar and Qasur. His eminent disciple was Shaikh Bayazid Batakzai who enrolled many Khweshgi Afghans in the Chistiyya order during ecstatic periods of *sama'*.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 377a-b.

Shaikh Bayazid: Nothing is known about his early life beyond the fact that he returned to Mandu from Baghdad during the period when Malwa was ruled by Sultan Mahmud Khalji (1436-69). There Shaikh Mahmud Dihlawi, Shaikhu'l-Islam, gave his daughter in marriage to Bayazid, considered a descendant of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. However, his cousin, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din, known as Chist Khan, felt jealous of the growing spiritual influence of Shaikh Bayazid on the Sultan. This ultimately led to the migration of Bayazid to Ajmer where he seems to have been given the charge of a *madrasa* attached to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din. This arrangement was opposed by several teachers at the seminary on the ground that Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din did not have any offspring. But Shaikh Husain Nagauri who had also married his daughter to Shaikh Bayazid was able to convince the Sultan that his son-in-law was a descendant of the greatest Chistiyya Sufi. Later in Akbar's reign, the board of enquiry constituted by the great Mughal did not accept the argument that the Khwaja had issue; and the Emperor himself assumed control over his *khanqah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 114-15.

Shaikh Bayazid: Son of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Muttaqi Multani, he was a Sufi of immense piety. Most of his time was spent in cries in a corner of the mosque.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 374.

Shaikh Bayazid: He was an enlightened disciple of Fathu'llah Sani who is entombed at Khalasipura in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 202.

Shaikh Bayazid Sarwani: A disiciple of Saiyid Wali, he was endowed with inward piety. He was fond of *sama'*. Often he cried in a state of extreme humbleness and submissiveness to earn the pleasure of God. He is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 332.

Shaikh Bayazid Shamnagi: A resident of Islamabad (Anantnag), he was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Shaikh Bayazid devoted himself to the worship of Allah fervently. He performed *hajj* and, on his return home, settled down at the village of Shamnag in the *pargana* of Uttar in Kashmir. His hamlet was without windows and doors. When Shaikh Hamza Makhdum once visited his disciple's abode, he was pleased with his spiritual development in such self-effacing environment.

Miskin writes that he died in 994/1585-6 and lies buried at Shamnag.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 196.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 181.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 160.

Shaikh Bayazid *alias* Allahgou: Little is known about him except that he gained fame among the commoners for his generous and affectionate disposition.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 53.

Shaikh Bayrang: Shah Waliu'llah described him as the *murshid* of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ni'matu'llah'*alias* Shaikhi.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 82-3.

Shaikh Bhuru: He was a Hindu who was a dyer by profession. After his conversion to Islam and initiation into the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya order at the hands of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, he won great favour of the Shaikh. He died in 982/1574-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 384.

Shaikh Budh: Originally named Shaikh Auliya, but, according to the *Lata'if-Quddusi* he became famous as Shaikh Budh. His father, Shaikh Muhammad, was the *pir* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi. Shaikh Budh served the cause of Sufism in Rudauli with considerable dedication.

Lata'if-i Quddusi, Delhi, 1311/1894.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1163.

Shaikh Buddhi: He was a chosen *khalifa* of Shaikh Ya'qub. He always remained engrossed in an inner struggle against his baser self. Known for his righteousness and *jazba*, he was buried in the compound of his house at the *mohalla* of Rang Tang in Srinagar in 1123/1711.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 310.

Shaikh Burhan Kalpi: Always engrossed in meditation, he is said to have been a prominent Sufi with leanings towards the Mahdawi movement. He died in 1000/1591-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 473.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 278-9.

Shaikh Chaand: He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Shaikh Chandan: Born in Lahore, he used to sell soap. Once overcome with the longing for knowing the Truth, he renounced his occupation and suddenly left for Bengal where he took up residence at the tomb of Shaikh Bahram Saqqa in Burdawan. He meditated there for forty years. Ghausi Shattari refers to his meeting with Shaikh Chandan in glowing terms.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 500-1.

Shaikh Chandan Dasuri: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who received initiation into Sufism from Sadru'd-Din Khamosh. Sultan Bahadur Gujarati was his devotee. He died in 953/1546-7 and is entombed in Dasur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 238-9.

Shaikh Chandan Qureshi: A *murid* of Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din Dihlawi, his faithfulness, fortitude, trust in God and learning are praised by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. He is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 204.

Shaikh Chawan bin 'Umar Chisti: Born in Ajmer, he lived the life of self-abnegation in Mandu where he died in 988/1580-1.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 322-3.

Shaikh Danishmand: He was the son of Kabir bin Mahmud Chisti and a disciple of Shah Fakhru'd-Din bin Hamid Chisti. Born in Lucknow, he was named Piyara. A paragon of learning and virtue, he performed *hajj* seven times and is entombed in Mandu. His death occurred in the month of Ramazan in 963/1556.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 248-9.

Shaikh Daniyal Khizri: Little is known about him except that he reached Jaunpur during the reign of Sultain Husain Sharqi and enrolled many men as his disciples.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1062.

Shaikh Daulat: A disciple of Mir 'Ali Qadiri, he remained in a state of *mushada* by virtue of his *mujahada*. He is entombed at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 277.

Shaikh Daulat Gujarati: He was a disciple of Shaikh Kabir Majzub Madari Gwaliori who after his death in 1015/1606-7 was buried in Dasur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 439.

Shaikh Daulat Ba'i: This son of a potter led the life of a hermit at the village of Chhukuru in Kuihama situated in Kashmir. He was initiated by 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar. He never visited Srinagar after his *murshid's* death and lies buried in Chhukuru.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 354.

Shaikh Daulat: He was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by the Kashmiri Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He lived in the company of his *murshid* for thirty years and, after his death, set out for Mecca in order to perform *hajj*. He died on his way to the holy land.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Dawud: This venerable Sufi of Srinagar gained knowledge of Sufism from Saiyid Taju'd-Din. After succeeding his *pir*, the Shaikh guided the people in the Kubrawiyya Path. He was buried in Shihampur in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 150.

Shaikh Dawud: He was a Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order who lived in Rudauli. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Shaikh Dawud had a close friendship with his contemporary Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Salah Dervish. Mir Saiyid Jahangir writes in a letter addressed to his disciple, Shaikh Safiu'd-Din, that he should visit the tomb of Shaikh Dawud to gain spiritual bliss.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 827-9.

Shaikh Dawud: He came to India during the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji from Balkh following Halagu Khan's invasion. He took up residence in Rudauli, and became a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. His son, Shaikh 'Umar, had two sons of his own, Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din and Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. The latter established a famous Sufi centre in Rudauli.

Shaikh Dawud is entombed in Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1140-1.

Shaikh Dawud Asawali: He was a disciple of Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din Qutb-i 'Alam Bukhari. He is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 177.

Shaikh Dawud bin Faizu'llah: Born in Shergarh, he was a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri. He died in 982/1574-5 and lies entombed at the place of his birth in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 186-7.

Shaikh Dawud Brari: Originally from Khandesh, he was a soldier. Having quit military service quite early, he preferred to lead the life of a Sufi after meeting with Saiyid Muhammad Shah and Shaikh Jamal. He died in 1008/1599-1600 and lies entombed in Mandu near the tomb of Baba Bahrang.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 411.

Shaikh Dawud Chisti: Little is known about him save that he was a cousin and *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Muhammad Hashim and that he was a Sufi of great qualities.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 382.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 313.

Shaikh Dawud Guhani: He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by the Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Despite his celibacy and asceticism, he conformed his behaviour to the *Shari'ah*. He openly raised his voice against idol worship in the village of Guhan, situated between Kashmir and Khistwar, and is said to have succeeded in securing the conversion of its populace to Islam. He lies buried in Guhan.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 238.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Shaikh Dawud Hallaj: He belonged to 'Imadpur in Gujarat. His attitude towards the worldly life changed quite early in his childhood, thanks to his contact with Shaikh Budhan Shattari. Saturated with the divine love, he recited Hindawi verses in praise of the *tawhid-i wujjudi*. He also used to dance in a state of ecstasy in the assembly of *sama'*.

Shaikh Dawud died in 1002/1593-4.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 436-7.

Shaikh Dawud Islambadi: Little is known about him except that he was a Kashmiri Sufi well versed in exoteric and esoteric sciences.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 311.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 236.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Shaikh Dawud Shattari: This son of Shaikh Khan Muhammad belonged to the Shattariyya order and was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 530-2.

Shaikh Dawud *alias* Batmaloo: Originally he used to bring salt on his back from Thana to sell in Srinagar. He first sought the guidance of Khwaja Yusuf Katju and, through the latter's courtesy, later met with Allahdad Rishi (also known as Ahl Baba), a *khalifa* of Baba Hardi Rishi.

Although Shaikh Dawud was unlettered, he achieved great fame among the rich and the poor of Kashmir for his esoteric knowledge. Many miracles attributed to him also increased his popularity.

Shaikh Dawud took to cultivation after having settled at Batmaloo in Srinagar. He is reputed to have been inspired by the *Hadis* of the Prophet that stresses the importance of agricultural labour. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang and his disciple, Khwaja A'zam Diddamri give a vivid description of Shaikh Dawud's spiritual attainments.

Shaikh Dawud died on 21 Rajab 1070/23 March 1660.

The shrine of Shaikh Dawud at Batmaloo has been a place of veneration. Until 1980s the *'urs* of Batmaloo Saheb, as Shaikh Dawud is popularly known in the Valley, was celebrated with gusto by the Hindus and Muslims of the neighbouring areas. The non-Muslim inhabitants of Magaramal Bagh, a locality in Srinagar about a mile from Batmaloo, would take special care to wear new clothes on the anniversary of the saint. Although the glory of the good old days has vanished in Magarmal Bagh, nevertheless, most families around Batmaloo cook only vegetarian food on his anniversary.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 91-4.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 266-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 258-60.

Shaikh Dervish: Little is known about him except that he was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order of Kashmir by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi and that he earned a good name by virtue of his piety and abstinence.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 242.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 239.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Shaikh Dihyan Sindhi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ibrahim Kalhura. Gifted with a burning love for God, his burial place is in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 281.

Shaikh Faizu'llah Narnuli: He is known to have been a disciple of Shaikh Nizam Narnuli.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 494-5.

Shaikh Faizu'llah Zargar: A goldsmith by profession, his customers were the relatives of the Mughal *subehdar* of Kashmir, Fazil Khan. During Aurangzeb's visit to the Valley, Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Qadiri accompanied the Mughal cavalcade in the capacity of a *mansabdar*. It was from the latter that Faizu'llah Zargar received initiation into the Qadiriyya order. As the Mughal caravan left Kashmir, Faizu'llah accompanied his *murshid* to the plains and returned home only after completing his spiritual training. While in Srinagar Shaikh Faizu'llah guided numerous people in the Path. He was buried near the Hariparbat hillock.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 188.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 316.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 288.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 220-1.

Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din: Son of Shaikh Dawud bin Shaikh Shah Siddiqui, he was a *murid* of Shaikh Ilahdad Salih Sirhindi. He is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 259-61.

Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who lived in Lucknow and authored *Irshadu'l-Mukhlisin*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 918.

Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din Ganj-i Asrar Jaunpuri: A descendant of Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar, he was a Sufi of an exalted status and lies entombed in Jaunpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 173-4.

Shaikh Farid: Originally from Kahirwal, he was a disciple of the distinguished Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.

Mir'atu'l-'Alam, f. 449b.

Riyazu'l-Auliya', f. 95a.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Mahmud: He succeeded his grandfather, Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri (d. 673/1274) and, according to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, completed the *Malfuzat* (*Sururu's-Sudur*) of the latter.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Din held a respectable position in the court by Muhammad bin Tughluq. The Sultan bestowed many endowments on his family. He also gave his daughter, Bibi Rasti, in marriage to Shaikh Faridu'd-Din's grandson, Shaikh Fathu'llah bin Shaikh Auhadu'd-Din.

Sururu's-Sudur, Habib Ganj Collection, pp. 125, 127-8, 136-9, 146-7, 150-2, 160-9, 171-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 142.

Shaikh Farooq: He was a son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. Initiated by his father, he was a Sufi of noble merits and is entombed in the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 322.

Shaikh Farooq Naru: This disciple of the Suhrawardiyya and Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shah Farahu'd-Din (d.1191/1777) is said to have had fire underneath his heart. Due to a state of ecstasy, his eyes were always full of tears. An incredible anecdote regarding his chance encounter with a lion, nevertheless, bears testimony to his lofty spiritual status. He lies buried at the village of Naru in the *pargana* of Yech in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 373.

Shaikh Fathu'llah: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Anzanu, a Sufi of noble qualities. He lies buried at the compound of the Khanqah-i Pandit in the town of Bijbehara in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 326.

Shaikh Fathu'llah: He was also known as Fathu'llah Awadhi. He was a disciple and *khalifa* of the Chisti Sufi and scholar, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Hakim. The latter was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh. Shaikh Fatu'llah came from Awadh and distinguished himself as an *'alim*. Often he delivered religious discourses at the foot of the Minar-i Shamsi (Qutb Minar) near the Jami' mosque (the Qubbatu'l Islam or Quwatu'l-Islam). He achieved spiritual enlightenment only after parting with most of his books on the advice of his *pir*. See Shaikh Qasim, a disciple of Fathu'llah Awadhi, for his interpretation of the relics.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 296-9.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 997-8.

Shaikh Fathu'llah: He was a disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. He died in 1004/1595-6 and is entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 398.

Shaikh Fathu'llah Khwushkhwan: Son of Shaikh Ahmad Khwushkhwan, he received initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from his father and succeeded him after his death. His tomb is in the cemetery of the Saiyids of Qazi Kadal in Srinagar.

Shaikh Fatu'llah has been described as an Ocean of Certainties (*Bahr-i Aiqan*) in the hagiographies. He was also called Hafiz because of having learnt the entire Qur'an by heart. He had a profound knowledge of *'ulum-i aqli* and *'ulum-i naqli*. Diddamari quotes one of his sayings: "People say that such and such a person has turned away from God. This is sheer infidelity since nothing is farther from Him."

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 112a.

Sabur, *Khawariqu's-Salikin*, f. 58b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 108.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 78b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 152.

Shaikh Fathu'llah Rajiri: A disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Amethi, he had a passion for *sama'*. Later he learnt the *Hadis* at the feet of Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 315-16.

Shaikh Fathu'llah Sani: He was the son of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi. Described as the Unlimited Ocean of exoteric and esoteric knowledge, Shaikh Fathu'llah was the standard-bearer of the Kubrawiyya traditions in Kashmir. He sought to counter the influence of the founder of the Nurbakshiyya order in Kashmir, Mir Shamsu'd-Din Iraqi, on the Kashmiris following Baba 'Ali Najar's conversion to Shi'ite beliefs. He wrote a letter to Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi reproaching him for reviling the first three Caliphs. In order to muzzle his voice, Kaji Chak, the Shia wazir of Sultan Muhammad Shah IV (1517-28), deprived Shaikh Fathu'llah of his property. He was also forced to leave Kashmir for Sialkot along with his family where he spent the rest of his life for the spiritual and ethical good of people around.

Shaikh Fathu'llah's contribution to Sufism in Kashmir was considerable. True, he was not allowed to carry on his peaceful mission of guiding the people in the Path in conformity with the robust peaceful and suave traditions of the Kubrawiyya order. But the influence exercised by him in his didactic role, as well as his exemplary self-confidence, were seminal. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, was the product of Shaikh Fathu'llah's seminary. It is also true that with Shaikh Fathu'llah's migration to Sialkot, the *khanqah* founded by his father ceased to play the desired role and that with the passage of time vanished into thin air. What is, however, of significance is the part played by a chain of learned disciples of Shah Hamza Makhdum, including Baba Dawud Khaki, in revitalizing the Kubrawiyya traditions of reciting *zikr* aloud in the shrines and mosques of Kashmir. Notwithstanding their distinctiveness in a specific socio-cultural setting, the Kashmiri Kubrawiyya traditions were in fact inspired by the sobriety of thought that characterized Sufism of Junayd-i Baghdadi (d. 910) and its ardent exponent, Ala'u'l-Daula Simnani (d. 1335). This also explains the fact that, in contrast to extreme religious and sectarian intolerance exhibited by Mir Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi, religious tolerance continued to remain the hallmark of Sufism in Kashmir.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, f. 24a.

Raf'iu'd-Din, *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar*, f. 64a.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 61b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 81a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 133-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 158-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 267.

Shaikh Fazlu'llah: He was a son of Shaikh Husain Chisti Multani. Owing allegiance to the Chistiyya order, he died in 972/1564-5 and is entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 281-2.

Shaikh Fazlu'llah Gujarati: The devotion to God of this Sufi of immense virtues elicits the praise of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 218.

Shaikh Gada'i: He was the son of the famous mystic poet, Jamali. In contrast to his younger brother, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ha'i, patronized by the Sur kings, Shaikh Gada'i remained loyal to the Mughals. Following Humayun's flight from Delhi, the Shaikh migrated to Gujarat. He performed *hajj* along with his family and on his return home joined the Mughal army that defeated Himu. Bairam Khan appointed him the *Sadru's-Sudur* for his services to the Mughals against the Afghans. So powerful was his influence that both Akbar and his prime minister, Bairam Khan, attended his *sama'* assemblies. However, the Shaikh's unpopularity with both ulama and Sufis, together with his vindictiveness proved to be his nemesis. Also his role in the rebellion of Bairam Khan sealed his fate.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, II, 119; III, 16, 76-7.

Shaikh Gada'i Panipati: Wandering around several places including Ajmer, he ultimately secluded himself to lead the life of a *majzub*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 503-4.

Shaikh Gawhar: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi of Amethi, Shah Dawud. Although affiliated to the Chistiyya order, he became the *mufti* of Jaunpur during the time of Akbar.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1011.

Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din: He was originally known as Ganesh Kaul. His ancestors held high positions in the judiciary from the time of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin and held several villages in *jagir*. Once while Ganesh Kaul was on an official tour along with his servants, he saw Shaikh Hamza Makhdum sitting near the roadside at Alusa in the company of his friends and disciples. No sooner had Ganesh Kaul seen the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir than he alighted from his horse and sought his blessings in all humility. The Shaikh asked the prospective seeker after Truth to raise his hands and then prayed to God to show him the Right Path. Such was the effect of the the Shaikh's prayer on Ganesh Kaul that he straight away pleaded for his entry into Islam. He was named Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din and his whole family accepted Islam.

After his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din resigned from government service and dedicated himself to the spiritual and moral uplift of his people. He enjoyed intimate friendship with Shaikh Muhammad Parsa and left no stone unturned in taking care of him when advised by Baba Dawud Khaki to take up residence in his village.

Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din died in 1040/1630-1 and lies buried at the village of Madar in Khuyahom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 215-16.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 185-6.

Shaikh Habibu'llah: This son and disciple of Shaikh Saifu'llah (d. 12 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1243/3 October 1827), a Suhrawardiyya Sufi, led a life of piety at Gorgarhi mohalla in Srinagar and lies buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Shaikh Habibu'llah Kanri: Little is known about him save that he was a spiritual guide of immense qualities. He lived in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 381.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 312.

Shaikh Hafiz Salih: He was a Kashmiri Sufi who was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Mir 'Ali Qadiri (d. 11 Zilhijja 1070/10 August 1660).

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 278.

Shaikh Haibatu'llah Ansari: He was a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (d. 975/1567-8) and a friend of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath, and lived in Phulat

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 359.

Shaikh Haidar: He was a disciple of the Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi who initiated him as Suhrawardiyya. Known for his piety, he died in 1074/1663 and lies buried at Gund Ibrahim in the *pargana* of Shawara (ancient Savur) in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 244.

Shaikh Haidar: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 98.

Shaikh Haidar: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He is buried in the village of Giru (Hasan) or Kiru (Tang) in the *pargana* of Ular in Kashmir. Muhammad Murad Tang writes that he once visited the tomb of Shaikh Haidar as a pilgrim.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 108.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Haidar Lari: See Mir Baba Haidar.

Shaikh Hajji: He was a disciple of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq (d. 949/1542-3), the Qadiriyya Sufi who lived in Jhanjhana, east of Delhi and owed his prominence to his *pir*'s views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani, *Kalimatu's-Sadiqin*, Mashhad MS, p. 237 (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 76).

Shaikh Hajji Hasan: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He was known for his neat recitation of the Qur'an. For a long time he acted as imam and performed the *hajj* twice. Throughout his life he remained celibate. His generosity was proverbial and he spent on the construction of mosques and for assuaging the sufferings of the poor and the needy in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 238.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Shaikh Hamid: He was the son and successor of the Chistiyya of Rudauli, Makhdum Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din. Endowed with the exoteric and esoteric knowledge, even while living in seclusion he did not fail to enrol disciples in the Chistiyya order. Remarkably, he committed the Qur'an to memory at an old age and was often found engrossed in the study of *Tafsir-i Zahidi*. Also, in accordance with the traditions of the Chistiyya order, he listened to *sama'*. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, a contemporary of Shaikh Hamid, says that at such gatherings the *ghazals* from the *Diwan-i Maghribi* and also those from the *diwans* of Bu 'Ali Qalandar and Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi were sung by the *qawwals*. Occasionally, the Shaikh became ecstatic and presented handsome gifts to the *qawwals*.

He died on 2 Jama'idu'l-Awwal, 1032/22 February, 1623 and lies entombed at Rudauli.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1165.

Shaikh Hamid: He was a native of Manglakot in the Burdwan district of Bengal, and belonged to a family of qazis. He qualified for his ancestral profession after obtaining higher education at Lahore. In Agra Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman Kabuli, a *mufti*, played host to him. As a theologian he was opposed to Sufism and the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. But a chance meeting with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi during the latter's stay at Agra changed his life and thought. He parted company with his books after entering the discipleship of the Mujaddid. Henceforth, such was his infatuation with the *Wahdat al-Wujud* that he viewed every worldly object as the quintessence of Divine love. Once he saw a dead animal with its jaws wide open. He wondered what God meant by manifesting Himself in that form.

Shaikh Hamid returned to Mangalkot after undergoing spiritual training under his *pir* in Sirhind for two years. Remarkably he begged the Mujaddid to give him one of his shoes instead of a *khirqa* that he put in his turban after holding it first in his teeth while starting his journey for Bengal. Notwithstanding the importance attached by Shaikh Hamid to the shoe of the Mujaddid for performing miracles of curing the sick, the preservation of the Mujaddid's shoe as a relic enhanced the fame of the Mujaddid in the environment of Bengal more as a Sufi rather than a reformer.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 354-63.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 367-8.

Shaikh Hamid: He was the son of Shaikh Lad and came from Ahmedabad. Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din's writings in defence of the views of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus left a profound impression on him, so much so that he ultimately decided to join the Shattariyya order. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus initiated him. He died in Burhanpur, the place he had migrated to in his old age.

Gulzar-i Abrar (U), pp. 317-18.

Shaikh Hamid, Makhdum: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq and a grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani. As a disciple of his illustrious grandfather, Shaikh Hamid also made his mark as a Qadiriyya Sufi. His extreme generosity throughout the year earned him exemption from paying *zakat*. He died in 978/1571.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 362.

Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Sufi Nagauri: He became the disciple of Khwaja Mu'in'ud-Din Chisti at a young age. His real name was Muhammad; his father, Ahmad, migrated from Lahore to Delhi where the

Shaikh was born after its conquest in 1192. He knew Arabic, Persian, and *Hindawi* dialect of Rajasthan. The Khwaja called him the King of Hermits (Sultanu’l-Tarikin) for his contempt for worldly riches and asceticism. Although Sufis of the Chistiyya order were permitted to receive gifts of cash, the Shaikh refused offers of land and money from both the *muqta* of Nagaur and the Sultan. He earned his own living from the plot of land owned by him. He was a vegetarian and not in favour of causing harm to animate things. He strongly condemned such *dervishes* as resorted to miracles in order to gain worldly fame. He was critical of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi practice of acquiring wealth. Having a profound sense of law, he considerd *Shari‘ah* and *Tariqa* to be related in the manner of the body and soul.

‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi describes Hamidu’d-Din Sufi as a prolific writer. He refers to his letters including the one written to Shaikh Faridu’d-Din Ganj-i Shakar regarding the importance of *zikr*. Another letter of the Sufi quoted by ‘Abdu’l-Haqq regards *‘ilm* as the first degree in the Path followd by *‘aml, niat, sadaqat, ‘ishq,* and *tawajuh*. The road to Sufism (*suluk*), itself seventh in degree, was the gateway to the *bargah* of Allah. ‘Abdu’l-Haqq also refers to several verses of Nagauri and expounds their meaning against the background of the Qur’anic verses and Sufism. Once replying to a question as to what was the world, he remarked: ‘Whatever is fleeting is the world. Your *nafs* is near to yourself and whatever is near to your *nafs* is the world. Today’s world is nearer than your *nafs* and the days of morrow will be followed by the Day of Judgement”. He then summed up his views on the ephemeral quality of the world as against the Hereafter: “Today, yesterday, the day before yesterday, and tomorrow—all four—shall merge together and you will be alone.” To another question, the Shaikh stated that “there was no difference in religion in that religion is one and whatever differences exist are attributable to the people”. Several other questions answered by the Shaikh regarding various aspects of Sufism in the context of the Qur’an and the *Sunnah* are faithfully recorded by ‘Abdu’l-Haqq. Some of his sayings are, “whosoever abides in *fana* gains eternal life (*baqa-i abd*)”. “The fire of the hell is neither friendly nor hostile to *dervishes*. It is beyond the capacity of the fire to harm them. When a *dervish* does not possess worldly paradise so how can the fire of the hell come near him.”

From ‘Abdu’l-Haqq’s analysis of Hamidu’d-Din’s famous work entitled *Usulu’l-Tariqat*, now lost, it is crystal clear that Sufism is intrinsically rooted in the Qur’an. In order to bring home his viewpoint on Sufistm, he expounds the Qur’anic verse, “ To such of Our servants as We have chosen: But there are among them some who wrong their own souls; some who follow a middle course; and some who are, by Allah’s leave, foremost in good deeds. . . .”

Hamidu’d-Din died on 29 Rabi‘ II 673/1 November 1274 and was buried at Nagaur. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had a tomb erected over his remains, which was completed on 3 June 1330.

Sururu’s-Sudur, Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh, pp. 16, 86-7, 124, 221, 225, 229-30, 236.

‘Abdu’l-Haqq, *Akhbaru’l-Akhyar* (U), pp. 63-76.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 53-5.

Amir Khurd, *Siyaru’l-Auliya*, Delhi, AH 1302, pp. 156-7.

Shaikh Jamali, *Siyaru’l-‘Arifin*, p. 13.

Mir ‘Abdu’l-Wahid Bilgarami, *Saba‘-i Sanabil*, Urdu tr. by Mufti Muhammad Khalil Khan Barakati, Bhiwandi, Maharashtra, n.d., pp. 438-42.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India*, pp. 185-7.

——*Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. I, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 308-10.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, I, 127-30.

Shaikh Hamza: Born in Dipalpur, Malwa, he was the son of Siddha Qureshi and a descendant of Shaikh Baha’u’d-Din Zakariya. Belonging to the Shattariyya order, he died in 1005/1596-7 in Dipalpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 386-7.

Shaikh Hamza Dharsuri: A descendant of Shaikhu’l-Islam Bahau’d-Din Zakariyya, he lived during the reigns of the sultans of Delhi from Bahlul to Islam Shah. He left government service and subsequently during his visit to Ajmer met an intoxicated soul there. Blessed in his company he afterwards kept the company of Shaikh Ahmad Majd Shaibani. He settled in the city of Dharsu, six miles from Narnaul, and addressed himself to the task of reforming the Saiyidzadas of the region. Although he engaged an Arabic and Persian teacher for them, he would himself teach all students. He would visit Narnaul each Friday for the midday congregational prayers. It was customary for him to distribute bundles of wood among the poor after collecting the same while journeying from Narnaul to Dharsu.

Shaikh Hamza died on 25 Rab'iu's Sani 957/ 14 May 1550.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 331-3.

Shaikh Hamza Rafiqi: He was the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Sharif and the son of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Rafiqi. He received spiritual guidance from his father and did extremely well in exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He was fond of reading several works on Sufism including the *Arba'in* of Imam-i Ghazali, and the *Sahiu'l-Bukhari*, *Nafhatu'l-Uns*, *Rashhat 'Ainu'l-Hayat*, and *Masnavi* of Maulana Rumi. He died on 1 Safar 1137/9 October 1724 and is entombed in the cemetery of his grandfather in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 313.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 237.

Shaikh Hansa Bukhari: This descendant of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was devoted to Sufism from an early age, and died at the age of 150 in 1005/ 1596-7 in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 385-6.

Shaikh Hasamu'd-Din Sufi: He was one of the three *khalifas* of Shaikh Sarang.

Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina* (U), Lahore, 1994, p. 247.

Shaikh Hasan: He was a disciple of Haja Baba. Initiated as Suhrawardiyya, he died in 1121/1709 and lies buried near the Jama' mosque at Tilwanpura in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Shaikh Hasan: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din, the son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aini. He is entombed in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 240.

Shaikh Hasan: He was a grandson of Shaikh Abu'l-Ala. He gained considerable eminence as *majzub*. Roaming about the streets of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (855/1451–894/ 1489), he is said to been imprisoned for entering the prince Nizam's (later Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 894/1489–923/1517) private chamber. But to the surprise of all, he escaped from prison in mysterious circumstances and was found dancing in the streets.

Rizqu'llah Mustaqi, *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, British Museum MS, Rieu, II, 802b, p. 24.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 289-90.

'Abdu'llah, *Tarikh-i Dawudi*, Aligarh, 1954, pp. 27-8.

Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 29-30.

Shaikh Hasan: Son of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Qureshi and a disciple of Shaikh Burhan Ansari, he was righteous, and composed poetry in Persian. He died in 982/1574-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 325.

Shaikh Hasan Bodla: This son of an old dignitary of Delhi turned a *majzub* during his childhood. He roamed about naked. Whatever money came to him was given away to the *qawwals* and the people around them.

He died in 964/1556-7 in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 481-2.

Shaikh Hasan Chisti: Born in Thaneswar, he was a source of comfort for those who came in contact with him.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 339-40.

Shaikh Hasan Kamraji: This son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Husain Kamraji completed forty *chillas* in the hollow of a tree. Wild animals are said to have been his friends. He lies buried at the cemetery of his father in Shinu in the *pargana* of Machhipur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 328.

Shaikh Hasan Kulu: He was a disciple of Shah Qasim Haqqani and remained his faithful servant, gaining a respectable position in the hierarchy of the Kubrawiyya Sufis of Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 268.

Shaikh Hasan Laloo: He belonged to the village of Wasan in the *pargana* of Lar in Kashmir. He acted as *imam* of a mosque. Baba Nasib initiated him in the Suhrawardiyya order. At an old age, he joined the *madrasa* of Abu'l-Fath Kalu in order to learn more and more about the issues related to the *Shari'ah*. After his death in 1099/1687-8, he was buried in the compound of the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 145-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 307-8.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 239.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 210.

Shaikh Hasan Majzub: This inhabitant of the town of Reri often visited Delhi. Often he would wander in the streets of Delhi and was very fond of the contemporary Sultan, Sikandar Lodi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 481.

Shaikh Hasan Majzub: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud

Khaki, and that he was the beloved of God. Miskin refers to him as Khwaja Hasan, but the earliest source, Diddamari, calls him Mazjub. So does Pir Hasan Shah Khuyahomi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad: He was a brother of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Muhammad Zakir. Known for his inward piety and *tawwkul*, he lies buried in Champaner.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 324.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad: He was the son of Miyanji and a disciple of Shaikh Jamal Chisti. An *'arif, 'ashiq* and an *'abid*, he died in 982/1574-5 in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 294.

Shaikh Hasan Mutawwali: Shaikh Hamza Makhdum initiated him as Suhrawardiyya. Mishkati, quoted by Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad, describes him as a Sufi of high calibre and euolgizes him for having reached the stage of annihilation in the spiritual guide (*fana fi'sh Shaikh*). Such were the bonds of spiritual union between Hamza Makhdum and Shaikh Hasan that the former visited the latter's house several times and stayed there. He lies buried at the village of Chandanpur in the modern district of Baramulla in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 195 and n. 2395.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 180-1.

Shaikh Hasan Tahir: His father, Tahir, originally belonged to Multan and he himself was born in Bihar. It is not known how Shaikh Hasan became the disciple of Raji Saiyid Nur of Manikpur. But after completing his education he certainly liked the company of *dervishes*. He did not like his father's theological approach to the problem of faith and, despite the latter's admonitions, took delight in the study of the *Fusus al-Hikam*. Hasan moved to Jaunpur after becoming a disciple of Raji Hamid Shah.

Shaikh Hasan Tahir's piety and candour impressed Sultan Sikandar Lodi, who invited him to his capital at Agra. After spending some time in Agra, he moved to Delhi where he lived in the Vijai Mandal house in one of the bastions built by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. On 24 Rabi' I 909/16 September 1503, the Shaikh died and was buried near Vijai Mandal, the abode of many a Sufi in the past.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis refers to a treatise on Sufism written by Shaikh Hasan and reproduces excerpts from it. Decribing the *Shari'ah* as a readiness and resoluteness to adhere to the injunctions of Islam, he interpreted the *Tariqa* as liberation from one's self and dissociation from anything other than not concerning God. *Haqiqa* was connected with the divine and this meant getting pleasure from the state in which one found oneself. In his view, the *Shari'ah* was freedom from want, the *Tariqa* was *Fana* and the *Haqiqa* was *Baqa*. When a seeker initially undertook a journey in the Path he represented goodness, in the course of the middle of his journey he was immersed in meditation on a future state and in the final stages he turned out to be part of the divine light. The analogy of a journey was merely symbolic, believed Shaikh Hasan, for there were neither roads nor stages in the journey towards Allah, *Sayr ila'-Allah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 344-7.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), pp. 348-9.

Shaikh Hasan Tamal: Little is known about him except that he was a Sufi and lies buried near Sha'irwari near the Hari Parbat Fort in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 284.

Shaikh Hayat: A chosen *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ma'ruf, he was a Suhrawardiyya and a hermit. He died at the age of 103 years.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 51.

Shaikh Hud: He was a grandson of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Multani, who was executed under the orders of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. See Shaikh Isma'il.

Shaikh Humayun Majzub Bihari: He was an Afghan who became a *majzub* and was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 501-2.

Shaikh Husain: He was the son of Malik Muhammad. Often overcome by *jazba*, he ultimately went on *hajj*. On his return to India, he received initiation from Shaikh Zaman Safiu'd-Din Chisti at Saipur in Qanauj. He died in 976/1568-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 283-4.

Shaikh Husain: A close friend and disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Shaikh Husain was a model of piety and learning. Although 'Abdu'l-Haqq testifies to his spiritual excellence, significantly, his recourse to the ruling of Imam-i Malik on an issue that a contaminated earthenware could only be broken and not used after cleaning shows that the Sufis were well conversant with the Islamic *Shari'ah*.

He died in 1005/1596-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 469-70.

Shaikh Husain: He was a chosen *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. His whole life is said to have been one of devotion and stringent spiritual excercises. He migrated from Kashmir to Bijapur where he died in 1108/1696-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 243-4.

Shaikh Husain: He was the son of Miyan Miyanji bin Dawud (d. 985/1577-8) and fond of *sama'*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 313.

Shaikh Husain: He was the son of Shaikh Mu'izz Balkhi and a nephew of Shaikh Muzaffar, the most distinguished disciple of the Firdawsiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Maneri. His uncle who granted him a *khilafatamah* initiated him into the discipline of Sufism. Under the guidance of Sharafu'd-Din he studied a half of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*; the remaining portion of the book was completed under the supervision of Shah Bad'iu'd-Din Shah Madar. After obtaining education in Delhi he accompanied his father and uncle to Mecca. He reached Mecca via Chittagong and after performing *hajj* returned to Bihar. His letters, quoted in the *Akhabaru'l-Akhyar*, are redolent of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's style. They are marked by his deep understanding of *zikr-i Ilahi*, *taqwa* and *tauba* for attaining *ma'irfah*. He quotes Qur'anic verses and *Hadis* to explain his viewpoint on the several ways through which seekers can reach God. According to him, those who do not live in the presence of Allah and consider themselves distant from Him are guilty of following a course contrary to His injunctions. He advises a *salik* to dwell in the unbounded Light (*Nur*) of Allah on this planet within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*. True, his interpretation of Allah's Light brings him closer to the view of seeing that Light in all that exists in the world; but then he simultaneously warns him of transgressing the bounds between the Creator (*Khaliq*) and the created (*makhluq*). In the ultimate analysis, Shaikh Husain urges a *salik*, as custodian of Allah's Light, to send ripples to the created by way of reforming their behaviour.

According to Shaikh Husain, the conflict of opinion among the people over the idea of God arose because of their obsession with His form. Only those who transcended such ideas could reach God and see His Being. Such persons were *muwahhids* or unitarians and their object of worship was none but God. Indifferent to controversial disputes, they were at peace with all. His advice was that every spiritual endeavour should be in the hope of attaining the Great Ocean and Unbounded Light of God. Such an effort was necessary for rejecting polytheism (*shirk*), *hulul*, and *ittihad*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 220-3.
Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1232-6.

Shaikh Husain: He came to Ajmer from Multan, and spent considerable time in meditation there. His spirituality attracted both the elite and the commoners to him. He died in Mandu at the ripe age of 109.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 223-4.

Shaikh Husain Baghdadi: He was a descendant of Imam Abu Hanifa. After travelling across Baghdad, Shiraz, and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, he came to India. He visited Delhi and other cities and finally settled at Asawal in Ahmedabad. A man of deep learning and righteousness, he was devoted to teaching. He died in 977/1569-70 and is entombed in Rasulabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 286-7.

Shaikh Husain Dhukarposh: (Dust-Ridden) He belonged to Purnea in Bengal and seems to have been a disciple of either Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq or Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam.

Maktubat-i Ashrafi, f. 38b.

Shaikh Husain Kahbur: He was a contemporary of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya. Before entering the Path of Sufism, he earned his living by cutting grass. He is entombed in Multan.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 48-9.

Shaikh Husain Kamraji: He was the son of Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din. After obtaining spiritual guidance from his brother, Shaikh Ya'qub, he resorted to *chilla* in the hollow of a tree for forty days in the forest of Shinu in the *pargana* of Macchipur. Like the Rishis, Shaikh Husain subsisted on wild vegetables of the forest. The wild animals are said to have been his friends. It was at the persuasion of the local people that he settled in their village and led a married life. The rajas of Bumu offered him a piece of land as *nazr* which he himself cultivated for the sustenance of his family. Shaikh Husain guided many people in the Path. After his death, he was buried in the same village.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 310.

Shaikh Husain Khuyahomi: This disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, earned the respect of his contemporaries for practising what he preached.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manakpuri: He was the son of Maulana Khwaja of Manakpur (near Allahabad, modern district Pratabgarh). He received a formal education in his home town and later travelled to Pandua to seek the guidance of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam. He would bring the wood for fuel from the forest besides rendering every kind of service at the *khanqah* of his *pir*. In 804/1401-2, Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam appointed him his *khalifa* and directed him to carry on the work of spiritual guidance in Manikpur. His learning and spiritual attainments exercised considerable influence on the local people.

Shaikh Husamu'd-Din's discourses (*malfuzat*), called the *Rafiqu'l-'Arifin*, were compiled into a book by his disciple Farid bin Salar. His advice to his disciples was to shun quarrels and to mix with everyone. Some of his sayings are worthy of note:

1. A true disciple is like a white patch on a garment of the same colour. On being washed, the patch also turns white like the garment and this is symbolic of the divine grace shared by the disciple through his *pir*. One who does not heed his *pir's* advice is a disciple in name only, and can therefore be compared to a black patch on a white garment.
2. A *salik* becomes an *'ashiq* through *zikr* and *ashgal* and is transformed into an *'arif* through *fikr*.
3. Divine blessings are showered suddenly; hence a *salik* should constantly look forward to receiving them secretly.
4. Even if a *salik* reaches the stage of *Qutb*, he should never forget to recite at least one chapter (*sipara*) of the Qur'an daily.
5. A *dervish* must possess four things: two of these, *din* and *yaqin*, should be right and straight, the rest, feet and heart, should be broken.
6. Greed is a disease and to beg is to court one's death.
7. The world is like a shadow and the Hereafter like the sun. A person who follows the shadow cannot reach the goal, but the one who follows the Light finds the shadow (world) following him.
8. Don't be so sweet that flies eat you up.
9. One shoud never associate oneself with one's former rivals after initiation lest they lead one astray.

He died in 853/1449-50.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 313-16.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 94-5.

Shaikh 'Ibadu'llah: He belonged to the family of Kauls and was the brother of Baba Ayatu'llah. He received initiation into the Kubrawiyya order from Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. Known for his piety and adherence to the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*, 'Ibadu'llah was a source of great comfort to seekers after the Truth. He died on 21 Sha'ban 1230/ 29 July 1815 and was buried in the cemetery of Ganj Baksh near the shrine of Saiyid Habibu'llah Kashani in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 382-4.

Shaikh Ibrahim: He was the third son of Baba Mas'ud Narwari. He urged people to shun *bid'a* with the main aim of ennobling their behaviour. His grave is in the village of Akharan in the *pargana* of Devasar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 234.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 205.

Shaikh Ibrahim: *Khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Shaikh Ibrahim (Qutb-i Zaman): Little is known about him except that he was regarded as the *Qutb* of his time. He did not marry, lived in solitude at a mosque in Rajorikadal, Srinagar, did not converse with any one and disappeared for several months from the gaze of the public. His disciples included 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Tulmuli (d. 14 Safar 1223/March–April 1808) and Shah 'Inayatu'llah. His tomb is not known.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 338.

Shaikh Ibrahim *alias* Thag Baba: Once he heard his *murshid*, Akhwund Mulla Taiyib, telling a seeker to wait for him in a particular mosque between *'asr* and the evening prayers for spiritual guidance.

Ibrahim reached the mosque before their arrival on the appointed time and hid behind a rolled mat. When Akhwund Mulla entered the mosque along with the seeker, he began teaching the latter. Failing to see the desired result of his repeated spiritual instructions on the seeker, the Mulla began to search the corners of the mosque and, after coming across Shaikh Ibrahim, addressed him in these words: "You pirate (*thag*)! You have pirated my entire spiritual bliss." Following this episode Shaikh Ibrahim became a *majzub* and remained so for nine years. It was only after successfully passing through the stage of intense ecstasy that Shaikh Ibrahim began to follow the *Shari'ah* in all aspects of his life.

After his death, Shaikh Ibrahim was buried near the tomb of his spiritual mentor. His tomb is popularly known as the shrine of Thag Baba in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 463-4.

Shaikh Ibrahim bin 'Umar Sindhi: A companion of Qazi Qazan Sindhi, he belonged to Burhanpur and was an adherent of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Ghausi Shattari writes about his leaning towards the ideas of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpur, though he clearly remarks that the Mahdawi claims concerning the culmination of *wilaya* and *Mahdawiyyat* in the person of the founder of such movement were expressed in a state of *sukr*.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 213-14.

Shaikh Ibrahim, Diwan: Known as Sani Farid-o Salis Farid, he was a descendant of Shaikh Badru'd-Din Sulaiman and a son of Baba Farid. He initiated Shaikh Salim of Sikri as a Chistiyya. According to Rizvi, "Possibly Guru Nanak called on this Farid-i Sani who was also known by many other titles such Shaikh Barham and Shah Ibrahim".

'Ali Asghar Chisti, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1884, p. 336.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* II, 280 and n.

Shaikh Ibrahim Kak *alias* Aba Kak: This disciple of Khwaja Rafiq Asha'i was an erudite scholar and often took delight in discussions. However, after his initiation into Sufism, Shaikh Ibrahim distributed his entire property and wealth among the poor and secluded himself at a *khanqah* somewhere in Srinagar. Later, he turned a *qalandar* and died on 28 Safar 1027/16 February 1618.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 454-5.

Shaikh Ibrahim Kubrawiyya: He was the younger brother of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi who is entombed in the *pargana* of Devsar in Kashmir. Diddamari writes that his tomb was an important centre of pilgrimage in his time.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 209.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 226.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 194.

Shaikh Ibrahim Muradabadi: Little is known about him except that he was a renowned Sufi of the Chistiyya order. He met with Shaikh Adam Banuri and later enrolled as a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 53.

Shaikh Ibrahim Sindhi: He was a contemporary of Shah Mansur Majzub. His concern for the needy as a Sufi was well known.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 249-50.

Shaikh Ilahbaksh: He belonged to Sarangpur in Malwa. His miraculous feats have been described by Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 402-3.

Shaikh Ilahbaksh Chisti: He was a Shattariyya Sufi, initiated by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, whose ancestors were affiliated to the Chistiyya order. His fondness for *sama'* often overwhelmed him with ecstasy in a state of *sukr*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 369-70.

Shaikh Ilahdad: He was a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. He died in 1049/1640.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 63-4.

Shaikh Ilahdad: He was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari who as a Chistiyya Sufi was a source of spiritual knowledge and comfort to the seekers after the Truth.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 503.

Shaikh Ilahdad Marhara: He was a Sufi endowed with a profound knowledge of the Qur'an, his spiritual career was marked by *tawwakul* and submissiveness with the supreme aim of gaining the pleasure of God.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 367-8.

Shaikh Ilahdad Salih: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid. An embodiment of exoteric and esoteric knowledge, his contribution as a spiritual teacher is commended by Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 451.

Shaikh Ilham Lari: He belonged to a noble family and was known for his fine round handwriting (*khat-i nasta'liq*). He received initiation from Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadli and, after passing through several stages in *suluk* under the spiritual guidance of his *murshid*, chose the embankment of a canal in the *pargana* of Lar as his abode. He spent twenty years in meditation there but ultimately, owing to the rush of visitors to his abode, first fled to Srinagar and later to Harwan in the Valley.

Shaikh Ilham was a poet as well and lies buried at Harwan.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 384.

Shaikh 'Ilmu'd-Din Majzub: He was a resident of Rohtak. Saturated with divine love, his spiritual attainments are lauded by Ghausi Shattari. He is entombed in Rohtak.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 424.

Shaikh 'Imadu'd-Din Dihlawi: He was a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shihabu'd-Din 'Ashiq.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 112.

Shaikh 'Ilmu'l-Huda: He came to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in 740/1339-40. Closely related to Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l-Fath, 'Ilmu'l-Huda was a master of exoteric and esoteric learning.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 53.

Shaikh 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri: He was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri. He also benefitted from the company of the latter's brother, Shah Muhammad Fazil (d. 9 Jamidu'l-Awwal 1117/18 August 1705), the distinguished Qadiriyya Sufi of his time.

A Sufi of versatile talent, 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri was fond of *sama'*, music, melody, and beauty. He also liked to remain in an ecstatic state and was an expert in the interpretation of dreams.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 280.

Shaikh 'Isa: Son of Shaikh Qasim Sindhi and born at Irijpur, the capital of Berar, he lost his father at an early age in 981/1573-4. Along with his uncle, he first migrated to Burhanpur and, four years later, visited Mandu, Gwalior, and Agra to drink deep at the fountain of the Shattariyya scholars and Sufis. After completing his studies, he returned to Burhanpur and distinguished himself as the most leading disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. He was dubbed as *ibahiyya* (heretic) and infidel (*zindiq*) by Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah Burhanpuri because of his spirited defence of the works of Ibn 'Arabi.

In his *'Anwaru'l-Asrar*, Shaikh 'Isa defended his viewpoint on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He attempted to show in his exegesis of the Qur'anic verses that the understanding of many commentators was literal; hence they could barely fathom the profound importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* for the Sufis. His two other works, the *Rauzatu'l-Husna* and *'Aynu'l-Ma'ani*, expounded at some length that the Reality of Allah lies in His unknowable primordial absoluteness rather than in His ninety-nine attributes. Symbolic representations (theophanies) in the form of His attributes cannot, therefore, fully explain the significance of the Reality of Allah as the source of all exoteric and esoteric attributes or the source of all being. Two of his verses related to the theme of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* are worthy of quote: "Were the heart of a single drop to be dissected, from out of it comes hundreds of clear oceans. All gods, all beloveds, all actors and all universalities are the theophany of His attributes, it is immaterial if the god is of stone or wood." Again, "In the temple they do not worship other than you, One may prostrate either before stone, clay or wood."

Among other works of Shaikh 'Isa may be mentioned his commentaries on the *Insan al-Kamil* of 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jilli, the *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, and also books related to the Shattariyya forms of *zikr* and exorcism. His advice to a beginner was that while imagining the form of his guide (*murshid*) in his heart he should repeat the name of the Merciful (Rahman) until his tongue was exhausted and mercy enveloped him. This was to be followed by breath control and the practice of keeping the eyes open until the vision brightened. Another method of remembering Rahman was to repeat this attribute either verbally or in the heart, believing Reality to be omnipresent and omniscient, and simultaneously convinced that all phenomenal objects are manifestations of the Real Being. While closing his eyes in the process of doing this *zikr*, the Sufi "perceived his own self as the esoteric form of all phenomenal objects".

A fairly detailed account of Shaikh 'Isa's contribution to Sufism in India is found in the *Gulzar-i Abrar* of Muhammad Ghausi Shattari.

Shaikh 'Isa died in 1031/1621-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 461-75.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 533b.

Muhammad Baqa, *Riyazu'l-Auliya*, MS, British Museum, f. 150b

Shaikh Ishaq: He came to Delhi from Multan. A widely travelled Sufi, he was a man of few words. Fond of *qawwali*, he died in 989/1581-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 476.

Shaikh Ishaq bin Shaikh Kaku Chisti: A descendant of Baba Farid, he was a Chistiyya Sufi of Lahore. Among his leading disciples was Maulana Shaikh Ahmad Shuryani, the grandfather of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi Chisti, the author of the *Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat*. He died in 996/1588.

Mutakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, p. 52.

Shaikh Ishaq Qalandar Sindhi: He was a wandering Sufi who enjoyed the company of Tahir Yusuf Sindhi. He died in 1010/1601-2 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 391.

Shaikh Islam Gotapuri: Little is known about him except that he was an ascetic who loved solitude. He died in 1181/1767-8 and was buried at his dwelling place in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 348.

Shaikh Isma'il: He was a son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Makhdum Safiu'd-Din Hanafi and a disciple of his father's *murshid*, Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir. He is entombed in Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1185.

Shaikh Isma'il: Little is known about him except that he was a Suhrawardiyya and a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He is entombed at the village of Gund Ibrahim in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 244.

Shaikh Isma'il: Little is known about him except that he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Mir 'Ali Qadiri. In spite of his illiteracy, he rubbed shoulders with Maulana Abu'l-Fath, thanks to his steadfastness and devoutedness. He lies buried at Anburhel in Anchar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 277-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 401.

Shaikh Isma'il: He was a nephew of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Multani, who, according to Jamali, succeeded his uncle. Ibn Battuta, however, says that the Shaikh nominated his grandson, Shaikh Hud, his successor. When Shaikh Isma'il challenged the latter's claim, the dispute was brought before Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Notwithstanding the Sultan's judgement in favour of Shaikh Hud, the latter was soon accused of misappropriating the income of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din's *khanqah*. After his property was seized under the orders of the Sultan, Shaikh Hud planned to flee to Transoxiana. But the Sultan gave orders for Shaikh Hud's execution on the false charge of masterminding the Mongol invasion of India.

Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah, III, pp. 303-7.

Jamali, p. 147.

Shaikh Isma'il Chisti: He was the son of a wealthy trader of Srinagar who obtained his early education from the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mulla Jamal. Later he went to India in pursuit of knowledge and received education in Sufism from Shaikh Nuru'llah Chisti. From Mir 'Abdu'llah Balkhi [see Numan, Amir Muhammad] he obtained permission to enrol disciples. After returning to Kashmir, he combined asceticism with teaching. Although he preferred to spend most of his time in solitude, he is credited with having opened a *madrasa* in which he imparted lessons to students at regular hours. He died on 10 Muharram 1007/4 August 1598. His tomb lies at Malkha in Srinagar in the vicinity of Mulla Jamal's grave on the roadside.

Diddamari *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 192-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 207.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 175.

Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi: He was a son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Fathu'llah Khwushkhwan. He was appointed Shaikhu'l-Islam during the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah and in that capacity built a number of mosques and *khanqahs* in the Valley. A huge *khanqah* built by him at the foot of Hariparbat hillock in Srinagar was a rendezvous for hundreds of students, who came to Kashmir from Kabul and the plains. A *langar* attached to it fed not only the students but also a large number of the poor. The main source of the *khanqah* was the revenue derived from the orchards and the land gifted to the Shaikh by dignitaries including Jahangir Raina. Sultan Hasan Shah and his successors, Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah, also made liberal grants for the upkeep of the *khanqah*.

The distinctive feature of the *khanqah* of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi was the regular and loud recitation of *Aurad-i Fathiyya* by a large group of the Sufis and seekers in the Path. The *khanqah* had also a rich library and a hostel with free board and lodging facilities for the students.

Shaikh Isma'il was an eminent Sufi teacher. There is little doubt that he played a significant role in popularizing the traditions of the Kubrawiyya order among other Sufi orders of the Kashmir valley. Among these must be particularly mentioned the practice of reciting *zikr* aloud in the mosques and *khanqahs* of the Valley. The most distinguished Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, was a product of the seminary of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi.

Towards the end of his life, Shaikh Isma'il lived like a hermit and appointed Baba 'Ali Najar as his *khalifa*. His death took place on 1 Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 916/8 June 1510 and lies buried near his own *khanqah,* now in ruins, on the northern side of the Koh-i Maran in Srinagar. It sounds strange that no effort was ever made in Kashmir to revive the glorious scholarly and Sufic traditions of the *khanqah* of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi after it was destroyed by fire in 1090/1679.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh*, ff. 22a-b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 113a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 119-20.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, ff. 79b-80a.

Aba Rafiu'd-Din, *Nawadiru'l-Akhbar*, f. 55a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 152-4.

Shaikh Isma'il Qadiri: He was a disciple of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Khaliq Qadiri of Malwa who came to the Valley through a spiritual journey to initiate him in the Qadiriyya order. After vouchsafing him the *khirqa*, staff and cap, 'Abdu'l-Khaliq went back to Malwa.

Shaikh Isma'il had friendly relations with Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and Baba Dawud Khaki. He seems to have exercised considerable influence on some trading families of Srinagar as is evident from the devotion of Khwaj Qasim Zargar and Sadru'd-Din Bachh to him. He died in 1027/1617-18 and is entombed near the grave of Baba Hajji Adham in the cemetery of Khwaja Sadru'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 201-2.

Shaikh Isma'il Qureshi Suhrawardi: A close relative of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya. He left Multan for Allahabad where he settled at the village of Naharwali. His tomb was a place of veneration in the seventeenth century when Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti visited. His prominent disciple was Khwaja Karak.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 919.

Shaikh 'Izz Kaku'i: He was a friend and fellow Sufi of the distinguished Firdawsiyya, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Munyari of Bihar. Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq gave orders for his execution along with Shaikh Ahmad Bihari for their unacceptable views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Shah Shua'ib, the author of *Manaqibu'l-Asfiya,* attributes the devastation caused by Timur's invasion and the consequent fall of the Tughluq empire to the execution of the two Sufis.

Manaqibu'l-Asfiya, pp. 338, 345-6.

Shaikh Jalal: Shah Walliu'llah refers to him as a *khalifa* of Shaikh Adam Banuri. He lived like a hermit in Phulat and is said to have predicted about the future spiritual exaltedness of Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aqil.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 361.

Shaikh Jalal: Ibn Battuta who travelled through Chittagong and Kamrup to visit Shaikh Jalal in 1345, confuses him with Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi. Most later writers accept the statement of the Moorish traveler without any examination.

Shaikh Jalal was a Turkistani by birth and a *khalifa* of Saiyid Ahmad Yasawi of the Silsilah-i Khwajgan. According to Ghausi Shattari, he was not enthusiastic about participating in military warfare against infidelity, called *Jihad-i Asghar* or the lesser war. Like most Sufis, he preferred to wage the greater war (*Jihad-i Akbar*) aginst his own pestering self (*nafs*). Blessed by his *pir*, he came to India along with his most famous seven hundered disciples. While travelling through India, he advised most of his disciples to propagate Islam, and he himself reached Sylhet along with 313 followers. He is said to have defeated Raja Gaur Govinda who headed one hundred thousand footmen and several thousand horsemen. The sharing out of the land among his disciples followed the conquest of Sylhet. Shaikh Jalal did not marry, but allowed his followers to marry and settle down.

The above account of the military exploits of Shaikh Jalal seems to be legendary considering the numbers 700 and 313, of followers who accompanied the Sufi to India. Also, one wonders how the Sufi took to warfare given his austerities and spiritual training. According to Ibn Battuta, Shah Jalal would would observe fasts for ten days at a stretch. The traveller who visited his *khanqah* near a cave found him "as thin as a stick". Whatever gifts received by the Shah from the visitors were distributed among the fellow *dervishes* while he himself lived on the milk from his cow. Shah Jalal's self-denial, intuitive grasp of matters, and, of course, his miracles, left a deep impression on Ibn Battuta who testifies to the popularity of the Sufi from the Eastern Islamic world to China. Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din Sagharji of China told the Moorish traveller that Shah Jalal controlled everything that happened in the world.

The popularity of Shah Jalal among Hindus and Buddhists must have been due to his exalted spiritual stature rather than his militant activities. It is most likely that the Mongol invasions first enforced Shah Jalal's migration to Baghdad and thence to Multan and Uch. At Uch he was formally initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order. A meeting with Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya en route to Bengal cannot be ruled out. Sylhet was earlier conquered by Shamsu'd-Din Firuz (1301-22), the gifted governor of Bengal. The Shaikh seems to have reached the newly conquered territory in the early fourteenth century and made it the abode of his spiritual actitivies.

He died in 748/1347.

Syed Murtaza Ali writes that the *dargah* of Shah Jalal "stands on an elevation in the northern part of Sylhet town and has been an object of veneration and respect for all creeds and sects. The holy tomb is majestically situated on the northern side of the hillock with an enclosure of brick walls having eleven large and lofty pillars in its four corners which hold a canopy over the tomb. On the western side of the enclosure and forming a part of it stands a small mosque which was rebuilt by Mr. Wills, a Collector of Sylhet between 1789 and 1793. The largest building of the shrine, called Gumbud, was erected in 1677 during the reign of Aurangzeb by Farhad Khan, Amil of Sylhet. On the southern side of the Gumbud is the mosque which was built by Bahram Khan, Faujdar of Sylhet, in 1744. This is one of the largest mosques in Sylhet." He further observes, "One of the many acts of respect shown by a Muslim ruler of Sylhet was his visit to the shrine on his first arrival at Sylhet. Mr. Lindsay, who became Collector of Sylhet in 1779, gives the following account of his visit: 'I was now told it was customary for the new Resident to pay his respect to the Shrine of the titular saint Shah Jalal. Pilgrims of Islamic faith flock to his shrine from every part of India and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the *dargah* were not a little dangerous. It was not my business to combat religious prejudices and I, therefore, went in state as others had done before, left my shoes on the threshold and deposited on the tomb five gold mohurs as offering. Being thus purified I returned to my dwelling and received the homage of my subjects.'"

The present author visited the shrine of Shah Jalal in the company of Syed Murtaza Ali in March 1980.

Ibn Battuta, *Voyages*, IV, pp. 126-7.

Gulzar-i Abrar (U), pp. 112-13.

Syed Murtaza Ali, *Saints of Pakistan,* Karachi, 1971, pp. 25-31.

Shaikh Jalal: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah and the brother of Shaikh Yusuf. He had both exoteric and esoteric knowledge and died in 161/1553-4.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 246.

Shaikh Jalal Bukhari: He was a Sufi of high calibre who entered Kashmir along with a group of the Saiyids. He is entombed at the Mazar-i Salatin in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 150.

Shaikh Jalal Chisti: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti. Little is known about him except that he was an intoxicated soul always absorbed in the remembrance of God.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 313.

Shaikh Jalal Kandakari: He was a contemporary of the Naqsbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang. In spite of his illiteracy, he was a Sufi of high standing. Tang refers to his meeting with Akhwund Mulla Nazuk in the company of Sufi Mahmud Naqshbandi and Shaikh Jalal Kandakari. When Mahmud Naqshbandi asked Mulla Nazuk how he could reconcile the two sayings of the Prophet: "Poverty is my pride" and "Poverty takes to *kufr*", Shaikh Jalal remarked, "Why don't you ask me to answer such a question?"

All through his life, Shaikh Jalal preferred *faqr* to riches and highly valued the virtues of *tawwakul.* He lies buried at Nandpura in Mir Bahri, Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 176-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 314-15.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 287-8.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 220.

Shaikh Jalal Mattu: He was a *khalifa* of Shah Shahbaz and a Sufi of high calibre. His remains were buried Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 197, 206.

Shaikh Jalal Muhammad: After obtaining exoteric knowledge he wandered in search of a spiritual guide. Initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ansari, he was advised to guide people in Burhanpur. Later, after going on *hajj*, he founded a *khanqah* in Burhanpur, the place of his burial. Several stories are recorded by Ghausi Shattari about his spirituality. He died on 23 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 928/21 February, 1522.

Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 205-6.

Shaikh Jalal Qanuji Qureshi: He became famous as Lalla. An ecstatic, he would often roam about in the streets of the city loudly chanting the names of Allah (*asma-i Ilahi*). He died at the age of 127 in 988/1580-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U) p. 475.

Shaikh Jalal Wasil: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari whose lofty spiritual attainments elicit the encomium of Ghausi Shattari. He died in 990/1582-3 and is entombed in Kalpi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 518.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Mujjadid Turkistani: Born in Bengal, he was a *khalifa* of Sultan Saiyid Ahmad Yassawi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 112-13.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Panipati: He was the son of a diginitary in Panipat who was inititated into the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya branch by Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Turk Panipati. As a *khalifa* of the latter, Shaikh Jalal is said to have played an important role in popularizing Sufism in Panipat. He is reputed to have maintained a very large *langar*. One of his prominent disciples was Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti gives the date of death of Jalalu'd-Din Panipati as 13 Rab'iu'l-Awwal without mentioning the year. However, he described him as a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud bin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah who died in 815/1412-13. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti found many descendants of Shaikh Jalal living in Panipat in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 39-40, 1036-43.

Shaikh Jamal: He was a Sufi devoted to imparting lessons on exoteric and esoteric learning. An *'abid* and *zahid* of his time, the Shaikh had a deep knowledge of the *Ihyau'l-'Ulum* and *Sahiu'l-Bukhari*. He lies buried in Sindh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 367.

Shaikh Jamal: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din, the son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aini. He is buried in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 240.

Shaikh Jamal: A Gujjar by caste, he was the disciple of the famous Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1434). Such was Shaikh Jamal's steadfastness in following the Path that his *pir* described him as the only real Muslim between Pandua and Awadh. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, once a dog owned by Shaikh Ahmad gave birth to puppies. The Shaikh celebrated the event by giving a feast to a number of the dignitaries and common people in Awadh but did not invite Shaikh Jamal. When, the following day, the disciple asked why he had been excluded, the master replied that the feast had been arranged for dogs, in other words, for the worldly, rather than for real men. He quoted the *Hadis*: "The world is a rotting carcass, and dogs are its seekers (*adduniya jeefatun wa ta'libuha' kilab*)."

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 337.

Shaikh Jamal Bayabani: He lived like a hermit in A'lapur in Bengal. Ghausi Shattari describes his visit to the habitat of such a noble soul with a radiant heart.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 502-3.

Shaikh Jamal bin Shaikhu'l-Islam: Born in Chanderi, he came to Ujjain along with his father. He imparted lucid and stimulating lessons on several books on Sufism including the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah* of Saiyid Husaini. His *faqr* elicits the praise of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 318.

Shaikh Jamal Pathri: He was a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. His father, Saiyid Husain, migrated to the Deccan from Iran and settled in Pathri near Ahmadnagar. Sultan Bahadur Shah (932/1526–943/1537) of Gujarat invited him to Ahmedabad and constructed a *khanqah* for him where he disseminated the teachings of the Qadiriyya order. He died in 971/1564.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 208-9.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi supplement, Barauda, 1930, p. 62.

Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din: A *khalifa* of Makhdum Shaikh Bheek, who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. He is entombed at Budh Hazar in Jaunpur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1230.

Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Hansavi: He was a close friend and the seniormost disciple of Baba Farid. Before his initiation in Sufism, the Shaikh was the *khatib* of Hansi, and owned villages and much property. Although he voluntarily chose the path of poverty, his request once led Nizamu'd-Din Auliya to speak to Baba Farid about his miserable circumstances. The latter's response was that it was Jamalu'd-Din's responsibility to bear the burden that assignment of spiritual territory (*wilayat*) entailed on its holder.

Jamalu'd-Din was a scholar and poet. His prose *Mulhimat*, written in Arabic, comprising Sufi aphorisms, and his Persian *Diwan* are extant.

The most favourite disciple of Baba Farid, the Shaikh often exclaimed, "Jamal is our *jamal* (beauty)." Once the renowned Suhrawardiyya contemporary of Baba Farid, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, offered to exchange all his disciples for him. But the Shaikh responded that such a deal was only possible in the case of property (*mal*), not beauty (*jamal*).

The date of the death of Shaikh Jamau'd-Din is not known, but it was before that of his spiritual preceptor. His *dargah* was visited by commoners and the elite in large numbers as long as Hansi served as the provincial headquarters. Following the foundation of Hisar Firuza as the provincial headquarters of the extensive territorial unit (*shiqq*) by Sultan Firuz Shah in 1354, there was a considerable decrease in the number of pilgrims to Hansi. And as a result of Partition, the town was deserted by its population. As Siddiqui states that its Muslims were either massacred or they fled to Pakistan. Although the Muslim Waqf Board is controlling the affairs of the *dargah*, it "has ceased to be of even local importance".

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 178-9.

Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shah*, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 80-1.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 133-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 44.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 803-6.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 98b-99b.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century in India*, pp. 192-3.

Troll, ed., *Muslim Shrines in India*, pp. 17-18.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, I, pp. 153-4.

Shaikh Jeev: His original name was 'Abdu'l-Hai. He was one of the venerable *khulafa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari. His sincere faith in Allah, his meditative practices in solitude, abstemiousness, chosen poverty, submissiveness, steadfastness and humbleness of mind are highlighted by Ghausi Shattari. In order to avoid contact with people who were a constant drag on his time, he migrated to Delhi and thence to Panipat. His final destination was Bidauli where he was laid to rest.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 272-3.

Shaikh Ju'i Bari: A contemporary of Qasim Shaikh and a disciple of Maulana Khwajgi, he died in 980/1572-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 295.

Shaikh Junaid: He lived in Mohan near Lucknow, in the present-day district of Unnao, UP. Earning the title of the second Junaid because of his devoutness and adherence to the *Shari'ah*, he would perform *zikr* loudly (*zikr-i jahr*) during the night near the banks of the river Sa'i. He would also remember God in a low voice (*zikr-i jali*) while jumping into the river in order to keep awake. Then he would recite the *zikr* mentally (*zikr-i khafi*).

Shaikh Junaid earned his living by the sweat of his brow. He would sell firewood from the jungle. Such was his *faqr* that he would give away surplus earnings in charity.

Shaikh Junaid fluently composed verses in Arabic praising the Prophet Muhammad and the Chistiyya *pirs*. Beside also composing verses in Persian and Hindi, he authored several treatises on Sufism.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 426b-431a.

Shaikh Junaid Mufti: He was the son of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Qureshi Assadi Hashimi. A Sufi gifted with wisdom, inner piety, and excellent manners, he would not eat except in the company of a guest. He extended generous help to the needy. He died on 4 Sha'ban 998/29 April 1589.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 358.

Shaikh Kabir: He was a descendant of Shaikh Farid bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz bin Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri. Born in 799/1396-7 he was a compendium of esoteric and exoteric knowledge. He wrote a commentary on *Za'u Misbah* under the title *Kitab-i Dahan*. His death took place in 863/1458-9 in Gujarat where he had settled after migrating from Nagaur.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 323.

Shaikh Kabir: He was a *khalifa* of Shahbaz. He is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 197-8.

Shaikh Kabir 'Abbasi: He was one of the *khalifas* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir and a Sufi of considerable merit.

Lata'if-i Ashrafi as quoted in *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), pp. 1180-1.

Shaikh Kabir Barhana Balwi Dipalpuri: A born Sufi who was sunk in the ocean of divine love, he became an orphan during his childhood. He died in 1016/1607-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 426-7.

Shaikh Kabir Malamati: Interestingly, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman regards this noted Bhakti saint as a *khalifa* of Shaikh Bheek who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. Initially, he was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi bin Ramzan Hayak Suhrawardi who is entombed in Allahabad. Later, he associated himself with Ramanand, the Bhakti saint. Under the latter's influence, Shaikh Kabir did not care for the religious obligations and made even ecstatic utterances under the overwhelming influence of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. On account of Shaikh Kabir's life style as a *malamtiyya*, *fatwas* denouncing him as a *kafir* were pronounced against him. However, after passing through several stages in his spiritual career, Shaikh Kabir ultimatley received the *khirqa* of *khilafat* in the Firdusiyya *silsilah* from Makhdum Shaikh Bheek.

For Shaikh Kabir, Sufism was a matter of experience rather than words. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti observes that he believed in peace with all.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1230-1.

Shaikh Kadan Danishmand Khairabadi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi. The latter was a disciple of the noted Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Lucknow, Shah Mina.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Kahandoti: Endowed with inner piety, he belonged to Kahandut Jalalpur situated in Kalpi. A contemporary of Emperor Humayun and Sher Shah Sur, he died in 961/1553-4.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 245-6.

Shaikh Kaja: His real name was Ilahdad. A soldier by profession, he once fell in love with a beautiful girl. Subsequently, he resigned the military service and, overcome by a longing for knowing the real Beloved, went to Sarangpura in Malwa. Having turned a Sufi ecstatic, Shaikh Kaja gained popularity among the people.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 520.

Shaikh Kalimu'd-Din Musa Gujarati: A distinguished scholar with the gift of the gab, he had leanings towards Sufism. He seems to have been a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari and lies buried in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 459.

Shaikh Kalu: See Shaikh Kamal.

Shaikh Kamal: He was the son of the Firdausiyya Sufi, Shaikh Kabir Malamati. Like his father, he was a Malamatiyya. However, after his death, Shaikh Kamal migrated to Gujarat where, as a result of immense respect shown to him by Shah 'Alam, he became famous. His tomb is in Ahmedabad.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1231.

Shaikh Kamal *alias* Shaikh Kalu He was a disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din (d. 853/1449-50) of Manikpur, near Allahabad, in the modern district of Pratabgarh. A Sufi of considerable merit, he died at Kara in AD 1450, about 41 miles west of Allahabad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 318.

Gulzar-i Abrar, (Z), p. 95.

Shaikh Kamal: He was an Uwaisi and therefore was not traditionally initiated by a Sufi master. Considered to be a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Fuzail of Baghdad and ultimately also of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, he is reported to have met Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's father, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad, during his travels in Thaneswar. Although they became close friends, Shaikh Kamal actually distinguished himself as a *malamati* and *majzub*. The towns of Pa'il and Kaithal, near Sirhind, turned into the centres of the Qadiriyya order, thanks to Shaikh Kamal's influence, notwithstanding his apparent violation of social and religious laws as *majzub*. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad, though initiated into the Chistiyya order, evinced great interest in the Qadiriyya order owing to his association with both Shaikh Kamal and his grandson Shaikh Sikandar (d. 1023/1614-15). The octogenarian Shaikh Kamal died in 981/1573 and is entombed in Kaithal.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 104-8.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 45n.

Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din: He was a grandson of Baba Farid and the son of the Baba's eldest son, Nasiru'd-

Din. The latter was devoted to prayer and meditation and earned his livelihood from agriculture. Kamalu'd-Din settled in Dhar in Malwa and distinguished himself as a Sufi of great name. Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa constructed a tomb over his grave.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 198.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 511.

Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din: Son of Shaikh Sulaiman Qureshi, he was born in Kalpi. A disciple of Argun Madari, he learnt *da'wat-i asma-i* and other *azkar* from Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Shattari. He migrated to Mandu where he died at the ripe age of 100.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 281.

Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din Qureshi: He was a *murid* of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Jhanjhani. He was buried in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 234-5.

Shaikh Karamu'llah: He was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Jumman who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Bad'iu'd-Din Shah Madar. He died in Mandu in 1004/1595-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 398-9.

Shaikh Karamu'llah Multani: Son of Dawud Multani who owed allegiance to the Suhrawardiyya order, he migrated to Mandu where he gained considerable popularity. The Mughal governor of Gujarat, Raja Man Singh, often paid obeisance to the Suhrawardiyya Sufi by making a personal appearance at his residence.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 503.

Shaikh Katin Laka Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Bilal.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 348.

Shaikh Khanu Gwaliori: A prominent disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Khwaja Husain Nagauri, he obtained *khirqa* from Shaikh 'Isma'il Ibn Shaikh Husain Sarmast who was stationed in Chanderi. He was a devotee of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti. His noted disciples were Shaikh Nizam Narnauli (d. 997/1589), Shaikh Isma'il, and Shaikh Munawwar. He died in 941/1534-5.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 395.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 211-12.

Shaikh Khizr: He was a Qadiriyya who lived alone in the hills of Siwistan in Sindh. Subsisting on wild fruits and in winter wearing only a small loin covering, his abode was an oven (*tanur*) that he had dug out for burning wood in winter and for cooking purposes. He is also said to have loved the company of wild animals. Once the governor of Siwistan found him seated on a stone in the blistering sun, absorbed in meditation. The Shaikh immediately asked the governor to leave, lest the terrible thought of a shadow made by the official dignitary should force him to think of something other than God. The famous Qadiriyya Sufi, Miyan Mir, was his pupil.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, pp. 27-8.

Shaikh Khuda Baksh Mandawi: His ancestors came to India from Arabia. Initiated into Sufism by Shaikh Fazlu'llah bin Shaikh Husain Chisti Multani, he meditated in solitude. A Sufi of high calibre, his spiritual attainments received the attention of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 482-4.

Shaikh Khudawardi Wilayati: Initiated as Suhrawardiyya by the noted Kashmiri Sufi, Baba Dawud Khaki, he was known for his *kashaf*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Shaikh Khwaja: He was initiated as a Chistiyya by Abu Sa'id Chisti Gangohi (d. 1049/1639-40), and worked as his *khalifa* in Panipat.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 472.

Shaikh Khwaja 'Alam: He was a descendant of Khwaja Maudud Chisti from his father's lineage and that of Shaikh Jalal Panipati from his mother's side. Initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he was a fountain of exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He is entombed in Birpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 371-2.

Shaikh Lad Jeev Sindhi: He was a Sufi of admirable virtues who lies buried in Burhanpur near the tomb of Shaikh Ibrahim Sindhi. He died at the age of 70 in 1007/1598-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 405-6.

Shaikh Lal: This chosen disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, had a passion for music. Once in a state of ecstasy caused by a melodious song sung by a stranger, he fell off the roof of his house. Unmindful of the injury he continued to dance until he regained consciousness. On another occasion he was in Ahmedabad along with Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. An assembly of *sama'* was arranged by the *subehdar* of Gujarat in his honour. Shaikh Lal is said to have been overcome with ecstasy to such an extent that as a result of his fervent response to the music he breathed his last crying, *Ya Huwa! Ya Huwa*! He was buried in Ahmedabad.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 226-7.

Shaikh L'al Shah: Waliu'llah refers to the association of his father, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, with him.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 88.

Shaikh Luhra: His real name was 'Abdu'r-Razzaq and was the son of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Makki. A revered Sufi, Shaikh Luhra died in 984/16 September 1576 and is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 295.

Shaikh Mahdi: He was the brother and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ya'qub Chhatabali. He spent his life in meditation and retired in a village in the *pargana* of Sairu'l-Mawazi. He is entombed there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 310.

Shaikh Mahdi 'Ali Sopuri: His grandfather came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. After completing his religious education in Kashmir, he went to Delhi where he met Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Initiated in the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya order, Shaikh Mahdi was granted *irshad* to disseminate its teachings in the town of Sopur. A letter of the Mujaddid contained in the *Maktubat* is addressed to Shaikh Mahdi. His tomb is in Sopur.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 212.

Shaikh Mahmud: He obtained formal education from his father, Shaikh Rahmatu'llah and later became the *khalifa* of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari. He died on 12 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1204/30 November 1789 at the age of 80.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 366-7.

Shaikh Mahmud: Son of 'Abdu'llah Gujarati, he was initiated as a Shattariyya by Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. Under his influence a Hindu boy embraced Islam. He died in 1004/1595-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 395-6.

Shaikh Mahmud Banjara: He was a Sufi of considerable merit who is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 368.

Shaikh Mahmud bin 'Arif Chisti: He was a *khalifa* of his father who practised Sufism within the bounds of the *Sunnah.* He was a contemporary of Sultan Bahlul Lodi and is said to have been a Sufi of high spiritual ability.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 512.

Shaikh Mahmud bin 'Abdu'llah Gujarati: Born in Gujarat, he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad. Devoted to God, he had submitted to the ocean of His love. Ghausi Shattari praises his heart-throbbing recitation of the Qur'an. He performed *hajj*.

Shaikh Mahmud died in 1004/1595-6 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 395-6.

Shaikh Mahmud bin Jalal: Born in Gujarat, he was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari and a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. He was a source of spiritual guidance and inspiration for many people in Mandu where he died on 10 Sha'ban 996/25 June 1588.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 349.

Shaikh Mahmud bin Muhammad: He was a cousin and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Mahmud bin Saiyid Malik: Born in Gujarat, he enrolled as a *murid* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif in Daulatabad, Deccan. Later, he went to Narnaul via Malwa to see Shaikh Nizam Narnauli. After gaining spiritual benefits, he went to Mandu where he built a mosque in 986/1578-9. He died there in 1019/1610-11.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 442-3.

Shaikh Mahmud Chisti: He was the son of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Chisti and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. After leading the life of an ascetic, he died in Baramulla, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 362.

Shaikh Mahmud Chisti Ranthambori: Son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ilahdad Chisti, he led an austere life in the village of Kajwahan in Mandu and did not accept any gift from the rulers. He died in 985/1577-8 and lies entombed near the tomb of his father.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 256-7.

Shaikh Mahmud Gana'i: A *khalifa* of Uzza Baba-i Hatabi and a Sufi of intrinsic worth, he died on 9 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1243/30 September 1827 and was buried at the *mohalla* of Sokalipura in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 38.

Shaikh Mahmud Maudud Lari: He was a disciple of Baba Nizamu'd-Din Abdal who, in turn, was the pupil of Maulana 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Lari. He was a Qadiriyya and an exponent of the *Wahdat al-*

Wujud. Quite often in the evenings while overcome with ecstasy, he would deliver extempore lectures based on the *Fusus al-Hikam* and related works. He migrated to Panipat at an old age. His illustrious disciple was Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati (d. 957/1550).

Maudud Lari died in 937/1530-1 and is entombed in Panipat.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 234.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 211.

Shaikh Makhdum Sulaiman Rudauli: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh Dihlawi. His genealogy is traced to Khalid bin Walid, the companion of the Prophet Muhammad. His disciples were found in the town of Rudauli and elsewhere. He lies buried in Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1002-3.

Shaikh Makhu: He was a disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Originally hailing from Gujarat, he had migrated to Zainabad near Burhanpur at the request of the Sultan of Khandesh. He was an ascetic and celibate and died in 1010/1601-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 164).

Shaikh Manjhan: Son of Shaikh Mahmud Chisti Ranthambori, he was affiliated to the Chistiyya order. He is entombed at the *pargana* of Hasilpur in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 254-5.

Shaikh Mansur: The son and *khalifa* of famous Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Budh, he travelled quite often and met with several Sufis including Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1163.

Shaikh Mansur: He lived in Mandu. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis relates a story about Emperor Humayun's faith in the *majzub's* spirituality.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 485-6.

Shaikh Ma'ruf: He was well versed in exoteric and esoteric knowledge. He first sought guidance from Shaikh Abu'l-Muzaffar Dihlawi and later from Mulla Shah. Having been initiated into the Qadiriyya order, he endeavoured to guide people in the Path. He seems to have enjoyed considerable respect, given the fact that one of his poor disciples was appointed as the *khatib* of the Jama' mosque of Srinagar on his recommendation.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 280.

Shaikh Ma'ruf: He was a *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir, whose tomb in the town of Aldimu was a place of popular pilgrimage during the seventeenth century. He descended from Shaikh Junaid Baghdadi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1181.

Shaikh Ma'ruf: He was the most prominent disciple of Maulana Ilahdad (d. 1526) of Jaunpur. One of his learned disciples was Shaikh Ahmad Zain.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 197.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 298a.

Shaikh Ma'ruf: He was a treasure of spiritual knowledge who guided seekers after the Truth in the Path in Sitapur, bordering Multan and Bhakkar.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 311-12.

Shaikh Ma'ruf bin Qazi Sa'du'llah: He was a *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Nizam Narnauli. His ancestors came to India from Baghdad. Shaikh Ma'ruf performed *hajj* and died in Mecca in 998/1589-90.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 356-7.

Shaikh Mas'ud: He was a disciple of Baba Muhiu'd-Din Pandani. Described as a perfect *Wali* of the Kubrawiyya order, he led a life of self-denial. His tomb is in the village of Chaghal in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 391.

Shaikh Mas'ud: He was initiated as Suhrawardiyya by his father, Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari. His son, Shaikh Muhammad Afzal (d. 1196/1781-2) earned a good name. Hasan mentions Shaikh Mas'ud casually.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 363.

Shaikh Mir Ju Nawchu: A pupil of Mulla Haidar Charkhi and Khwaja Muhammad Topigaru, he made his mark as teacher in Kashmir. His fondness for reciting *awrad* and *wazaif* was manifest. He died in 1111/1699-1700.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 323.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Miranji: Son of Shaikh Mahmud Chisti Ranthambori, he was affiliated to the Chistiyya order and lies entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 257.

Shaikh Miyan Aaba: He was the *khalifa* of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He died in 998/1589-90.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 352-3.

Shaikh Mu'amar: This *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makdhum Kashmiri avoided the company of people.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 191.

Shaikh Mu'azzam Gopamu'i: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Mubarak: He was the son of Shaikh Mahmud Chisti Ranthambori. Initiated into the Chistiyya order, he led a life of chosen poverty (*faqr*). He is entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 255.

Shaikh Mubarak: He lived in Rudauli, and was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Mubarak: Born in Jhanjhana, he was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Qiwam Siwana who, in turn, was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Jaunpuri. He is entombed in Jhanjhana.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 214.

Shaikh Mubarak Gopamu'i: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 76.

Shaikh Mubarak Majzub: He was an intoxicated soul who is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 362-3.

Shaikh Mubarak Siddiqui: He was a *murid* of Shaikh Jalal Lohangi and received the robe of *khilafa* from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik Shattari Sarangpuri Malwi. He came to Mandu in 981/1573-4 and received spiritual guidance there from Shaikh Mahmud Jalal Shattari. He resorted to a few *chillas* and spent some three years in Mandu until his death in 1010/1601-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 423.

Shaikh Mubarak Sindhi: He received an early education from Makhdum 'Abbas bin Jalal. He was a disciple of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. Died in 972/1564-5 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 289.

Shaikh Muhabbat: Born in Delhi, he came under the influence of Hasan Mazhari of Malwa in 985/1577-8. Subsequently, he went on *hajj* and returned to Malwa. He died at Sarangpur in Malwa.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 349-50.

Shaikh Muhammad: He was a learned Sufi whose regular habit was to entertain the guests who visited him. Saturated with divine love, he died in 993/1585-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 340.

Shaikh Muhammad: He was the eldest son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aqil. He received an early education in Narnaul and futher developed his spiritual life in the company of Shaikh 'Abu'r-Riza and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahim. Shah Waliu'llah extols his quest for spiritual learning and *faqr*. He was fond of listening to the songs of divine love from one of his young students, 'Azmatu'llah, living in his *khanqah*. One night when in a state of spiritual elation his pupil did not bother about his repeated calls for a song; the Shaikh was so annoyed that 'Azmatu'llah lost his melodious and charismatic voice for good.

At the time of Shaikh Muhammad's (d. 8 Jamai'd-u'l-Awwal 1225/11 June 1810) burial at Phulat no less a person than Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim commanded the mourners to recite *zikr* aloud in the cemetery itself as the deceased Sufi's spirit had requested such a favour from his *murshid*. Significantly, even Shah Waliu'llah, a Sufi scholar of deep learning, takes prides in describing at some length some of the miracles of his father's disciple.

Shaikh Muhammad had several disciples including Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rahim, Saiyid Hashim, Saiyid 'Inayatu'llah, Muhammad.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 361-73.

Shaikh Muhammad: He was the grandson and *khalifa* of the Suhrawaridyya Sufi of Lucknow, Shaikh Sarang.

Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina* (U), Lahore, 1994, p. 247.

Shaikh Muhammad: See Taju'l-'Ashiqin.

Shaikh Muhammad: Brother and *khalifa* of the Kubrawiyya Sufi scholar of Kashmir, Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, he dedicated himself to the mission of guiding the people along the Sufi path. He is entombed in the cemetery of his *murshid* at Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 208.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 197.

Shaikh Muhammad: The third son of Shaikh Muhammad Sharif, he spent his life in the devotion of Allah. On 7 Muharram 1083/25 April 1672 he died and was buried in the ancestral graveyard.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 284.

Shaikh Muhammad: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif, son of the prominent Chistiyya Sufi of Rudauli, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (837/1434). His distinguished disciple was Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 340.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 512.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1161-2.

Shaikh Muhammad: He was a Chistiyya Sufi who was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Hasan Muhammad (d. 982/1574-5) of Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 294.

Shaikh Muhammad 'Abid: Brother of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari, he was initiated by Shaikh Ya'qub Chattabali and appointed his successor. Shaikh Husain Kamraji also guided him in *suluk*. He was a source of great comfort for the people. After his death, he was buried at the cemetery of his *murshid* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira'*(U), p. 328.

Shaikh Muhammad Abkash: He was a descendant of Makhdum 'Abdu'l-Karim Qidwa'i and a disciple of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Jaunpuri. He died in 884/1479-80.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1118-19.

Shaikh Muhammad Afzal: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari's son, Shaikh Mas'ud. He received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from his father and, after being granted *khat-i irshad*, proved to be a source of immense benefit to people. Simplicity and nobleness were the hallmarks of Muhammad Afzal's character and he died in Kashmir in 1196/1781-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 363.

Shaikh Muhammad Afzal: Son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Yusuf Tamimi, he obtained exoteric knowledge from Shaikh Jalal and later from Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Mufti. A Sufi of considerable qualities, he died on 21 Safar 1003/26 October 1594 in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 391.

Shaikh Muhammad 'Aini: He had descended from the family of Ainu'l-Quzzat Hamadani. He reached Gujarat from Hamadan and settled in Ahmedabad. Along with his son, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-Din, who latter became his *khalifa*, he served the cause of Sufi learning in Ahmedabad. He is buried there.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 240-1.

Shaikh Muhammad Amin Dhar: He was a wealthy businessman of Srinagar who, after obtaining education, went to Lahore. There he joined the military service and distributed all that he had inherited from his father among the poor. At Lahore he met with Miyan 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Lahori, a *khalifa* of 'Usman Jalandari, and received spiritual training from him. When his training was complete, the *murshid* bestowed on him the *khirqa-i irshad*. On his return to Srinagar, Muhammad Amin Dhar stayed at the habitat of a boatman of Andarwari. Afterwards Khwaja Tahir Asha'i offered him a house adjacent to his house at Fatehkadal and, himself, took delight in serving him for receiving the exoteric and esoteric guidance. For some years Muhammad Amin Dhar lived in seclusion in the house of his host. But his fame as a Sufi and scholar spread far and wide in no time. The visitors to his residence included both the rich and the poor in addition to the ulama and *fuzala*. Occasionally, the assemblies at his house were marked by a great deal of discussion among various groups of ulama and *fuzala* who flocked to him for guidance. Once he was angry with the ulama for starting a heated debate on a religious issue. Although he loved their company, he expected them to explain the profundities of the subtle issues with circumspection. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang gives an eyewitness account of useful discussions held in the assemblies of Muhammad Amin Dhar.

As a Sufi, Muhammad Amin Dhar's activities were inspired by the sayings of the Naqshbandiyyas: *dast dar kar dil ba yar* and *khilwat dar anjuman*. He wrote the *Qatrat* and *Risala-i Zaruriyya*.

Towards the end of his life, he had a pleasant meeting with Emperor Aurangzeb. On 11 Ramadan 1099/1 August 1688 he died. His tomb is situated at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 104-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 300-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 272-3.

Shaikh Muhammad 'Aqil: He was a disciple of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl who evokes the praise of Shah Wali-u'llah for his *'ilm* and *faqr*.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 361.

Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif: He was a peasant who lived at the village of Drand in the *pargana* of Phag. He received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadali. A Sufi of intrinsic qualities, Muhamamd 'Arif lies buried at Drand in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 385.

Shaikh Muhammad Asawali: He was originally named Adhan. He was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din Qutb-i 'Alam Bukhari. A Sufi well versed in exoteric and esoteric knowledge, the Shaikh (d. 870/1465-6) is entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar, p. 139.

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadli: He belonged to the family of Topigarus in Srinagar. Initiated into the Kubrawiyya and Qadiriyya orders by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Gani Lankar, he made good progress in *suluk*. Later, under the guidance of the spirit of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Mir Mahmud Pampuri initiated him as a Suhrawardiyya. His inner quest was not quenched in spite of this. So he also received initiation into the Qadiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders from Maulana Abu'l-Fath (Katli). The Maulana authorized him to read *Nafhatu'l-Uns*. He then turned to Baba 'Abdu'sh-Shakur Gana'i, the *khalifa* of Shaikh Baba Mir Hasan Hadad. From him he obtained authorization to enrol disciples in the Suhrawardiyya order.

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf obtained religious education from Baba Baqa-i Shahabadi and studied the *Sahiu'l-Bukhari* under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Rafiqi. He was a voracious reader. Most of his time was devoted to the guidance of people in accordance with the norms of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqa*. At the insistence of his friends he once started teaching the *Masnavi* of Maulana Rumi; it took him three days to expound the meaning of the opening verse in response to questions raised in the assembly. Considering the profundities of the *Masnavi* and superficialities of the average mind, Muhammad Ashraf thus ceased to talk on the *Masnavi*. Such was his inner state that whenever he began talking on *ma'rifah* and *haqiqa* he would fall into a trance. Hasan quotes Shaikh Akbar Hadi as saying that once explaining the meaning of *nafi* and *isbat*, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf remarked, *la ma'bud ilallah*. According to him, the real *Ma'bud* was at every place and in every *zaman*. Every worshipper, Muslim or infidel, worshipped only one God in any mosque, temple, Ka'ba and fire-temple. Although he was critical of idol worship and described it as *shirk*, he wanted to bring home to the idol-worshipper that he was ignorant of the Reality of his worship. Thus, according to him, the Reality was manifest not in the worship of the icon but in adoring the Creator of the stone. And while expounding the deeper meaning of Reality he observed that the real object of every worshipper (though the majority both among the faithful and the infidel are not spiritually conscious of the Reality) was none but Himself (*la maqsud ill'allah*). In a terse verse, he observed, "Those who recognize You and those who do not recognize You, all have a yearning for You. Impossible to find a friend save You, Therefore (we) befriend others to come closer to you. I befriend myself in order to come closer to you."

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf was a firm believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. According to him there did not exist anything except Allah (*la maujud ill'alalh*). Everything on this planet owed its existence to His Existence. Even the word *ghair* in his view was "He".

He died on 4 Zilhaj 1195/21 November 1781 and was buried near his own house at Fatehkadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 353-60.

Shaikh Muhammad Aslam: This son of Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Rafiqi had an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. As both Sufi and *mufti*, he followed *Shari'ah* strictly. He died on 17 Muharram 1212/12 July 1797 and is entombed in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 377.

Shaikh Muhammad bin Khwaja Taju'd-Din Muhammad: He received the title of Taju'l-ulama for his deep knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. He died in 903/1397-8 and is buried in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 210-11.

Shaikh Muhammad Chisti *alias* Radhu: He belonged to the family of Khwaja Rafiq Asha'i. He became a pupil of Maulana Haidar Charkhi at the age of four. After completing his education he joined his teacher's *maktab* as teacher. He was initiated into the Chistiyya order by Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Chisti and gained considerable eminence for his asceticism and adherence to the *Shari'ah*. Although for some time after his initiation, he devoted himself wholly to severe spiritual exercises, he later resumed teaching in the school of Maulana Haidar Charkhi in order to support his family. He uttered the *zikr* loudly and advised his disciples and companions to follow him in this respect. When the sacred hair of the Prophet Muhammad was brought to Kashmir in the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb he led a huge procession of citizens of Srinagar to view the relic. It was Shaikh Radhu who himself exhibited the relic to his devotees on special occasions such as the Prophet's birthday and the *'urs* of the *Khulafa-Rashidun*. Since then the practice of displaying the relic has been in vogue at the famous *dargah* of Hazratbal. On 15 Shawwal 1126/14 October 1714 Shaikh

Rahdu died and was buried at the *mohalla* Bagh-i Yusuf Shah in the neighbourhood of his house.

Shaikh Muhammad Radhu wrote in both prose and poetry. Hasan credits him with having composed over a lakh verses on *tasawwuf.* Diddamari, a contemporary of the Shaikh, regards him as one of the prominent Sufis of his time. He guided numerous disciples in the Path.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 373-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 297-8.

Shaikh Muhammad Chotimu'lla: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki. He was known for his goodness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Shaikh Muhammad Fazil: He obtained exoteric and esoteric education from Shaikh Musa Kubrawi's *khalifa,* Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz. He went to Mecca and Medina and, after performing *hajj* and meeting with several ulama, *fuzala,* and *faqirs,* returned to Kashmir. Although for some time he was absorbed in the remembrance of Allah, he finally got married, took up his residence at Khandabhavan in Srinagar and derived satisfaction from imparting religious education to children. Although he avoided contact with the people and spent most of his time in solitude, he found time to enrol disciples. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang had association with him and always found him in high spirits. After his death, Muhammad Fazil was buried at the cemetery of Malla Baba in Habak, Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 156-7.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 310-11.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 275.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 214.

Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari: He was the grandson of Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din and the son of Shaikh Musa. Early in his childhood, the Shaikh left his house in Zunimar (Srinagar) in protest against the rigours of discipline exhibited by his father and teacher. While he was on his way to the *pargana* of Lar, he had four visions of the Prophet Muhammad and subsequently that of the Caliph 'Ali. Overwhelmed by the spiritual experience, he returned home. His father took him to Shaikh Ya'qub Chhatabali. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order, he absorbed himself in remembrance of God. Later he dug out a cave for himself near his home and spent twelve years meditating and resorting to various kinds of austerities. Such was the state of his spiritual excellence that he is believed to have received continued spiritual guidance from Khizr and the spirits of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani and Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Muhammad Fazil came out of the cave after passing through all the stages in *suluk*. He now addressed himself to the mission of ennobling the thought and behaviour of the people who began to visit him in large numbers. Not only the poor and the needy received help from him, but he is also reputed to have cured illness. Several miracles ascribed to Shaikh Muhammad Fazil attest to the significance of his spiritual status in contemporary society.

He died on 10 Muharram 1150/29 April 1737 and was buried in the *mohalla* of Zunimar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 310-11.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 442.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir,* p. 242.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus: His original name was Shaikh Abu'l-Mu'yyad Muhammad. Born in Mandu in AD 1555 and educated there, he went to Agra where he stayed for five years (1575 to 1582) and seems to have enjoyed the company of Faizi. From Agra he went to Ahmedabad and, after completing his education, returned to his place of birth at the age of thirty. Popularly known as Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he obtained spiritual guidance from several Sufis. However, Shaikh Zuhur Hajji Hamid finally initiated him as Shattariyya. After undergoing rigorous spiritual training in the caves of Chunar, near the Ganga in the modern district of Mirzapur in the UP he settled in Gwalior.

Muhammad Ghaus was the most influential Shatariyya Sufi of the sixteenth-century India. Author of several works, he particularly caught the attention of his age with his *Risla-i Mi'rajiyya.* In this work he elaborated upon the concept of Sufic ascension described by Abu Yazid. He asserted that his own spiritual ascent enabled him to have conversations with God. A *fatwa* issued by the ulama under the leadership of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, urged Sultan Mahmud II (943/1537–961/1554) of Gujarat to kill Muhammad Ghaus for transgression of the *Shari'ah* and for heresy. However, no harm was done to him for two main reasons. First, Muhammad Ghaus's eminent disciple

Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, a deeply respected *'alim* in Ahmedabad, argued convincingly with the ulama that while they followed the letter of the *Shari'ah*, the Shaikh followed its spirit. His rejoinders to the objections of the ulama were intended to remove the doubts they had allowed to enter their minds as a result of their poor perception of the Shaikh's spiritual perfection. Second, the Shaikh himself is reported to have explained that his spiritual ascent took place in a dream and that it was not comparable with the ascension (*mi'raj*) of the Prophet Muhammad.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, by no means supportive to the Shaikh, acknowledges his spiritual greatness by observing that all Sufis in Delhi, Gujarat, and Bengal "rose from the fringe of his (Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus) robe". He regarded initiation of an *'alim* like Wajihu'd-Din into the discipleship of Muhammad Ghaus as nothing short of a miraculous feat. Although the Shaikh visited Akbar's court after his accession, the *Sadru's Sudur*, Shaikh Gada'i argued with the Khan-i Khanan Bairam Khan (the Emperor's regent and Prime Minister friendly to Sufis), about the "sinful" nature of *Risala-i Mi'rajiyya*. This hastened the Shaikh's return to his *khanqah* in Gwalior.

In 966/1559, however, according to Abul-Fazl, when Akbar visited his *khanqah* in Gwalior, the Shaikh presented him many prize bullocks besides symbolically initiating him into the Shattariyya order. Akbar's initiation was not takenly seriously by the Mughal official historian, but his meeting with Muhammad Ghaus at his *khanqah* testifies to the standing of the Shattariyya *silsilah* under the leadership of Muhammad Ghaus. Badauni did not approve of the respect shown by the Shaikh to Hindus. Nevertheless, he was profoundly impressed by his humbleness of mind and behaviour when he saw him remaining standing before beggars while riding through the market place in Agra.

Muhammad Ghaus owned vast tracts of land which yielded about a karor of dams and livestock. The bullocks he had obtained in Gujarat were the most famous in the region. He died on 17 Ramazan 970/10 May 1563. His tomb in Gwalior is known for its unique style in Indo-Muslim architecture.

Besides the *Risala-i Mi'rajiyya*, Muhammad Ghaus wrote the *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, the *Bahru'l-Hayat*, the *Kalid-i Makhazin*, the *Zama'ir*, the *Basai'r*, and the *Kanzu'l-Wahdat*. A detailed account of Sufi practices is found in his *Jawahir-i Khamsa*. The work particularly deals with the forms and methods related to worship and ascetic practices recommended for Sufis in the Shattariyya order. Emphasis is laid on adopting the role of lovers of Allah by invoking His names under the direction of a perfect Sufi master.

Muhammad Ghaus stressed the importance of passing through several stages of spiritual development for being able to master the *da'wat-i asma*. The purpose of passing through such stages of spiritual development was to develop a contemplative vision of reality after effacing everything from the heart other than Allah. This state was described as the eternal reintegration of the spirit with Allah (*al-baqa*). It was the quickest way in that the Shattariyyas did not have to pass through the stage of evanescence (*fana*) or the final stage of extinction in evanescence (*fana al-fana*). The *Jawahir-i Khamsa* describes such conditions as are necessary for the invocation of Allah's names: eating food obtained through lawful means, right speech, humble heart, abstemiousness, faithfulness to one's Creator and spiritual guide, continuous fasting, subduing one's ego, self-discipline, abstinence from all that is unlawful, and curbing the negative impulses of envy, pride, and spite. Certain conditions were also prescribed regarding food and dress. While abstinence from meat, fish, eggs, honey, musk, lime and sex was required in the *jalali* technique for invoking the names of Allah, the *jamali* technique demanded abstinence from butter, milk, yoghurt, vinegar, salt, and dates. A combination of the *jalali* and *jamali* techniques was permissible. Only unsewn garments, preferably made of a single length of cloth, could be worn by Sufis mastering the technique of invoking Allah's names.

Jawahir-i Khamsa, ff. 70ab, 73ab, 205b.

Akbarnama, II, p. 88.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 4-5.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 543a, 553b.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 267-6.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 159.

Shaikh Muhammad Hai Barhanasar: Born in Ahmedabad, under the spell of intense yearning for the divine, he associated himself with the Sufis of the Shattariyya order including Shaikh Habib Shattari, one of the venerable *khalifas* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 444.

Shaikh Muhammad Hasan: He was the eldest son of Shaikh Hasan Tahir. Initiated into the Chistiyya order by his father, he became a Qadiriyya in Yemen on his way to Mecca for performing the *hajj*. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, he exercised great spiritual influence on his contemporaries so much so that they would cry out "Allah is Great" (*Takbir*) spontaneously when they saw him come out of his cell. He was an ardent supporter of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He died in 944/1537 and lies buried near the site of his fathers's tomb in the Bijai Mandal bastion, Delhi. It is most likely that he migrated to Delhi from Agra some time before his death.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 402-13.

Shaikh Muhammad Husaini Jilani Uchi, Makhdum: His genealogy is traced to Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani by 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Originally from Rum, he came to Khurasan and subsequently migrated to Multan where he settled in the town of Uch. He is said to have travelled extensively. As a poet his name was Qadiri and he composed poetry in praise of the great Sufi of Baghdad. He founded the first Qadiriyya *khanqah* in Uch in the second half of the fifteenth century. His three sons were Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani, Saiyid 'Abdullah, and Saiyid Mubarak. Abdu'l-Haqq quotes some verses from his *diwan*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U) pp. 355-6.

Shaikh Muhammad Kuku: He was a disciple of Akhwund Mulla Taiyib of Kashmir. Diddamari describes him as resolute in the Path.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Shaikh Muhammad Labib: He was the son of Maulana Shangraf Gana'i. Known for his knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, he was initiated in the Kubrawiyya order by Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi. He is entombed near his father's mausoleum in the village of Gund Ibrahim in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 231.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 203.

Shaikh Muhammad Lahori: He was an *'alim* of considerable eminence. Before turning to Sufism he had studied exoteric sciences under Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Mufti of Lahore, a classmate of Dara-Shukoh's teacher, Shaikh Mirak. After being initiated as a Qadiriyya by Miyan Mir, he not only sold his entire collection of books but bid goodbye to his career as *'alim*. He would often retire to the forest in the best tradition of his *pir*. Miyan Mir took care of his family by offering them a certain portion of food and money in *futuh*. The Shaikh also received a special tuition from his *pir* until his death. Dara-Shukoh's account enables one to understand that he had attained *fana*. He explains the Shaikh's views on the *Wadhdat al-Wujud* in terms of a drop of water in the ocean that, after experiencing several transformations, finally submerges itself in the Ocean (Being) itself by effacing its individual existence.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, 209-11.

Shaikh Muhammad Ma'ruf: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari. The sphere of his spiritual and social influence extended as far as Banihal. He died in 1180/1766-7 and was buried near his father's mausoleum at Zunimar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 349.

Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sud: He was the second son of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Fazil. After obtaining formal education from Mulla Nuru'llah Maantji and spiritual training from his father, Muhammad Mas'ud made his mark as an *'abid* of impeccable truthfulness. His unbounded humility and simplicity helped him transmit the message of Sufism among his people in positive terms. Besides addressing himself to the mission of ennobling the minds and souls of seekers, he also delivered sermons based on the *Mishkatu'l-Masabih*.

He died on 8 Ziq'ad 1185/12 February 1772 and was buried in the cemetery of his ancestors.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 349-50.

Shaikh Muhammad Mulawah: Popularly known as 'Misbah al-'Ashiqin', he was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Rawati. Later Shaikh Jalal Gujarati initiated him as a Chistiyya. His fondness for *qawwali* was immense. Once he nearly breathed his last when a *qawwal* recited a verse related to affliction in separation (*firaq*). On seeing the Shaikh's condition, a disciple who was well acquainted with his condition urged the *qawwal* to recite the verses eulogizing nearness (*qurb*) and union (*wasl*). No sooner did the *qawwal* follow the instructions than Shaikh Muhammad's spirit was invigorated.

An interesting anecdote recorded by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis relates to the experience of a Hindu chief with Shaikh Muhammad Mulawah. Once while the Hindu was tempted to peep into the window of the Shaikh's room on hearing the voice of *qawwals* inside. No sooner had the outsider seen the Shaikh in a state of ecstasy than he ordered his companions to haul him out of the scene. After regaining consciousness, the Hindu chief later addressed his friends in these words: "This Musalman was dancing with God in his lap. If you people had not dragged me out of the window, I would have certainly been drawn towards him and joined his religion after falling at his feet."

Shaikh Muhammad Mulawah died in 900/1494-5. His tomb is situated in the Mulawah town of Qanauj. The number of his disciples and *khalifas* was considerable. 'Allama Shaikh Sa'du'llah, the grandfather of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, was also his disciple.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 307-9.

Shaikh Muhammad Multani: One of the most popular Qadiriyya Sufis of Bidar, he died in 1529. His tomb continues to be a place of popular veneration. The Sufiya School, Sufiya Mosque, and Sufiya Arch—all situated close to his shrine—bear testimony to the significance of Bidar as an important centre of the Qadiriyya teachings in the medieval period.

Yazdani, *Bidar*, pp. 107, 111.

Shaikh Muhammad Mumin: His father Shaikh Muhammad Sharif initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order. However, his style of living was similar to that of *malamatis*. He lies buried in the cemetery of his father in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 283.

Shaikh Muhammad Muqim: He was the son of Shaikh Zia'u'd-Din Zunimari and a disciple of Baba Muhammad Siddiq Ashrafi. Whatever little is known about him relates to his righteousness and social service in Kashmir. He was initiated as a Kubrawiyya by his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 391.

Shaikh Muhammad Murad Mattu: He belonged to a noble family of Srinagar. At a very young age he decided to become a wayfarer along the Path. In search of spiritual knowledge, he went to Delhi and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Mir Muhammad Raza Dihlawi. He further improved his knowledge of Sufism in the company of Khwaja Khwurd. However, after the death of his *murshid*, he returned to Kashmir and, while avoiding meeting all sorts of people, guided only true seekers. Although intrinsically a Sufi, he was well versed in exoteric knowledge. He would recite poems related to *suluk* in a poignant manner.

Diddamari writes that, after the death of his *murshid*, Muhammad Murad Mattu spent over three years in the company of Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang. He died on 7 Shawwal 1134/10 July 1722.

Diddarmari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 400.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 313-14.

Shaikh Muhammad Murad Naqshbandi *alias* Tang: He was the son of Mulla Muhammad Tahir Mufti. After obtaining knowledge of *'aqli* and *naqli 'ulum*, he became a disciple of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi during the latter's soujourn in Kashmir. Although Shaikh Murad belonged to a wealthy family, he adopted *faqr* as his way of life. This explains that he accompanied the Khwaja to India where he stayed for several months. After obtaining spiritual guidance, Muhammad Murad returned to Kashmir. Later he visited India again to benefit from the company of his *murshid*. He was introduced to Khwaja Muhammad Naqshbandi, thanks to the courtesy of his *murshid*. From Muhammad Naqshbandi he received the *sanad* of being a perfect Sufi teacher. After staying in India for one year, Muhammad Murad returned to Kashmir and secluded himself in the mosque of Shaikh Baba-i Radhu on the bank of a canal in Srinagar. After fourteen years of penance, Muhammad Murad went to Shahjahanabad to meet Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi. He stayed there for a considerable time and, after being granted authority to enrol disciples in the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya orders, returned to Kashmir. When Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Raza came to Kashmir for a brief visit, Shaikh Muhammad Murad obtained authorization from him in the Kubrawiyya, Suhrawardiyya and Chistiyya orders.

It was only after resorting to self-denial for a long period and, also, after being initiated into several orders that Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang addressed to the task of enrolling disciples and guiding people in the Path. To him belongs the credit of initiating many women into Sufism.

Shaikh Muhammad Murad adhered strictly to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad and the *tariqa* of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya order. During the *tahajjud* prayers he recited over a thousand verses from the Qur'an in a melodious tone and, after morning prayers, would always resort to *muraqaba* called *halqa-i sakut*, joined by forty to fifty persons.

Shaikh Muhammad Murad was a learned Arabic and Persian scholar of his time. He authored the *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, *Habal-i Matin*, *Hasanatu'l-Muqqarabin*, *Fawa'id-i Razayya* and *Risala-i Wahdat* (q.v.). Of these only the first two are available.

On 17 Rajab 1131/25 May 1719 he died at the age of 75 and lies buried in Sukalipura in Bodhgir, Srinagar. One Muhammad Amin Hakim of Sukalipura discovered his tomb in 1997 after the Sufi appeared to him in the vision.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 375-8.

Tang, *Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara*, ed. Saiyidda Ruqaiyah, see also introduction, pp. 44-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 298-9.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 230-1.

Shaikh Muhammad Murad Rafiqi: Son of Shaikh Muhammad Sharif and the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Zahid, he had an excellent knowledge of *fiqh* and *Hadis*. A man of piety and learning, he also composed verses in Persian that reveal him as a Sufi with deep yearning for the Beloved. Among his works the *Intibah-i fi Zikr-i Auliya-Allah* is mentioned in the sources.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 294-5.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 224.

Shaikh Muhammad Na'im: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Muqim, the son-in-law and nephew of Shaikh Akbar Hadi. After obtaining a formal education, he received initiation in Sufism from Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman and later, after the latter's death, obtained *irshad* from Shaikh Akbar Hadi. He enjoyed the company of Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi and accompanied him to Turkistan.

On 27 Ramazan 1247/1 March 1832 Muhammad Na'im died and was buried at the cemetery of Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 394.

Shaikh Muhammad Pakhi: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, and earned the respect of his contemporaries for being a perfect *Wali*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabi,*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Shaikh Muhammad Parsa: His real name was Muhund Bhat; he belonged to the village of Harwan in the *pargana* of Zaingir in Kashmir. The circumstances leading to his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order are interesting.

Once Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, during his stay at Tujjar, commanded Zeti Shah sitting nearby to get him food from the jungle. The intoxicated soul, who always carried a staff, set out for the forest. He saw a young man with a bundle of wood on his head coming in the opposite direction at the foot of the hill in a nearby forest. No sooner had the young man come near than the *majzub* scattered his bundle with his stick. He caught hold of the young man and brought him before Hamza Makhdum saying that he had brought a sparrow for him. He further remarked: "Insha' Allah, this (young man) will become the falcon (*shahbaz*) of the king (Hamza Makhdum)." On seeing Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Muhund Bhat felt a spiritual transmutation. For a certain period of time, he received guidance from Hamza Makhdum who later entrusted him to the care of Baba Dawud Khaki.

After his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, Muhund Bhat came to be called Shaikh Muhammad. His *murshid* deputed him to the village of Palachhan in the *pargana* of Khuyahom where he constructed a mosque near a spring. He received the title of Parsa from his spiritual preceptor for his aversion to worldly riches, austerities, and adherence to the *Sunnah*. Notwithstanding his renunciation, Shaikh Muhammad Parsa married at an old age. Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din who belonged to the village where Shaikh Parsa took up his residence was his personal friend and it was the former's son who always remained at the service of his father's friend.

On 22 Muharram 1066/12 November 1655, Shaikh Muhmmad Parsa died and was buried at the village of Palachhan in Khuyahom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 214-15.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 442.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 190.

Shaikh Muhammad Qa'im *alias* Potru: His father migrated to Kashmir from Delhi. However, he was brought up in Delhi and it was only after completing a spiritual training under Shaikh Muhammad Raza Dihlawi that he came to Kashmir. Having settled at Banday Bagh in Khanyar, Srinagar, he died in 1179/1765-6.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 351.

Shaikh Muhammad Qa'im Yassawi: Little is known about him except that he was closely associated with Qazi Shah Daulat Bukhari and that he guided many seekers along the Path in Kashmir as a Sufi of deep learning and piety. He died at the age of 57.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 445.

Shaikh Muhammad Qari: Little is known about him except that he is entombed at the cemetery of Saiyid Muhammad (Saiyid Ya'qub) in Buchhwara, Srinagar.

Diddamari (US), pp. 210 and 915n.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 230-1.

Shaikh Muhammad Raza: The grandson of Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Rafiqi, he received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Ni'mat-u'llah. Known for his humility, hospitality, and adherence to the *Shari'ah*, it was his daily practice for 45 years to recite *zikr* during the late night after having a bath.

On 5 Sha'ban 1276/27 February 1860 Muhammad Raza died and was buried in the Rafiq Mazar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 396.

Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq: He was a cousin, *khalifa*, and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Abu Sa'id. Notwithstanding his passion for *sama'*, he enrolled disciples in his order for many years.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1193.

Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, who evoked the praise of his contemporaries for his service to the truthful servants of God.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq Maantju: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti, *alias* Radhu. After crossing various stages in *suluk*, he was advised to perform *hajj* by his *murshid*. On his way to Mecca he met Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Raza Sirhindi and several other Sufis. After returning from the holy land, he lived in relative seclusion, dedicating himself to popularizing the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. He died at the age of 66 and is buried in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 443.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 321-2.

Shaikh Muhmmad Sadru'd-Din Zakir: Born in Champaner, he was the son of a merchant. Renouncing the world at the age of twenty-five, he became Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus' disciple in 952/1545-6. Thereafter he reached Gwalior from Gujarat in the company of his *pir*. Finding him a master of the formulae of *zikr* and *da'wat-i Asma*, as described in the *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus permitted him to leave his *khanqah* and settle in Gujarat. Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir made several visits to his *pir's khanqah* after the latter's death where he subjected himself to hard ascetic exercises during the one-year long courses of *chilla*. During his stay at Mandu he initiated a number of people into the Shattariyya order. Among others who met the Shaikh was an eleven-year-old boy, the future author of the *Gulzar-i Abrar*. From Mandu, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir reached Champaner, but finally he settled in Barauda. Until the Shaikh's death in 989/1581-2, his unbounded zeal for rigorous ascetic exercises never abated. His disciples and *khalifas* were many.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 321-2.

Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id: He was the son of Baba Dawud Khaki and received an early education in the Suhrawardiyya order from his father. Considering Baba Dawud Khaki's close ties with Baba Hardi Rishi, Muhammad Sa'id seems to have been advised by his father to enrol as the disciple of the latter. After initiation as a Rishi, Muhammad Sa'id gained considerable popularity in the district of Anantnag (Islamabad) in Kashmir. He became Hardi Rishi's *khalifa* and was buried near his *murshid's* tomb after his death.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 208.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 219.

Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Tarabali. He obtained spiritual guidance from his celebrated uncle, Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali, as well as from Shaikh Abdu'llah Trali, Shaikh Muhammad Wali Zahgir, Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal, and Shaikh Ahmad Trali.

A Sufi known for his simple habits, devoutness and nobleness, Muhammad Sa'id died on 18 Shawwal 1309/17 May 1892 during the cholera epidemic in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 412.

Shaikh Muhammad Sakhi: He belonged to the village of Kaamar in Islamabad (Anantnag). Once he had a vision in which Prophet Muhammad directed him to read the Qur'an. Although totally illiterate, Shaikh Muhammad did not find any difficulty in reading the Qur'an after his spiritual experience. Thereafter he is said to have received continued guidance from Khizr and communed with the spirits of several Sufis. Being gifted with *'ilm-i ladduni*, he would answer all questions instantly. Shaikh Muhammad Sakhi lies buried at Kaamar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 377-8.

Shaikh Muhammad Shaafi: He was an Afghan officer in the army of the sultans of Kashmir and the owner of a big *jagir* who renounced the world after being initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 188.

Shaikh Muhammad Shaf'i *alias* Tila'i: Not much is known about him except that he was one of the gifted Sufis of his time and that Khizr (q.v.) and the spirit of several Sufis guided him. He had a profound knowledge of the medicinal uses of plants; lots of people are said to have benefitted from his expertise in the domain of *tib*. In spite of his service to the people, he led a life of self-denial. He is entombed at the village of Arin in the *pargana* of Kutahar, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 344.

Shaikh Muhammad Sharif *alias* Shoga Baba: He was a chosen disciple and *khalifa* of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri. During the early stage of his career in *suluk*, he shaved his beard and lived as a *qalandar*. For several years he wandered in the forests and across the mountains, notwithstanding the fact that his *murshid* had earlier shut him in a room in order to keep a watch over his emotional love for his Creator. It was only after his wanderlust was satiated that he retired to the room allotted to him. His life now conformed to the *Shari'ah*.

After the death of Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri, Shoga Baba laid the foundation of his mentor's *khanqah*. People flocked to him for guidance and blessings. Even Mulla Jawhar Nath along with a group of his students once met with him.

Shoga Baba died on 21 Safar 1027/9 February 1618 and lies buried at Pampur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 461-3.
Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 325.
Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Shaikh Muhammad Sharif: He was the son of Shaikh Ahmad Zahid and the grandson and *khalifa* of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. He gained popularity for his knowledge, piety, and fight against superstitious and animistic practices within the framework of the *Sunnah*. He died on 17 Rabi'ul-Awwal 1052/ 6 June 1642 and lies buried in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 252.

Shaikh Muhmmad Tahir: Fourth son of Shaikh Muhammad Sharif, he was initiated by his father and earned considerable respect for his piousness. Entombed in the cemetery of his father.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 284.

Shaikh Muhammad Tahir: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 256.

Shaikh Muhammad Talib: He was a *khalifa* of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 256.

Shaikh Muhammad Tarabali: He was the brother of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali and a disciple of Shaikh 'Ibadi Qari. He was a pupil of Shaikh Muqim and also received spiritual guidance from Qazi Jamalu'd-Din and Shaikh Akbar Hadi. Having achieved excellence in exoteric and esoteric knowledge, he produced a fine translation of several works including the *Maqamat-i Khwaja Mushkilkusha*, the *'Aqa'id-i Islamia* and the *Qasida-i Burda* in verse. He died on 20 Jamiu'd-Sani 1280/ 3 December 1863 and was buried in the cemetery of Shaikh Ahmad in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 407.

Shaikh Muhammad Yahya: He was the son of Muhammad Mirza. His mother was the daughter of the Kashmiri Sufi, 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar. Initiated into the Kubrawiyya order by his father, he also benefited from his grandfather. Known for his strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* while following the *tariqa*, Muhammad Yahya obtained *irshad* from his father. He died on 9 Jamidu'l-Awwal 1207/ 23 December 1792.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 395.

Shaikh Muhammad Yahya: He was the son of Shaikh Ni'matu'llah and *khalifa* of Shaikh Akbar Hadi. Described as the one who was annihilated in God (*fana fi Allah*), he lies entombed in the cemetery of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Rafiqi: Little is known about him except that he obtained spiritual guidance from the spirit of Khwaja Rafiqi, his grandfather. He used to visit the tomb of the latter and find answers to his questions of exoteric and esoteric nature in a state of communion with the spirit of the deceased Sufi. He died on 19 Ziq'ad 1185/23 February 1772 and lies buried at the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 342-53.

Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Shupiani: The son of Baba 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri Shupiani, he obtained a formal religious education and then received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya order from Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. Under the guidance of his *murshid*, Muhammad Yahya became a Sufi of high spiritual calibre and, after being granted *irshad*, moved to Shupian where he attracted visitors to his house for guidance in *suluk*. He is entombed in Shupian.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 384-5.

Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Kant: This *khalifa* of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i was a vegetarian and was held in high esteem for his learning and piety. He is entombed at the village of Muddar in Vular in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 254-5.

Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Zunimari: He was the son of Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din. He received spiritual guidance from Shaikh Hasan Laloo. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order, he crossed several stages in *suluk* and remained an intoxicated soul for most of the time. It was only after his meeting with Shaikh Taiyib that he regained consciousness and, thereafter, led a life of self-denial in seclusion.

Shaikh Yusuf died in Zilhaj 1088/1677 and lies entombed at the *mohalla* of Zunimar in Srinagar. His mausoleum was repaired under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 309-10.

Shaikh Muhiu'd-Din: Both his father, Shaikh Kabir 'Abbasi and he were among the many *khalifas* of Mir Saiyid Asraf Jahangir Simnani.

Lata'if-i Ashrafi as quoted in *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), pp. 1180-1.

Shaikh Muhiu'd-Din: The son of Shaikh Muhammad Muqim Zunimari and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Wali Zahgir, he earned a good name for his righteousness and, after his death on 9 Shawwal 1309/8 May 1892, was buried at Malkha in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 412.

Shaikh Muhsin *alias* Haka Baba: He was a *murid* of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Throughout his life, he adhered to the traditions of the Rishi order while practising asceticism near a spring at the foot of a hill in the village of Haripur (*pargana* Lar, of Kashmir). He did not take anything except the staple Kashmiri vegetable, *hak*; hence came to be known as Haka Baba.

Shaikh Muhsin is entombed at Haripura.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 147.

Shaikh Muhsin Kahana: He is entombed in Kahana.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 348.

Shaikh Mu'inu'd-Din Rafiqi: He was a son of Shaikh Hamza Rafiqi. Having an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, he belonged to the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir. He died on 22 Ramazan 1147/5 February 1735.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 416.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 319.

Shaikh Mu'izz: He was the brother of Shaikh Muzaffar, the most distinguished disciple of the Firdawsiyya Sufi Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Manyari. He accompanied his brother to Mecca and died there. His son, Shaikh Husain, was a talented Sufi whose letters, marked by a deep understanding of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, have been quoted in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* and *Mir'atu'l-Asrar.*

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 238.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 220-3.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1232-3.

Shaikh Mumin Barthani: He lived at the village of Barthana in Kashmir and was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Notwithstanding his abstinence from meat, Shaikh Mumin adhered himself to the *Shari'ah*.

On each Friday he would make it a point to observe fasts and offer the midday congregational prayers in the city of Srinagar. Shaikh remained celibate for most of the time. However, later he married a girl in the city who bore several children. Shaikh Mumin lies buried in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 185.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 241.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 316.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 197-8.

Shaikh Mumin Suhrawardi: Little is known about him except that he was a favourite disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mulla Taiyib Badakshani and that he lived during the period extending from Aurangzeb's reign to that of Farruksiyar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 366.

Shaikh Munawwar: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Khanu of Gwalior. Always living in a state of ecstasy, he was buried in Agra after his death in 990/1582.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U) p. 396.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 328-9.

Shaikh Munawwar: He was the son of Qazi Badiu'd-Din of Lucknow. His tomb is at the town of Satrikh in UP. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman describes him as a prominent Sufi of the town.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 919.

Shaikh Munawwar Khatbi: A disciple of Shah Farahu'd-Din, after receiving initiation into the Suhrawardiyya and Kubrawiyya orders, he addressed himself to the mission of guiding people within the bounds of the *Shari'ah* and *tariqa*. He died on 18 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1238/3 December 1822 and lies buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid* at Bachhbaran in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 373.

Shaikh Muntajabu'd-Din: He was a trusted *khalifa* of Baba Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar. According to Amir Khwurd, when Baba Farid granted his *khilafat-nama* to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya he advised him to show it to Qazi Muntajabu'd-Din in Delhi, and to Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din in Hansi.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, p. 116.

Shaikh Murtaza: Son of Saiyid Muhiu'd-Din bin Saiyid Yahya Gujarati, he was born in Barauda. Initiated into the Shattariyya order by Saiyid Kala Shattari, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he received further guidance in Sufism from Shaikh Muhammad Lashkar 'Arif in Burhanpur. He was a Sufi of excellent spiritual and moral qualities who died in 1002/1593-4 and was laid to rest in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 427.

Shaikh Musa: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi scholar, Mir Baba Haidar Tulmuli. It was his usual practice to get a bundle of wood from the forests and sell the same at Tulmula. While he would keep half of the earnings for sustaining himself, the rest he would present to his *murshid*. In spite of his spiritual excellence, Shaikh Musa concealed his spiritual identity. However, it is certain that he must have guided a select group of seekers along the Path as is evident from the chronogram that describes him as a "perfect Sufi master and guide". Shaikh Musa died on 9 Safar 1027/26 January 1618 and lies buried at the village of Manhama in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 218.

Shaikh Musa: He belonged to Ujjain. A disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Chandan Chisti, he is entombed in Mandsur. He died in 986/1581-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 316.

Shaikh Musa: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, he is entombed at Ishbari in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Musa: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sanau'llah Zunimari. He remained committed to Sufism throughout his life and lies buried at Bandrpora in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 398.

Shaikh Musa: He was the son of Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din and the brother of Shaikh Ya'qub. After obtaining spiritual guidance from his father, he achieved spiritual excellence under Shaikh Ya'qub. However, Shaikh Musa concealed his spiritual identity. He died on 1 Muharram 1084/8 April 1673. He is entombed at Zunimar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 286.

Shaikh Musa: He was a contemporary of Shaikh Baha'ud'-Din Zarakriya of Multan.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 53.

Shaikh Musa: He was the son, disciple, and successor of Shaikh Hamid (978/1570-1) who was the grandson of the illustrious Qadiriyya Sufi of Uch, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis showers abundant praise on Shaikh Musa for knowledge, maturity, bravery and generosity.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U) p. 362.

Shaikh Musa Kubrawi: He went on *hajj* at a very young age and became a disciple of the famous Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baba Waali, on his return from Mecca. After the death of his *murshid*, he went to Balkh and sought the guidance of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Shaikh Painda Sakitri. After completing training in the spiritual and social ethics of the Kubrawiyya order for a period of three years, Shaikh Musa was directed by his new spiritual preceptor to return to Kashmir with the authority to popularize the teachings of his order. On reaching Srinagar he founded a *khanqah* at Baldimar in Srinagar. His *khanqah* became an important centre of the Kubrawiyyas and attracted over a hundred devotees during the night for the performance of the *tahajjud* prayers. This distinctive characteristic of Islam in Kashmir was described as an extraordinary achievement of Shaikh Musa by no less a person than Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, notwithstanding the fact it could not become an enduring feature of the Kubrawiyya *khanqahs* in the Valley after Shaikh Musa's death in 1026/1616-17. His tomb lies at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar in the cemetery of Baba Waali.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 210-11.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 219.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 180-1.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar.*

Shaikh Musa Naqshbandi: This disciple of Mulla Nazuk, buried at Tashwan in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 291.

Shaikh Musa Zahgir: He was the son of Zainu'd-Din Zahgir and the *khalifa* of Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i. He first obtained initiation in the Kubrawiyya order from Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi and later was authorized by Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i to enrol disciples. His whole life was a saga of dedication to the cause of spiritual and social welfare of the people. Once he called on Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi at his residence in Bijbehara. A mad woman who was present on the occasion is said to have been cured, thanks to his benedictions. He died on 6 Zilhaj 1027/14 November 1618 and was buried at Qutbu'd-Din-Pura in Srinagar.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 211.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 253.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 182.

Shaikh Mustafa: He was an *'abid, zahid* and Sufi of fine qualities who was a descendant of the Chistiyya Sufi of Kanastur, Shaikh 'Ainu'd-Din Qattal. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti refers to his meetings with him during the reign of Shahjahan. He died in 1040/1630-1.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1009.

Shaikh Mustafa Rafiqi: He was the son of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Rafiqi. Wedded to the pious daughter of Mulla Muhammad Muqim and endowed with exoteric and esoteric knowledge, he died in Srinagar on 4 Rajab 1194/6 July 1780.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 361.

Shaikh Mustafa Rafiqi: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Taiyib Rafiqi. He had an excellent knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences and did an immense deal of good to the people of Kashmir by virtue of his spiritual guidance. He died on 14 Rab'iu'l-Awwal 1294/29 March 1877.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 410.

Shaikh Muy-tab, Shaikh: He was a hair-rope maker who lived in Bada'un. A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Shahi Muy-tab earned a good name as a Sufi. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya held him in high esteem because of his piety and is once said to requested him to pray for him during illness.

Jamali, p. 153.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 49.

Shaikh Muzaffar: He was the most prominent disciple of the Firdawsiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Manyari. His ancestors came from Balkh and his father, Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din, was a disciple of a famous Sufi of Bihar called Shaikh Ahmad Charam-Posh (One Who Wears Skins), a cousin of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din. After obtaining a good religious education, Shaikh Muzaffar decided to become a disciple of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din because of the latter's scholastic accomplishments. He studied in Delhi for two years on the advice of his *pir* after his initiation in the Firdawsiyya order. Overwhelmed with an intense feeling of ecstasy, he returned to Bihar where Sharafu'd-Din directed him to act as a menial domestic at the *khanqah*. The training of serving *dervishes* was imparted to the disciple by Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din in order to humble his pride as an *'alim*. When the Sufi master was impressed by his disciple's humility and continuous ascetic exercises in the seclusion of the *khanqah*, Shaikh Muzaffar was given the freedom of leading the life of his own choice anywhere. Although he left the *khanqah* of his *pir*, he strictly followed the way of a Sufi distributing the same day whatever he received in charity.

Shaikh Muzaffar maintained close contact with his *pir* through correspondence. Strangely though, he did not allow others to see the letters received by him from Shaikh Sharaf'ud-Din Yahya. At his will, after his death, about two hundred such letters are said to have been buried along with him in his grave. A bag containing twenty-eight letters survived, which were later compiled and also published in 1870 under the title *Maktubat-i Bistu-u Hasht.*

Following the death of his *pir*, Shaikh Muzaffar along with his brother, Shaikh Mu'izz, the latter's gifted son, Shaikh Husain, decided to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage, via Chittagong. The Ilyas-Shahi Sultan, Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah (1389-1409), of Chittagong, treated the party as state guests. The Sultan enjoyed cordial relations with the Hindus who occupied high positions in his government. He was also friendly to the Sufis. Chittagong had developed as an entrepot of trade and commerce under him and cultural and diplomatic relations between Chittagong and China had also fostered. Although he addressed Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din as his son, he was unhappy about his policy of according high positions in the government to the Hindus.

About the end of 800/1397-8 or early 801/1398-9, the party left from Chittagong for Mecca. Shaikh Mu'izz died there as did Shaikh Muzaffar at Aden in 803/1400-1. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Shaikh Muzaffar, called Imam Muzaffar by his *murshid*, died five or six years after the death of the latter. Shaikh Husain returned to Bihar.

Maktubat-i Bist-u Hasht, pp. 36-9.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 212-13.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1025-30.

S.H. Askari, "The Correspondence of the Fourteenth Century Sufi saints of Bihar with the contemporary Sovereigns of Delhi and Bengal", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, March 1956, p. 183.

Shaikh Muzaffar Rohataki: He was a disciple of Shaikh Abu'r-Riza referred to by Shah Waliu'llah as one of the sources of his biography on Shaikh Abu'r-Riza.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 200-3.

Shaikh Naban: A disciple of Shaikh Lal. He was a *qalandar* who lived in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 118.

Shaikh Naghau: A disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari, he had a passion for *sama'* and *qawwali*. Born in Gujarat, he died in Burhanpur in 1010/1601-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 419-20.

Shaikh Nahir Bayabani: His ancestors belonged to Suhraward, to the West of Sultaniya, in the province of al-Jibal (the Mountains). Born in Mandu, he was overcome with *jazba* from childhood. He came to Ajmer in search of a guide where Khwaja Husain, a descendant of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti, initiated him. After resorting to several *chillas*, he led an austere life until his death at the young age of 34 on 9 Muharram 985/29 March 1577.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 314-15.

Shaikh Najamu'd-Din: He was a *khalifa* of 'Azizu'l-Haqq. A venerated Sufi, Najamu'd-Din was known for his *mujahada*. A considerable number of men received spiritual guidance from him. He is buried in a town near Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 299.

Shaikh Najamu'd-Din Qalandar: He lived in Jaunpur and enrolled as a disciple of Shah Khizr Rumi when the latter visited the city. Subsequently, the Qalandiriyya order spread in India.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 745-6.

Shaikh Najamu'd-Din Rishi *alias* Naji Rishi: A *khalifa* of Khwaja Masu'd Pampuri, he received spiritual training from him. Naji Rishi then secluded himself at the foot of the Shankaracharya hill (also called Takht-i Sulaiman) in Khoshipura, Srinagar. Naji Baba did not eat meat. He had abstemious habits and often observed fast. He did not have any contact with the people until the time when Shahjahan's wazir S'adu'llah Khan became his devotee. Thereafter his fame spread far and wide in Kashmir drawing both the rich and the poor to his abode. Whatever was offered to Naji Rishi, including even gold, was spent on the welfare of the poor. The embankment between Naupora and Drugjan in Srinagar, intitially raised by Qazi Abu'l-Qasim, was widened and completed, thanks to the huge amount spent by Naji Rishi out of his own resources.

The Naqshbandi Sufi Muhammad Murad Tang was highly impressed by the *faqr* of Naji Rishi Baba when he visited his abode along with his father Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu.

Naji Baba was unlettered (*ummi*). Once Wazir S'adu'llah Khan called on him for advice. The Rishi remarked, "Tell S'adu'llah Khan that in spite of his professed knowledge and accomplishments, he did not seek Eternal Reality. So let him serve humanity."

Naji Rishi died in 1072/1661-2.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), p. 94.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 270-2.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 144-5.

Shaikh Najibu'd-Din Mutwakkil: He was a brother of Baba Farid. Like his illustrious brother, he had received a good education. His love of books elicited the praise of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, who considered the copy of *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* in Najibu'd-Din's personal collection to be authentic. A Sufi of exemplary piety, Najibu'd-Din lived in very abject conditions. According to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, although Najibu'd-Din lived in Delhi for 70 years, he accepted neither a village nor pension from the government for the support of his family. Once a group of *qalandars*, moved by his poverty, offered him five hundred silver tankas for his personal needs. He distributed the money among the poor. On another occasion, a day of 'Id, when some *qalandars* visited his house in the hope of being treated lavishly, the Shaikh offered them a glass of water.

Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman records his date of death as 669/1270-1 during the reign of Sultan Balban.

Shaikh Najibu'd-Din's grave lay on the path to the tomb of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din. A structure was raised over it by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, Eng. tr., pp. 107-9, 255-7, etc.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 161, 169.

Khyar al-Majalis, p. 75.

Jamali, pp. 99-102.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 120-1.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 798-9.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 96a-98b.

Shaikh Najmu'l-Haqq: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (975/1567-8). Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam is said to have been initiated into Sufism by him.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), p. 353.

Shaikh Nasir: Little is known about him except that Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi initiated him as Suhrawardiyya. He lived in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Nasir Bengali: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He was very punctilious about the observance of the rules of the *Shari'ah* notwithstanding his occasional *majzubs*-like behaviour. Remarkably, Shaikh Nasir took along with him his women disciples on horseback during his travels to numerous villages. He would also visit several localities in Srinagar with a teacher who was assigned the task of imparting lessons to the children. He often carried a copy of the *Mishkatu'l-Masabih* with the purpose of impressing upon the people the need to act according to the norms of the *Sunnah*. His debates with the Shias on several controversial issues are also referred to in the sources.

On 3 Safar 1089/17 March 1678, Shaikh Nasir breathed his last and was buried at Nandpura in Srinagar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 108-9.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 242.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 198.

Shaikh Nasir Hajjam: Notwithstanding his apparently lower position in the social hierarchy as a barber, he achieved spiritual excellence, thanks to his initiation into the Kubrawiyya order at the hands of Shah Qasim Haqqani. Considered a revered Kashmiri Sufi of his time, Shaikh Nasir Hajjam was also appointed a *khalifa* by his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 270.

Shaikh Nasir Jamal: Affiliated to the Suhrawardiyya order, he is described by Ghausi Shattari as the *qutb* of his time. He is entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 459.

Shaikh Nasir Khan: After resigning from the military service, this son of Quraish Khan became a *dervish*. He is entombed in Gujarat.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 427-8.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sulaiman Mandwi. Known for his excellent knowledge of alchemy, he was essentially a Sufi of enormous qualities.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 222.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud: He was born in Awadh in about 675/1276-7. Son of Shaikh Yahya, an affluent wool merchant, he was the most distinguished *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and his chief successor in Delhi. Popularly known as the Chiragh or Lamp of Delhi, Nasiru'd-Din was nine at the time of his father's death. In spite of his mother's efforts in the direction of having him educated as an *'alim*, he was intrinsically attracted to asceticism.

Having renounced the pleasures of life during the early days of his youth, Nasiru'd-Din observed continual fasts, subjecting himself to meditative practices and self-mortification. He used to break his fast with wild leaves grown in Awadh, known as *sanbhalu*, in order to annihilate his desires. It was a regular practice with him to walk to the local mango grove in the midst of some tombs in the early hours of morning where he spent the whole day in meditation. At the time of prescribed prayers, Nasiru'd-Din acted as *imam* of a small congregation of Muslim weavers who worked in the grove.

Before his departure for Delhi at the age of 43, Nasiru'd-Din had become a sufi of high spiritual calibre, thanks to his sense of commitment to leading the life of a *dervish* than an *'alim* through self-denial under the guidance of *dervishes* of Awadh. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, therefore, received him warmly. After being initiated as Chistiyya, Nasiru'd-Din wished to devote himself to meditations in the wilderness. But his entreaties to Nizamu'd-Din Auliya (through Amir Khusraw) were not accepted. Instead, he was advised to live in Delhi among the people so that he would be able to treat them with love and generosity even if it meant suffering hardship and humiliation at their hands. Thus observed Amir Khwurd: "The Sultanu'l-Mashai'kh entrusted everyone with duties which he found him fit to perform. To one he ordered to remain silent, and behind doors. To another he ordered to enrol a large number of disciples. To a third he would order that he live amongst the people, accept the suffering they may cause, and remain courteous to them."

The teachings of Chiragh-i Dihli are contained in his *malfuzat* compiled by his disciple Hamid Qalandar under the title of *Khayr al-Majalis* (The Best of Assemblies). Notwithstanding the historical importance of the work, it helps us to understand the Shaikh's concern with the study of Islamic law, in spite of his asceticism. His advice to believers was to protect their *iman* in preference to a fascination for *karamat*. The Shaikh placed great value on the honest labour of the agriculturalists and artisans in the true manner of the other venerable Sufis of his order.

True to the teachings of the Chistiyya order, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din stayed away from the court. His refusal to leave Delhi for the Deccan, in spite of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's orders, testifies to his spiritual exaltedness. He had many disciples.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din died in 1356. Sultan Firuz Shah had an exquisite mausoleum raised over his burial place. The popularity of his *dargah* among both elite and commoners can be gleaned from the vivid description given by Dargah Quli Khan during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah:

"The sacred *dargah* is located at a distance of 3 *kurhs* (6 miles) from Shahjahanabad (Delhi). This is as soul-ravishing as paradise; the atmosphere inside exudes spiritual fragrance. The area around it is ablaze like the sun owing to the blessed light from the (holy) grave. The blessed rays make the tomb shine like a chandelier. Needy people get relief while patients are cured through its blessing. The Shaikh (lying buried) is not the lamp of Delhi but of the entire country. People turn up there in crowds, particularly on Sunday. In the month of Diwali the entire population of Delhi visits it and stays in tents around the spring tank for days. They take baths to obtain cures from chronic diseases. Muslims and Hindus pay visits in the same spirit. From morning till evening, people come in groups and also busy themselves in merry-making in the shade of the trees. They are provided with an occasion of great merriment, the sound of music comes from every corner. The *'urs* is also celebrated with great enthusiasm. Emperor Muhammad Shah has had a vast compound enclosed around the shrine and it is unique in size."

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 238-47.

Jamali, pp. 92-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 152-62.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, pp. 298-400.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 103-4.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 858-66.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 48b-56a.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Athar al-Sanadid*, 1904, Kanpur, p. 19, for Firuz Shah's inscription.

Muraqqa'-i Delhi, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, Delhi, 1982, pp. 27-8.

Hamid Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majalis*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, 1959.

Nizami, 'Muhammad bin Tughluq', in Habib and Nizami, ed., *Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, 1970.

Paul Jackson, "Khair Al-Majalis: An Examination", in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, vol. 2, *Religion and Religious Education*, ed. Christian W. Troll, Delhi, 1985, pp. 34-57.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Tamimi Ansari: Born in Multan, he was a soldier. The details regarding his *faqr* even as a soldier (*sipahi dervish*) are given by Ghausi Shattari in glowing terms.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 218-19.

Shaikh Ni'matu'llah: He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ashraf Topigaru. Described as the born Sufi (*Wali-i madarzad*), Ni'matu'llah received initiation into Sufism from his father. After his father's death, he became his *khalifa* and is said to have been granted *irshad* in five *silsilahs*. A large number of seekers came to him for spiritual guidance. He would seek retirement during the last ten days of the month of Ramzan (*i'tikaf*) at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla and would share meals there with Shaikh Akbar Hadi and Shaikh 'Ibadu'llah.

Ni'matu'llah died on 16 Zilhaj 1228/11 December 1813 and was buried at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 378.

Shaikh Ni'matu'llah' *alias* Shaikhi: He was a descendant of Shaikhu'l-Islam Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari and *khalifa* of Khwaja Bayrang. Shah Waliu'llah describes him as a Sufi with a radiant personality even in his old age.

Shaikhi is reputed to have participated in the *'urs* celebrations of the Naqshbandiyya Sufis from the age of 6 or 7.

He died in 1067/1656-7.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 82-3.

Shaikh Ni'matu'llah Kalu: He was initiated by Mir Akmalu'd-Din Badakshi at the age of fifteen. Under the spiritual care of his illustrious *murshid*, Ni'matu'llah attained the heights of spiritual brilliance. On 21 Ziq'ad 1149/10 March 1137 he died and was buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 341.

Shaikh Ni'matu'llah Mattu: He was a disciple of the well-known Kashmiri Sufi, Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Badakshi. Little is known about him except that he was a Kubrawiyya Sufi known for his kindheartedness and ecstasy.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 343.

Shaikh Ni'matu'llah Shaikhpuri: A descendant of Baba Farid, he committed the Qur'an to memory during his childhood and performed *hajj* during the days of his youth. Affiliated to the Shattariyya order, he preferred a life of poverty (*faqr*). His excellent spiritural merits are admired by his contemprorary, Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 495-6.

Shaikh Nizam: He was a *khalifa* of Saiyid Ibrahim Bhakkari. A Sufi deep rooted in exoteric and esoteric sciences, the Shaikh's profession was *kitabat*. Out of his own earnings, he used to celebrate the *'urs* of his own *murshid* every year. He died in 1009/1600-1 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 413.

Shaikh Nizam Majzub: He was an intoxicated Sufi who achieved considerable fame during the time of Akbar. Shaikh Abu'l-Barakat Mubarak built a dome over this *majzub* of Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 363.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din: He was the son of Shaikh Yasin 'Usman and the son-in-law of the Chistiyya Sufi, Makhdum Shaikh Khasa. He was described as the Pole of the age (Qutb) by no less a person than his father-in-law. His tomb is in Amethi.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1183-4.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Abu'l-Mu'yid: Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya describes him as the grandson of the one whose title was Shamsu'l-'Arifin, a contemporary of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti and Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He migrated to Delhi and earned fame as a gifted religious preacher. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Abu'l-Mu'yid was the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid bin Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Ahmad Ghaznavi.

Mir Hasan once enquired from Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya whether he had ever attended any of his sermons. The answer came in the affirmative. During his boyhood, the Shaikh was greatly impressed by Abu'l-Muyid's eloquence. He is said to have moved his audience to loud cries and tears by reciting the following couplet: "I will keep my eyes fixed on you, I will then destroy my life in my love for you. With a heart full of pain I shall merge with dust, and come out of the grave with a deal full of love."

The spirituality of Abu'l-Mu'yid has been praised in the hagiographies. People often sought his blessings. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh says that once during a drought in Delhi all revered Sufis and ulama entreated him to pray for rain. No sooner he responded than it began to rain heavily.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din died in AD 1273.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, p. 92.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 94-5.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 744-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (U), p. 84.

Shaikh Nizamu'din Amethi: Born in the last decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, he became an *'alim* during the days of his youth. Later, he turned to Sufism and was initiated into the Chistiyya order by Shaikh Ma'ruf (d. 1526) of Jaunpur. After being appointed a *khalifa* in Amethi in the

Lucknow district, Nizamu'd-Din led a secluded life, notwithstanding his occasional visits to surrounding towns such as Gopamau, Khairabad, and Fathpur to meet local officials.

Nizamu'd-Din did not approve of Sufi novices studying the *Fusus al-Hikam*. Instead he advised them to read such classics as the *Ihya' al-'Ulum* of Ghazali, the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, the *Risala al-Makkiyya* of Shaikh Imam Qutbu'd-Din 'Abdu'llah, and the *Adab al-Muridin* of Shaikh Zia'u'd-Din Abu Najib 'Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi. During his lectures he focused on the *'Awarif al-M'arif* and quoted verses of Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi profusely.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, who once called on Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, was once on his way to Amethi, and found a thief masquerading as a beggar in the custody of police officers. Afterwards, Badauni saw the highway robber escape from custody. No sooner had Badauni reached the *khanqah* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din than a beggar called. According to Badauni, since the Shaikh intuitively recognized the beggar as the thief, he denied him hospitality.

Badauni also writes about the occasional visits of the Shaikh to some towns around Amethi including Khairabad. There he enjoyed the company of Shaikhu'l-Hidaya whose daily habit was to attend meetings where ecstatic songs and dances were performed.

'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, a highly educated scholar by the standards of the age, also testifies to the miracles of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din.

The octogenarian Shaikh died in 979/1571.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, p. 27.
Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 474-5.
Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 507-9.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya: He was born in Bada'un, east of Delhi, in 636/1238. His grandfather, Sayyid 'Ali, accompanied by his cousin, Sayyid 'Arab, migrated to Bada'un from Bukhara some time between 1202 and 1209. His father, Ahmad, died when he was five. His pious mother entrusted him to care of the best teachers of Bada'un, an important centre of Islamic learning. After learning the Qur'an, Nizamu'd-Din studied the compendium of *Fiqh*, *Mukhtasar al-Quduri*, of Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad bin Muhammad under the guidance of the saintly Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din Usuli. When only twelve, Nizamu'd-Din's prostrations before his elders, his simplicity and piety so impressed 'Ali Maula, a prominent Sufi, that he prophesied the young boy's future saintly status. When sixteen years old, Nizamu'd-Din left for Delhi in pursuit of knowledge. He lived there along with his mother and sister in an inn near Shaikh Najibu'd-Din Mutwakkil's house. Occasionally, they slept without food. But poverty turned out to be a spiritual training for the young Nizamu'd-Din since his mother took pride in calling the hungry to be the guests of God. Having completed his education in *Hadis* and *Fiqh* in Delhi, Nizamu'd-Din sought the blessings of Shaikh Najibu'd-Din Mutwakkil for the post of *qazi* for which he was qualified. But the Shaikh advised him to the contrary and Nizamu'd-Din decided to follow the spiritual path.

In 655/1257-8 Nizamu'd-Din reached Ajodhan. After receiving a warm welcome from Baba Farid, he was initiated. His head was first shaved; he was then gently advised to give up the conceit that he had developed as an *'alim*. The Baba also impressed upon him the importance of ascetic exercises, fasting, prayer, and pilgrimage. When the young disciple asked the Baba whether he could abandon his studies and devote himself exclusively to supererogatory prayers, he was advised to continue both. Nizamu'd-Din then returned to Delhi. On his second visit to Ajodhan, he studied six chapters of the Qur'an under the guidance of the Baba, besides the work on *Ash'ari Kalam* or scholastic theology, called *Tamhidu'l-Muhtadi* of Abu Shakur Sulami, and the *'Awarif'ul-Ma'arif*. During his third visit to the Baba, a *khilafat-nama* was bestowed on him on 13 Ramazan 663/29 June 1265. He was now authorized to teach both scholastic theology and Sufism while leading the life of an ascetic. On his return from Ajodhan, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din studied *Mashariqu'l-Anwar* under the guidance of Maulana Kamalu'd-Din Zahid, a recognized scholar of *Hadis* as well as an ascetic. The Maulana's certificate to the Shaikh given on 22 Rabi' I 679/22 July 1280, refers the recipient as the Acknowledged One of the great Sufis (*Maqbul al-Masha'ikh al-Kibar*).

Life in Delhi proved to be miserable for the Shaikh. For about two years he lived in the house of a friend; but he had to shift his residence to a small thatched mosque with a bundle of books, his only possessions, when evicted by the sons of his friend without warning. Although the Shaikh later lived with his disciple, Shamsu'd-Din Sharabdar, he ultimately settled in Ghiyaspur, a small village near Kilukhari, at that time almost unknown to the populace of Delhi. Both the Shaikh and some of his disciples would eat from *zanbil* (baskets) that were taken around, and in which people put some dry food for the Shaikh and other inmates of his *khanqah*. Usually, the Shaikh fasted with his *murids* to cultivate the quality *tawakkul* among them in addition to creating "an intense and pure feeling of love for God".

Once, when Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din and his companions had starved for two days in a state of impecuniousness, Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Khalji "sent him a gift and the offer of a grant of land. He declined to accept anything". Likewise, he refused to accept two orchards and some land as gifts.

However, the *khanqah* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya turned into an institution during his lifetime in which "money, food and goods circulated freely". He accepted presents from the visitors, but distributed all that was received among the poor. His kitchen fed both invited and uninvited guests. Most of his life he fasted frequently. "So many miserable and poor men sit in the corners of mosques and shops, hungry and starving;" the Shaikh would say, "how can I get this food down my throat".

Remarkably, Nizamu'd-Din Auliya enrolled a large number of disciples in the hope of creating spiritual and ethical consciousness among them. Thanks to his generous concern for the poor, Sufism in India assumed the character of a mass movement during the time of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. His contemporary historian, Ziyau'd-Din Barani, best sums up his impact on the Indo-Muslim society:

"The *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, Nizamuddin, had opened wide the door of a universal disciplehood and bestowed robes and forgiveness on the sinners admitting them to his tutelage. To the elite, as well as to the multitude, to the rich, the poor, the nobles, the paupers, the scholarly, the ignorant, the gentle, the rough, slaves, he gave the four-cornered cap, and the *miswak* of purification with his blessings. . . . All people, believing in him, tried to emulate him in devotion and virtue. Men and women, young and old, low and mean, servants and slaves, and even small boys had begun to offer their prayers regularly. . . . Rich and benevolent persons had constructed in several pleasant spots between the city and and Ghayathpur terraces (*chabutrahs*) with thatched roofs and had wells dug there. The terraces were supplied with large jars full of water, clay jugs and mats, and keepers and reciters were posted there so that people coming from or going to the *khanqah* of the Shaikh may not be inconvenienced in making their ablutions at prayer times. In each of these terraces one saw crowds of people offering prayers. Perpetration or talk of crime had declined among the people, and they talked mostly of religious things. . . . So far had the spirit of piety and devotion progressed that even in the royal palace several nobles, *silahdars*, scribes, soldiers and slaves who had become disciples of the Shaikh, performed the *chasht* and *ishraq* prayers and fasted on *ayyam-i-bid*, and the tenth of Muharram. There was no quarter in the city where after twenty days or a month there was no gathering of the pious listening to sufistic music and weeping in ecstasy. . . . Sultan 'Alauddin himself, with all his family, had great faith in the Shaikh and the hearts of all classes of people were inclined towards virtue and piety. Never did the name of wine and women, crime and sin, gambling or other vile practices, profane the lips of people during the later portion of 'Alauddin's reign. Most of the students, nobles and great men who attended upon the Shaikh were seen to be busy in the study of books on sufism or the Islamic law. Books like *Ihya-ul-'Ulum* and its translation, *'Awarif, Kashful-Mahjub, Qut-ul-Qulub,* the commentary of *Ta'arruf, Risala-i-Qushariyah, Mirsad-ul-'Ibad, Maktubat* of 'Ain-ul-Qudat, *Lawayih* and *Lawami* of Qadi Hamiduddin Nagauri and the *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* of Amir Hasan found eager purchasers, and people generally inquired at the bookseller for books on sufism and divinity. No turban was seen without a *miswak* or comb hanging from it, and leather jugs and basins had become dear owing to large numbers of *sufi* buyers. . . ."

Little wonder, then, among the *dargahs* of the Chistiyya Sufis that the shrine of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya has always occupied the most important position. As early as the lifetime of the Shaikh, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, according to Ibn Battuta, used to visit him. His successor, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88), frequented it, and had the gorgeous *Jama'at Khanah* mosque constructed for the use of pilgrims. It added to the beauty of the *dargah* because of its screens of sandalwood, and gold chandeliers suspended on gold chains, one in each corner of the apartment. The extension work carried out under the patronage of the nobles and wealthy for the convenience of the Sufis around the *dargah* further contributed to the significance of the *dargah*.

The *dargah* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya has been a spiritual haven not only for commoners but also for poets, historians, and writers. While Amir Khusraw extols the Shaikh as the Christ of the age and the reviver of Islam, Ziayu'd-Din Barani compares him with Junaid of Baghdad. There is, indeed, no dearth of literature in Urdu characterized by immense respect and love for the Shaikh. 'Allama Iqbal, the philosopher-poet, who was critical of his Muslim compatriots' veneration of graves to the point of *shirk,* however, considered his visits to the tomb of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, to be a "source of life for the soul". In recent times Professor Wahiduddin, in spite of his firm roots in philosophy, used to regularly visit the *dargah* of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya on Thursdays.

Nizamu'd-Din Auliya died on 18 Rabi'u'l-Akhir 725/2 April 1325. His funeral prayer was led by Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Multani, the grandson of the great Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya of Multan.

Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi, *Fawai'du'l-Fu'ad,* English tr. with introduction and historical annotation, Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Delhi, 1996.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 11, 105, 126.

Amir Khwurd, *Siyaru'l-Auliya,* pp, 104-7, 110-17, 152-4, 162-78, 239-40.

'Abdu'l-Haqq, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* (U), pp. 110-20.

The Travels of Ibn Battuta, vol. 3, ed. and tr. Sir Hamilton Gibb, Cambridge, 1971, p. 654.

Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* pp. 341-5.

Jamali, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin,* pp. 59-91.

Ai'n-i Akbari, III, p. 170.

Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, pp. 391-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 71-4.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 776-97.

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri, *Kalimatu's-Sadiqin,* pp. 56-73.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 36a-48b.

Syed Muhammad Akbar, *Jawam'imu'l-Kilam* (Collection of the Utterances of Shaikh Gesudaraz, AH 1356, Kanpur, p. 143).

Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi, Aligarh, 1956, p. 14.

Tarikh-i Muhammadi, f. 146b.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, *Anwaru'l-'Uyun,* Urdu tr., Delhi, 1895, p. 4.

M. Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau,* reprint edition of 1974, Delhi, pp. 114-15.

M. Habib, *Hadrat Nizamuddin Awliya: Hayat aur Ta'limat,* Delhi, 1972.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India,* I, pp. 154-75.

Shaikh Nur Muhammad: He received initiation from his father, Shaikh Muhammad Sharif and was a Sufi of affable manners. He lies buried near his father's tomb in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 284.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din: He was the son of Shaikh Ya'qub bin Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din. Although learned in exoteric sciences, he lived in seclusion as a *dervish* in Lahore. He was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 453-4.

Shaikh Nurud'-Din: Little is known about his life except that he was a disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Miyan Mir.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya (U), p. 178.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Hansvi: He was the son of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar, a prominent disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya. When Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq summoned Shaikh Qutbuddin to his court, the latter took his son along with him. The pomp and show at the court somewhat terrified the child. But the father whispered: "Greatness and power belong to God alone." So great was the effect of this warning on the young Nuruddin that he now began to see the assembly of nobles as a herd of lambs.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 168.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi: He was the most distinguished Kashmiri Sufi who founded the indigenous order of the Muslim mystics in the Valley called the Rishiyya. Born on 10 Zu'l-Hijja 779/ 9 April 1378 at Kaimuh, his father, Shaikh Salaru'd-Din had embraced Islam at the hands of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Husain Simnani. According to a tradition, quoted in several hagiological works, for three days after his birth, Nuru'd-Din did not take milk from his mother. But, then Lal Ded visited the house of Shaikh Salaru'd-Din, and addressed the newly-born baby: "Your were not ashamed of being born; why are you ashamed of sucking at your mother's breast?" The baby started taking milk and thereafter Lal Ded's visits to the parental house of Nuru'd-Din continued. It was

Lal Ded, indeed, who was the earliest source of inspiration for Nuru'd-Din.

The popular tradition about Lal Ded's influence on Nuru'd-Din, though enveloped in legendary material, contains a kernel of truth. It not only conveys some information about the early influence on the Shaikh's mind, but also reveals a dynamic relationship, a creative tension that existed between the local and the Islamic mystic traditions. There is thus a need to understand clearly the formative influence exercised by Lal Ded on Nuru'd-Din. And, like Ibn 'Arabi's veneration for Fatima of Cordova, who was a spiritual mother to him, Nuru'd-Din also speaks with devotion of Lal Ded's teachings, oriented towards a life of intimacy with God.

Nur'd-Din's religious career falls into three main stages: an orphan struggling to eke out his mundane existence; an ascetic retiring to a cave at Kaimuh for 12 years in order to find the religious truth; and a recluse advocating ethics of a dynamic and positive nature. Having secluded himself in the cave in the true manner of the legendary Rishis of Kashmir, Nuru'd-Din combined the daunting series of recitations of God's name with extremes of asceticism, self-mortification, long fasts, and sexual abstinence. In order to discipline his soul, he followed extremely ascetic practices to free himself from his sensual self. He subsisted on wild vegetables and did not touch meat. He considered *vopalhak* and chicory to be the favourite dish of the chosen of God. He wore ragged garments but used the *kangri* (portable earthenware) to protect himself in the winter.

The ethics of asceticism finds a systematic exposition in several verses composed by Nuru'd-Din in the prime of his youth. Certainly his earlier compositions bear an indelible mark of Saivite philosophy of Kashmir on him:

> The universe is the objective manifestation
> of the essence of Siva,
> If you realise it through annihilation of
> self, you will get merged into Him,
> What will you find after death, if you do no
> recognize Him in this world?
> Search Him in yourself and give me keen
> Hearing.

However, in the wake of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani's meeting with Nuru'd-Din, a new trend emeges in the latter's thought. Although Nuru'd-Din received initiation in the Kubrawiyya order at his own request from Muhammad Hamadani, his authority as the leader of the Rishi movement was not undermined. What is of significane is that in his *khat-i irshad* Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani used the term Rishi while referring to Nuru'd-Din as a perfect *Wali*, which also points to the Kubrawiyya's Sufi's confidence in the Kashmiri Sufi in carrying on the mission of his predecessors. And by authorizing Nuru'd-Din to enrol disciples, the Saiyid dispelled the false notion of his companions that they alone, by virtue of being Saiyids, were capable of providing religious leadership to Kashmiris.

It goes without saying that Shaikh Nuru'd-Din played a central role within the framework of a cognitive moral and social order. He redefined and reordered the life-world of the followers of the Rishi order, requiring of them not only devotion to God but patterns of social behaviour in congruence with the norms of the *Shari'ah.* The key principles central to this order were: trust in Allah in what is open or revealed; following the essence of the *Shari'ah* of Muhammad in word and deed; giving a wide berth to the vain and the rich; being content with Allah.

So deep-rooted was the influence of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi on Sufism in Kashmir that the venerable Sufis of the latter-day, belonging to the orders other than than the Rishiyya, undertook pilgrimages to his tomb at Chrar-i Sharif along with their chosen disciples. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, according to Haidar Tulmuli, offered *fatiha* at the grave of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi along with his disciples including Rupi Rishi. Significantly, when Mulla 'Ali Raina sought the guidance of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, he was first directed to visit Chrar-i Sharif for gaining spiritual bliss. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri writes that the Kashmiris generally visit the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din in the *kharif* season. He also refers to the visits of the prominent Sufi, Shaikh Akmalu'd-Din Muhammad Kamil, to Chrar-i Sharif.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din died on 26 Ramazan, 842/ 12 March 1439.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 33b-35a.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 68a, 196b-198b.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 2b.

Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 32ab-34a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 145ab-160ab, 272ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 103-4.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31.

Ishaq Khan, "The Mystical Career and Poetry of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi", *Studies in Islam*, January/April 1982, Delhi.

——*Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Shaikh Nuru'llah Duloo: He was a disciple of Shah Abu'l-Baqi. His teachers included Mulla Hasan, Mulla 'Abdu's-Samad and Mulla 'Azizu'llah Chuhu. Endowed with a knowledge of both exoteric and esoteric sciences, Shaikh Nuru'llah often remained in a state of ecstasy. Although a Qadiriyya, he received initiation and authorization from Akhwund Mulla Nazuk in the Naqshbandiyya order.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 442.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 321.

Shaikh Nuru'llah Maantji: He left Kashmir early in life and, after performing *hajj*, met with several Sufis during his travel. On returning home he obtained *irshad* from Shaikh Husain Kamraji. Although he spent a portion of his time in seclusion in the caves, he left no stone unturned to do good for the people in respect of guiding them in *suluk*. He lies buried at the cemetery of his *murshid* in the *pargana* of Machhipur in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 328.

Shaikh Phul: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Zuhur Hajji Hamid Shattari. Emperor Humayun was his most noteworthy disciple, and he learnt the practice of invoking the names of God (*da'wat-i asma*) from him. Besides a sizeable number of Muslims, not only the Sadru's-Sudur, Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Tattawi, a famous *'alim* and a Suhrawardiyya, but, also an eminent Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Maulana Muhammad Farghuli, joined the Shattariyya order under his influence. Mirza Hindal killed Shaikh Phul when Humayun sent him to his rebel brother in order to enlist the latter's support against their common enemy, the Afghans.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 212-13.

Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, Calcutta, 1877, pp. 155-6.

Shaikh Phul Majzub: An ascetic given to much meditation who lived in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 367.

Shaikh Pir: He was the eldest son and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Budh, of Rudauli. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti quotes his contemporary, Shaikh Muhammad Sufi, in praise of the spiritual worth of Shaikh Pir. He also refers to his personal visit to the abode of Shaikh Pir and found him absorbed in contemplation in a state of *sukr*. In spite of Shaikh Pir's drunkenness, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman was impressed by his nobility of culture and hospitality.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1164.

Shaikh Pir Muhammad: He was initiated initially into the Naqshbandiyya order by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. For several years he remained absorbed in meditation in the garden of his *pir* at Chhatabal in Srinagar. Later he obtained further spiritual guidance from Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar and became an intoxicated soul living alone in the latter's *khanqah* for a long period. When Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din heard about the state of Pir Muhammad, he himself came to the abode of his former disciple, reproaching him with his staff for transcending the bounds fo the *Shari'ah*. Subsequently, he returned to the garden of the Khwaja and was buried there after his death.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 232-3.

Shaikh Pir Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Halim ibn Shaikh Jalal Qadiri Burhanpuri: He was a noted *faqih* of Burhanpur who was also known for his association with the *dervishes*. He was the source of spiritual inspiration for the students studying in his *madrasa*. Notwithstanding the esteem in which he was held by the ruler of Khandesh, he did not associate with the court. His dedication to teaching and, not the least, his inward piety are described in glowing terms by Ghausi Shattari. He died in 1013/1604-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 430.

Shaikh Pirbaz: He belonged to the village of Razwan at the *pargana* of Icch in Kashmir. During the period when Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi stayed at Rupavan, Pirbaz, then, only 12 years old, began to receive guidance in *suluk*.

Once Pirbaz was bringing a pot of water for the ablutions of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and came across a lion on the way. The young boy reprimanded the lion in these words: "If the Rishis are unable to offer *namaz* at the appointed time, you (lion) will be punished on the Day of Judgement." The lion then took to its heels. The modern reasoning mind may not accept this anecdote as true, but it bears testimony to the fact that in spite of their austerities the Rishis were punctilious about the five daily prayers.

When Shaikh Nuru'd-Din directed Baba Latifu'd-Din to move to Uttar he entrusted Pirbaz to his care. For many years, Pirbaz served Latifu'd-Din until he settled at some place in the *pargana* of Uttar.

Pirbaz was a Rishi of great mettle. He did not eat green vegetables but subsisted on the wild herbs of the forest. His austerities and penances earned him a great name among the rural folk of Uttar.

Baba Khalil refers to some of the sayings of Shaikh Pirbaz. "A *salik* acquires *kashfu'l-qulub* when he clears his heart from others." "*Sahibdil* is one who does not allow others to enter his heart." "An *'arif* makes no difference between youth and old age."

Pirbaz lies buried at Uttar in Kashmir.

Nasib, f. 325ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 92b.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 179ab.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 113-14.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 38b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 190-1.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 570-3.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 123-5.

Shaikh Piyara: Born in 804/1401-2, he was a disciple of Gisu Daraz's grandson and successor, Saiyid Yadu'llah (d. 849/1445-6). Before seeking the discipleship of Saiyid Yadu'llah, Shaikh Piyara had received a part of his spiritual training from Saiyid Gisu Daraz. Asked by Gisu Daraz whether he had ever fallen in love, the young seeker revealed that once his infatuation for a Hindu girl led him to wear a Brahmanical thread and live in a temple where she worshipped. Expressing delight at Shaikh Piyara's courage and yearning, Gisu Daraz initiated him into the secrets of divine love by directing him to devote himself to meditation and penance for forty days in the Delhi cell of Baba Farid. The cell was later incorporated into the tomb of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din.

Shaikh Piyara died in 862/1457-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 306-7.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 309a.

Shaikh Qai'm Yasawwi *alias* Shabbedar: He was a disciple of Shah Daulat. A Sufi of noble qualities absorbed in *Tawhid* and *ma'rifah*, the Shaikh died in 1153/1740-1 at the age of 57 and was buried at the *mohalla* of Mughal Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 323.

Shaikh Qasim: He was initiated as a Suhrawardiyya by Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 249.

Shaikh Qasim: He was a disciple of Mir 'Ali Qadiri, entombed at the village of Wanu in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 278.

Saiyid Qasim: He was the son of Shaikh Yusuf Sindhi. A Sufi endowed with the virtues of *taqwa*, *tawwakul*, and spirituality, he was a Chistiyya and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 366.

Shaikh Qasim Awadhi: He belonged to Awadh and enrolled himself as a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Fathu'llah. In one of his works on Sufi ethics, the *Adabu's-Salikin*, he gave a symbolic interpretation of the relics that the *salik*s inherited from their masters. Thus, in his view, the prayer carpet symbolized steadfastness in prayer, the *tasbih* or rosary was the recollection of stray thoughts; the comb was an emblem of uprightness; the staff represented the idea that only the One Real God should be relied on; the pair of scissors signified the severance of relations from everything other than God; the needle was a reminder that the exoteric and esoteric should be intertwined; slippers symbolized spiritual resoluteness; the ewer, cup and other such household utensils inculcated the virtues of hospitality and generosity among the Sufis.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 297-9.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 209a-b.

Shaikh Qiwamu'd-Din: He belonged to Lucknow and was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud. Although a Chistiyya, after the death of his master, Qiwamu'd-Din went to Uch to obtain initiation from Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Makhdum Jahaniyan of the Suhrawardiyya order. His tomb in Lucknow was a place of pilgrimage during the lifetime of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Dihlawi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 277.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 273.

Shaikh Qudwatu'd-Din: He was granted discipleship and the robe of *khilafat* by Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli only after a good deal of hard ascetic exercises. He was sent to Barnawa (near Delhi) for the dissemination of the teachings of the Sabiriyya order.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1157.

Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Jahan Zakir Naharwala: He was a Sufi of immense merits who guided the Sufis like Shaikh-i Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif and Shaikh

Wali Muhammad Khan. His son, Shaikh 'Abid, just inherited an old mat from him.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 331-2.

Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar: He was the grandson of Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din of Hansi, and the son of Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din. He was initiated by Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. On receiving a *khilafat-nama* from his *murshid*, he was asked by Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli to reveal the instructions. But he politely refused to disclose these, saying, "The instructions of the Sultanu'l-*Masha'ikh* . . . embody divine secrets. . . . Those given to you are yours and those given to me are mine." He also received a copy of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* from the Shaikh that the latter had earlier received from Jamalu'd-Din Hansi. An attempt made by certain ulama to prejudice the mind of Muhammad bin Tughluq against the asceticism of the Shaikh proved to be abortive, as the Sultan was profoundly impressed by his humility. Acknowledging that he had been misinformed, the Sultan, through his successor, Firuz and the historian Ziya'u'd-Din Barani, gifted him 100,000 *tankas*. The Shaikh reluctantly received only 2,000 *tankas* for charitable purposes.

Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar is reported to have instructed Sultan Firuz Shah against his indulgences in drinking and hunting. However, out of sheer love for hunting, the Sultan prayed that his desire for hunting might be lessened. The Shaikh was enraged as the main aim underlying his instructions was to impress upon the Sultan that killing of animals should only be neccessitated by human needs rather than for the love of sport. He therefore showed his concern for nature by refusing to accept the Sultan's gift of an expensive robe.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, pp. 247-56.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 163-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 84-5.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 869-72.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 116b-118b.

Shaikh Raf'iu'd-Din Muhammad: He was a learned son of Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam. Endowed with a knowledge of the exoteric and, in particular, a thorough understanding of the deepest dimensions of esoteric sciences, he first obtained initiation into the Chistiyya order from his father. He also enjoyed the company of Shaikh Najmu'l-Haqq and was held in high esteem by Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah.

Shah Waliu'llah gives a candid account of his spiritual talents at the time of a *sama'*, organized by a dignitary named Shaikh Farid Bukhari in honour of the Sufis. The Shah learned from his father, Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, that one of the Mughal nobles, Khan-i 'Alam, was a devotee of Shaikh Raf'iu'd-Din.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 354-7.

Shaikh Rafiu'd-Din Dihlawi: He was the grandfather of Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim. Shah Waliu'llah's father, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim, often visited his tomb for purposes of gaining spiritual bliss.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 36.

Shaikh Rafqatu'd-Din: He was the eldest son of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam of Bengal. Known for his gentle manners and humility, Rafqatu'd-Din considered himself worse than a street dog.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 294.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1174.

Shaikh Rahmatu'llah: His father, Qazi 'Abdu'llah, belonged to Sindh. The blows and buffets of fortune forced him to migrate to Medina. On his way there via Ahmedabad, he became a disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi and also his close friend. He died shortly after reaching Medina. His son, Shaikh Rahmatu'llah, however, obtained excellent training in *Hadis* and *Fiqh* in Medina and entered the discipleship of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi. Along with his friend, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, writes 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Shaikh Rahmatu'llah later came to India and imparted lessons on *Hadis* to the seekers in the Sufi Path.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 468-9.

Shaikh Rahmatu'llah: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Muqim Awwal and the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Mumin, who, in turn, was the son of Shaikh Hasan Sani and the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad 'Aasmi. He obtained formal education from his father and distinguished himself as a first-rate debator among his contemporaries. The ulama and *'arifs* of his time considered themselves to be very fortunate for having rubbed shoulders with such a pious Sufi and erudite 'Allama. Such was his devotion to God that he would leave home (at Naupora) at midnight to offer *tahajjud* prayers at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla in Srinagar. It was also customary for him to sit in *'i'tikaf* during the Ramazan and complete the recitation of the Qur'an daily.

Shaikh Rahmatu'llah was the recognized Kubrawiyya Sufi scholar of his time who spent most of his time in teaching and, also, guiding the people along the Path. On 24 Ziq'ad 1163/14 October 1750 he died at the age of 63 and was buried in the cemetery of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 345-6.

Shaikh Rahmatu'llah Sani: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi. Known for his unparalleled knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, he died at the age of 51 in the lifetime of his father on 18 Muharram 1229/10 January 1813.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 403.

Shaikh Rajab: He was a *khalifa* of Makhdum Shaikh Bheek who, in his turn, was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Jamal Gujjar. His tomb is situated in the village of Ram Diya at the distance of one kos from the shrine of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1230.

Shaikh Rajab: A learned Sufi from Kashmir who guided people in the Path, he went on *hajj* at a very young age. After visiting Mecca and Medina, he travelled through Jeruselum and Turkey. He stayed in Istanbul for seven years and is said to have enrolled the ruler of Turkey as his disciple. When he set on the return journey, the Turkish ruler offered him several gifts in cash and kind, but he refused. Instead, he requested him to vouchsafe him the sacred hair of the Prophet Muhammad along with other relics. After his request was granted, Shaikh Rajab returned to the Valley and settled in Andarwari where he lies entombed.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 337.

Shaikh Rajgiri: He was from Daryabad in Awadh. After becoming the disciple of Makhdum Jahaniyan, he received the title of 'Akhi' from his *pir*. When he first settled at Kanauj, he was also given his *pir's khirqa*. He became so famous that visitors started thronging his habitat in larger numbers. Subsequently, he moved to a lonely village on the Ganges called Rajgir.

Akhi's experience with a troupe of singing and dancing Hindu boys in Kanauj is worthy of note. On the day of the festival of Holi, Akhi was so captivated by the music of the revellers that he fell into a trance, and followed them around the streets of Kanauj for three days and nights. On seeing the townsfolk also joining the group, the standard-bearers of *Shari'ah* persuaded Khwaja-i Jahan Sultanu'sh-Sharq to discipline Shaikh Akhi Rajgiri. However, the Shaikh replied him that he was ready to court death for his yearning was inspired by divine love alone.

Shaikh Rajgiri died during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi (d. 844/1440-1).

Akhbaru'l-Asfiya, India Office MS., f. 32b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1097-1102.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 505a.

Shaikh Raji Muhammad: He reached the stage of *fana fi'sh-Shaikh* and *fana fi Allah*. He was initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. He died in 990/1582 and is entombed in Barauda.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 352.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan, p. 334.

Shaikh Rattan Kashmiri: He was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Mir 'Ali Qadiri. Known for his austerities, he lies buried in the *mohalla* of Sadrah Uttar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 277.

Shaikh Rizqu'llah: He learnt *zikr-i Ilahi* from the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Buddhan (d. 921/1515-16). Born in 897/1491-2, he was an uncle of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi and the author of a collection of anecdotes called the *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*. He also composed Hindi *masnavis*, the *Paiman* and *Joti Niranjan*, which are now extinct. His *nom de plume* was Rajan in Hindi and Mushtaqi in Persian.

'Abdu'l-Haqq describes Mushtaqi as a paragon of virtue, *ma'rifah*, and literary excellence. He travelled widely and always kept the company of the *fuqara*, *masha'ikh*, and poor. All who came in contact with him were impressed by the wide range of his knowledge of the history of the Indian rulers, *masha'ikh*, and various anecdotes connected with them. His eyes were brimmed with tears while describing the secrets (*asrar wa rumuz*) of burning love for God.

Rizqu'llah died in 989/1581.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 309-10, 353.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 187.

Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus. Born on 5 Jumada I 897/5 March 1492, he distinguished himself as a commentator on his father's *Rushd-Nama*, and as the author of the *Lata'if-i Quddusi*. In the latter work the author accuses Humayun of not distinguishing between the *kufr* and Islam. The Shaikh, as a commentator of his father's work, was asked how the poetry of the *yogis* and *sannyasis* could exemplify truths concerning the *Tawhid*, in that the prophets were invested with moral authority under divine inspiration. He answered the critics by quoting the Qur'anic verses that no nation was without a prophet and that such messenger spoke the local language. It was not possible, therefore, believed Ruknu'd-Din, that India was without a prophet and that the *Tawhid* had not been imparted in Indian languages. As a matter of fact, his criticism of *kufr* was based on his perception and belief that Indians had distorted the teachings of *Tawhid* by resorting to idol worship. The Shaikh even quoted from works on *Hadis* to show that Indian religions "were founded on the *Tawhid* and must therefore contain the essence of Reality".

He died in 1575-6.

Lata'if-i Quddusi, Delhi, 1311/1894, pp. 79-81.

Rushd-Nama, Aligarh MS, ff. 50a-52a.

Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus. 'Abdu'l-Haqq describes him as an epitome of *faqr* and love.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 384.

Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Mahmud: Born in Bayana, he migrated to Mandu where he lived in relative seclusion near a mosque. He had a good knowledge of grammar and *fiqh*, taught the Qur'an to the children of *dervishes* and was so devoted to his work that he did not leave his abode except for offering congregational prayers.

He died in 992/1584-5.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 339.

Shaikh Rupi Rishi Kochamuli: He renounced the world after parting with his family at a very young age, and secluded himself on a mountain around the Wular Lake in Kashmir for many years. Later, he moved to Srinagar and became the disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. For many years, Rupi Rishi remained under his spiritual guidance. Notwithstanding Rupi Rishi's initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, he did not part with the cherished traditions of the Rishi order. He observed fasts regularly and proved himself to be a source of comfort for the people who visited his abode at Habba Kadal in Srinagar. His ability to reform the behaviour of the thieves is testified to in the sources. Mulla 'Ali Raina and Baba Dawud Khaki speak highly of him. Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, a prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi, often called on him. He acknowledges his spiritual debt to Rupi Rishi in these words: "My inner condition owes its light to Shaikh Rupi Rishi's radiating influence. The quality of (my) *faqr* has derived sustenance from him." Haidar Tulmuli describes the spiritual excellence of Rupi Rishi in glowing terms. His remark about the conversion of a dog into a *wali* under the influence of the Sufi should not be accepted on its face value. On the other, he points to the supernal quality of Rupi Rishi's faith to ennoble the conduct of even men with bestial characteristics. Khwaja Miram Bazaz, another contemporary of Rupi Rishi, speaks highly of him. Such was the confidence of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum in Rupi Rishi that he often took him along during his various travels in the Valley.

Rupi Rishi died on 17 Muharram 997/26 November 1588 at the age of 120 and is entombed at Zaindar *mohalla* near Habba Kadal in Srinagar.

Mulla 'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 63b-71b.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503, ff. 57b-59a, 99ab, 129ab-131b.

Ishaq Qari, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 500, f. 119b.

Hasan Qari, *Rahatu'l-Talibin*, RPD No. 501, f. 22a.

Nasib, *Nurnama*.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 118-20.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 193-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 139-41.

Shaikh Sabir: See Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Ahmad bin Sabir.

Shaikh Sadiq: A *khalifa* of the Kashmiri Sufi, Nur Muhammad Parwana.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 221.

Shaikh Sadru'd-Din 'Arif: Son of the eminent Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, he was known as 'Arif (Gnostic). His father appointed him as his *khalifa* during his lifetime. Of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din's six sons, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din alone inherited from his father property worth 700,000 *tankas*. Believing, not unlike his father, that he was unable to spend this amount judiciously, the Shaikh immediately distributed the whole amount to the poor. According to Mir Khwurd, some people once asked him why he differed from the attitude of his father regarding wealth. The Shaikh remarked that he was afraid of indulging in money matters lest it might lead him astray. Barani observes that he willingly chose to be debtor rather than creditor.

Sadru'd-Din 'Arif died in 685/1286 and lies entombed near his father's grave in Multan.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, pp. 128-40.

Tarikh-i Firuzshahi, pp. 66-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 122-6.

Jamali, pp. 128-9.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 814-17.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 69.

Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din: He was the son of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din of Lucknow. He had a wide knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences. Also called the Shaikhu'l-Islam, Sa'du'd-Din lies entombed in Lucknow.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 918.

Shaikh Sa'du'llah Chisti Dihlawi: He migrated from Delhi to Burhanpur where he is entombed.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 347.

Shaikh Sa'du'llah Gulshan Dihlawi: He migrated from Burhanpur to Delhi. A Sufi poet of wonderful qualities, Sa'du'llah was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi. An ascetic to the core, he once took his seat in a state of utter humility near the place of shoes in the assembly of Shaikh Abu'r-Riza. He died in 1726-7 and lies entombed in Delhi.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 203-4.

Shaikh Sa'du'llah Kesadar: He was the son, disciple, and *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Mutawakkil, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh Dihlawi. He also received the *khirqa* of *khilafat* from Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. The latter has mentioned him in his *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*. Although the date of death of Shaikh Sa'du'llah is not known, he was, as per his *malfuzat*, alive upto 780/1378-9. He lies buried near the tomb of his father in Kanastur.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1005-8.

Shaikh Sadha Jaunpuri: He was *khalifa* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. He enjoyed immense respect among the innumerable *khalifas* of his noted *murshid*. His tomb is in Awadh.

Lata'if-i Ashrafi as quoted in *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), p. 1181.

Shaikh Safi: A disciple of Shaikh Dawud Guhani, he is entombed in the village of Konan in Khuyahom, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 327.

Shaikh Safi: Little is known about him except that he was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Khairabadi who in his turn was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Mina, the prominent Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Lucknow. He lived in Saipur.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Safi: He a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Qutb Lakhnauti about whom nothing else is known.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 514.

Shaikh Saifu'llah: He was the brother of Shaikh Zia'u'llah and a disciple of Shaikh Hayat. His austerities and devoutness inspired numerous people. He died on 12 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1243/3 October 1827 and lies buried in the cemetery of his ancestors in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 387.

Shaikh Saifu'llah: He was the grandson of Baba Majnun Narwari. Besides being a Kashmiri scholar and Sufi, he was a custodian of the shrine of his illustrious ancestor. Although he was also a *jagirdar*, he gained considerable fame for charity. He died in 1224/1889. The chronicler Pir Hasan Shah describes Shaikh Saifu'llah as his maternal grandfather.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 377.

Shaikh Saifu'llah: He was a *khalifa* of Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar. He had the privilege of being buried in the ancestral cemetery of his *murshid* in Srinagar during the latter's lifetime for his dedication to Sufism.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 354.

Shaikh Saiyid Hamid Lucknowi: He was a *khalifa* of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah Khairabadi.

Malfuzat-i Shah Mina (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Sakha'i: He was a Suhrawardiyya Sufi and a contemporary of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Qutb (d. 10 Zu'lqada 818/11 January 1416), and Maulana Taju'd-Din, the son-in-law of Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq (d. 1 Rajab 800/20 March 1398). Once he invited Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Qutb as a chief guest at a dinner hosted by him and attended by Sufis, *qazis* and *muftis*. No sooner had the *qawwali* begun than Sadr-i Jahan Qazi left the gathering in protest considering it to be the violation of the *Shari'ah*. Several *muftis* followed suit. But Maulana Taju'd-Din did not leave. However, he objected to the singer's repetition of a verse. At this stage Shaikh Nuru'd-Din who had already overcome with ecstasy, was disgusted by the loud arguments of Taju'd-Din. So he left the assembly. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq attributes the subsequent appearance of skin rashes on the body of Maulana Taju'd-Din to his insolence.

Akhbaru'l-Akkhyar (U), pp. 292-3.

Shaikh Salah Dervish: He was a Suhrawardiyya Sufi. Nothing is known about his *murshid*. He remained celibate through his life and, according to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, lived like an *abdal*. He quotes *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* to impress upon his readers the exalted spiritual status of Shaikh Salah. He also refers to the close association of Shaikh Dawud and Shaikh Salah Sufi with Shaikh Salah Dervish. Both Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti refer to the visit of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1433) to the tomb of Shaikh Salah Dervish in Rudauli (in the Barabanki district). The latter established a great Sufi centre in Rudauli to propagate the teachings of the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya *silsilah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 337.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 8229.

Shaikh Salah Sufi: A contemporary and a close friend of Shaikh Salah Dervish and Shaikh Dawud, he is said to have come to India from Kirman in the reign of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji. He settled in Radauli. An *'arif* of high spiritual calibre, Salah Sufi was affiliated to the Suhrawardiyya order. His grave is situated near the tomb of Shaikh Salah Dervish in Radauli. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, it was only after the death of Shaikh Salah Sufi and his two other Suhrawardiyya contemporaries that Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir (d. 840/1436-7) came to Radauli and visited their graves. He even advised one of his disciples, Shaikh Safiu'd-Din, to visit the tombs of Shaikh Salah Sufi and Shaikh Salah Dervish for purposes of spiritual harmony.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 826-8.

Shaikh Salaru'd-Din: Originally known as Salat Sanz, he belonged to a tribe of watchmen. After embracing Islam at the hands of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Saiyid Husain Simnani, he assumed the name of Shaikh Salaru'd-Din. Being the father of the most illustrious Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Shaikh Salaru'd-Din's tomb at Kaimuh, situated in south Kashmir, is a place of pilgrimage for the inhabitants of several villages.

Baba Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, f. 2b.

Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 32ab-34a.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 103.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 1-2.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 1-2.

Shaikh Salih: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Khawaja Rafiq 'Asha'i.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 256.

Shaikh Salih: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi and that he enjoyed respect for his piety.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 242.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 239.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Shaikh Salih Hafiz: He was the son of Khan Muhammad who belonged to Champaner in Gujarat. A Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Salih followed the *Tariqa* within the bounds of the *Shari'ah*. He was a contemporary of Ghausi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 496-7.

Shaikh Samau'd-Din: Besides being a disciple of Shaikh Kabiru'd-Din Isma'il, who himself had been a disciple of Saiyid Raju Qattal, he also had the privilege of being a pupil of Mir Saiyid Sharif Jurjani, the celebrated philosopher and a scholar at the court of Timur. The former initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order and, leaving Uch and Multan after this experience, Sama'u'd-Din reached Bayana in the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (1451-89) after visiting Nagaur and Gujarat. Bahlul's Afghan governor of Bayana, Sultan Ahmad Jalwani, who secretly supported Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi in the ongoing war between the Lodis and the Sharqis invoked the Shaikh's blessings for the success of his plot against his own benefactor. Although angered at the governor's audacity for making such a request, nevertheless, the Shaikh made the budding rebel abandon his plot.

Following Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din's migration to Delhi, the prince, Nizam (later called Sultan Sikandar Lodi), sought the Sufi's blessing on the eve of his coronation. That the Sufi exercised considerable influence on the policies of the new king is borne out by the latter's concern for the *Shari'ah*. Sikandar often visited the Shaikh's *khanqah*, and on one occasion he was told that divine blessings were beyond the reach of three categories of people, viz., old men who had sinned, young men who did likewise but hoped to repent at a later date, and kings who lied.

An erudite scholar as well, Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din wrote a commentary on the *Lama'at* of 'Iraqi. His another work called the *Miftahu'l-Asrar* (Key to the Divine Secret) was, in the words of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, based on the writings of Shaikh 'Azizu'd-Din Nasafi (d. 661/1263). In this work, he was in perfect harmony with the followers of Ibn al-'Arabi's *Wahdat al-Wujud* who believed men to be the prime of creation because of their unlimited spiritual potential.

He died on 17 Jumada I 901/2 February 1496 and lies buried on the emankment of the Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 369-72.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 516b-518a.

Jamali, pp. 177-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 188-9.

Shaikh Sanau'llah Zunimari: He was a grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari. After obtaining a formal education, he received spiritual guidance from his grandfather. He completed 40 *chilas* resolutely at the mosque of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum at the village of Gundpura in Khuyahom. After the death of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil, he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadali and distinguished himself as a Suhrawardiyya Sufi of considerable merit. He died on 18 Zilhaj 1235/26 September 1820 and was buried at Zunimar in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 386-7.

Shaikh Sarang: His *pir*, Shaikh Qiwamu'd-Din of Lucknow, was originally a Chistiyya but later he also obtained initiation in the Suhrawaridyya order from Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Jahaniyan. Shaikh Sarang occupied an important position in the administration of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. Reputed to have founded Sarangpur in Malwa after his name, he resigned government service to become a disciple of the Sufi Shaikh Qiwamu'd-Din. He performed *hajj* and on his return entered the discipleship of both Shaikh Yusuf Budh and Shaikh Raju Qattal. His distinguished *khalifa* was Shah Mina.

Shaikh Sarang died in 832/1428-9.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 277-8.

Mira'tu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1105-7.

Shaikh Shah 'Ali Ahmedabadi: He was a descendant of Saiyid Ahmad Kabir Rifa'i. The latter (d. 588/1192), affiliated to the Shaf'i school and entombed in the Yemen, was a venerable Sufi. Shah 'Ali died in 970/1562-3 and lies buried in Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 280.

Shaikh Shah Muhammad: He was the son of Hasan Tahir Qadiri. A Sufi of learning, he was also a poet. For many years he acted as *mujjawir* in Mecca. He returned to India on the advice of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari. Affiliated to the Qadiriyya order, Shah Muhammad's spiritual integrity elicits abundant praise of Ghausi Shattari. His father was originally a Chistiyya who was later initiated as Qadiriyya by Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 254.

Shaikh Shahi Rasan-Tab: He was also known as Shaikh Shahi Muy-tab. He was a hair- rope-maker of Bada'un initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri. The spiritual status of Shaikh Shahi can be gauged from the fact that even Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya is all praise for him. Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Chisti, writing in the mid-1650s, observes that the tomb of Shaikh Shahi Rasan-Tab was a place of popular pilgrimage in Bada'un during his time.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin, p. 152.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 48.

Khyar al-Majalis, pp. 210-11.

Jamali, pp. 151-2.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 99-100.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar, pp. 831-2.

Shaikh Shahid: A disciple of Sufi Sarmast and is said to have migrated from Mabar to Talikota, a town 50 miles south-east of Bijapur. He died in 1272-3. Maxwell Eaton refers to a latter-day biographer's legendary account in order to show the Sufi's involvement in a militant fight against the Hindus.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dakan, I, pp. 410-11.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, pp. 31-2.

Shaikh Shakar: His learning and inner piety is commended by Ghausi Shattari. He died in 972/1564-5 and he is entombed in Ahmadnagar, Deccan.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 280.

Shaikh Shams: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya who is entombed in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 98.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din: He was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli of the Sabiriyya order.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1157.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din: He was the foster brother and disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. He dedicated himself to Sufism in the prime of his youth and gained spiritual excellence by virtue of his asceticism. Described as a Sufi endowed with *kashaf* and *karamat*, Shamsu'd-Din was inclined towards the *Wahdatu'l-Wujud*. As a *khalifa* of Baba Nasib, he went to Tibet and attracted people towards the teachings of Islam.

He died in 1065/1654-5 and lies buried near the tomb of Baba Nasibu'd-Din.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 238.

Kabir, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 199.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din: A contemporary of Ghausi Shattari, he was the son of Shaikh Ya'qub bin Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din. After obtaining a formal education, he lived like a *dervish* in relative seclusion in Lahore.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 453-4.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Baghdadi: He was a widely travelled Sufi who, according to Mishkati, came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin along with a large group of his disciples. The Sultan treated him as a guest and lodged him in his newly constructed palace at Zainpur. The Sultan supported the *langar* opened by the Shaikh.The Shaikh guided several people in the Path. He lies entombed in Zainpur.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, Urdu tr. Saiyid Muhammad Tahir Bukhari and Rashid Nazki, Srinagar, 1979, pp. 158-60.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 111.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 154.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Balkhi: He was an official in the Delhi Sultanate who resigned government service. After becoming a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Charam-Posh of Bihar, a contemporary of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, he wished to distribute his property between his two sons, Shaikh Muzaffar and Shaikh Mu'azu'd-Din. However, they took to the path of renunciation in the true spirit of their father. Shaikh Muzaffar, indeed, distinguished himself as the trusted disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Manyari.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1025-6.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Turk Panipati: He was a descendant of Khwaja Ahmad Yasawwi. Having received early education in Turkistan, he left his native palce in search of a spiritual guide and, after travelling across the neighbouring regions, reached India. It was at Kaliyar that he received initiation in the Chistiyya-Sabiri order from Shaikh 'Ali Ahmad Sabir. Satisfied with the spiritual progress of his disciple, the Shaikh endowed Shamsu'd-Din with a *khilafat* and directed him to take up residence at Panipat for the guidance of the people.

Shamsu'd-Din became a popular Sufi in Panipat and is said to have enrolled a number of disciples. He died during the lifetime of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 936-40.

Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Zinda Dil: Originally belonging to Shiraz, he entered the discipleship of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus after many travels. His *pir* sent him to the Deccan for the spread of the teachings of the Shattariyya order after the completion of spiritual training. His frequent travels from the Deccan to Gwalior often resulted in his stay at Mandu as the guest of Ghausi Shattari. He died in 990/1582.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 326-7.

Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Zahgir: He was a disciple of Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam Vakil. He is reputed to have indulged in severe ascetic exercises and guided innumerable people after being granted the *Khat-i Irshad* by his *pir*. Later in life, Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din received initiation from Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Kaman Shaikh.

His *Rauzatu'sh-Sharb* and *Rauzatu's-Salam* deal with the life of Mulla 'Abdu's-Salam and Khwaja Shaikh Kaman respectively.

Sharafu'd-Din died in Kashmir in Jamiu'du'l-Awwal 1205/1791.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 364-5.

Shaikh Sharif: He was the brother of Shaikh Mumin. Both brothers were disciples of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, and it was their usual practice to observe fast on Fridays and offer the midday congregational prayers in Srinagar. Shaikh Sharif was buried at the village of Barthan near Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 241.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 316.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, pp. 197-8.

Shaikh Sharif Ashwar: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, whom he served for many years. Later in life, he was left to the care of Baba Latifu'd-Din. After crossing various stages in *suluk* under the guidance of the illustrious *khalifa* of

Nuru'd-Din Rihsi, Sharif Ashwar secluded himself at the village of Chaatargam and lies buried there.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 125.

Shaikh Sharif Muhammad: He was a Shattariyya Sufi who received initiation into Sufism from Shaikh Muhammad Jalal Shattari in Mandu. He meditated in Malwa for some time and then paid pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus in Gwalior. After having spiritual interaction with Shaikh 'Ibadu'llah, Shaikh Zia'u'llah and several other *masha'ikh*, he visited Delhi with the main aim of paying obeisance at the tombs of the revered Sufis. Returning home after his spiritual mission, he died in Gujarat towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 459-60.

Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Sinnadi: He came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84) from India. His poetic composition in praise of the spiritual environment of the Valley has been quoted in many hagiographies. "Kashmir is the eternal Paradise for its inhabitants, which has been promised to the believers. At its (Kashmir's) entrance gate God has written, whosoever enters it is among the peaceful."

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 202.

Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Wasil: He was a scholar and Sufi whose presence exercised salubrious influence on considerable persons living in Gujarat and Sindh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 368-9.

Shaikh Siddiq: He was a noble son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. He was a Sufi of Chistiyya order and is entombed in the cemetery of his ancestors in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 322.

Shaikh Siddiq: He was a *khalifa* of the noted Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. He died in 997/1588-9 and is entombed in Barauda.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 345.

Shaikh Siddiq: He was the son of Malik Shukru'llah. A Sufi of abstemious habits and noble disposition, Shaikh Siddiq died in 1164/1750-1 and was buried in the village of Aksin in the *pargana* of Brang, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 325.

Shaikh Siddiq Shattari: He inherited his father's trade in medicine. However, after becoming the disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir, he renounced the world. His *pir* was so impressed by his austerities that he appointed him his *khalifa* during his lifetime. He died at his hometown at Barauda in 996/1587-8 or 997/1588-9.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 345.

Shaikh Siraj: Little is known about him except that he was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l Malik and was gifted with spiritual knowledge.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 276.

Shaikh Siraj Muhammad Banyani: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari. He came to Khandesh from Ahmedabad and took up residence in Burhanpur. His services as a Sufi teacher in Burhanpur were laudable. He died there in 1010/1601-2.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 420.

Shaikh Siraj Sokhta: He was a disciple of Makhdum Jahaniyan. Being *hafiz-i Qur'an*, Siraj led the congregational prayers as *imam*, attended among others, by his *pir*, for many years. Under his influence, Kalpi became an important centre of the Suhrawardiya order. He died in AD 1402.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 291.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1096.

Shaikh Siraju'd-Din Junaidi: He was a descendant of Junaid Baghdadi who came to Gulbargh during the reign of Sultan Hasan Gangu Bahmani. The Sultan is said to have given him a warm welcome and obtained initiation from him. The tomb of Shaikh Siraju'd-Din (d. 781/1379-80) in Gulbargh is quite well-known.

Ahmad Husain Khan, *Hazrat Khwaja Banda Nawaz ka Nizam-i Tasawwuf wa Suluk*, Abu'l-Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 15-16.

Shaikh Sufi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din of Amethi. After his *pir's* death, Shaikh Sufi moved to Gujarat, where he studied the *Fusus al-Hikam* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* under Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati for several years. He wrote a commentary on the *Fusus al-Hikam* and, as a teacher of the Chistiyya order, earned fame for his exposition of the technical terms concerning the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Jahangir was so impressed by Shaikh Sufi that he considered him to be a profound scholar of history, biographical literature, and Sufism. The Emperor appointed him as the tutor of Prince Khurram. The Shaikh imparted lessons to the prince on history, Sufism and theology. Each day it was customary for the Shaikh to begin his discourse on Sufism, with his explanation of a letter from the *Maktubat* of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Munyari. Shaikh Sufi also attracted the attention of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The Mujaddid wrote a long letter to him explaining the Sufi's progression from the *Wahdat al-Wujud* to the *Wadhat al-Shuhud*. But the Mujaddid's ideas seem to have no influence on his mind. Shaikh Sufi's distinguished disciple, Shaikh Halim Ibrahimabadi, mastered the *Fusus al-Hikam* under his pir.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 288-9.

Shaikh Sufi Badhni: He was a contemporary of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and his disciple Baba Farid. He lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kaithal and Kahram. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya refers to him twice. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din showers unbounded praise on him for his ascetic devotion. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes his spiritual attainments. Such was his love for *namaz* that he was critical even of the Paradise where believers, observed he, were destined to enjoy themselves rather than pray.

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, English tr. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Delhi, 1996, pp. 348, 381.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 148-50.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 57.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 839-40.

Shaikh Sulaiman: His original name was Srikanth. He belonged to a respectable Brahman family of Srinagar. It is not known at whose hands he embraced Islam, but it was long before Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir in the early 1380s. It is certain that his conversion was voluntary and that his family did not approve of it. He therefore went to Samarqand, where he completed his education. From there he travelled to Kolab and entered the discipleship of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. He visited Kashmir along with his *pir* and spent the rest of his life in his ancestral homeland near Shankaracharya hill (called Koh-i Sulaiman in Persian sources) in Srinagar. His tomb is in the neighbourhood of the Jama' mosque in Srinagar near the graveyard of Saiyid Muhammad Lorastani.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, ff. 109b-110ab.

Sabur, *Khwariku's-Salikin*, ff. 55a-b.

Diddamari, *Waqia't* (US), p. 68.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, f. 72b

Shaikh Sultan: He was a Sufi of the Firdausiyya order who was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Langar Darya.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1236.

Shaikh Sultan: He was a favourite disciple of the Kubrawiyya Sufi, Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. He obtained the sanad of *irshad* from Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Badakshi and Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani. After travelling the Muslim world extensively and interacting with venerable Sufis, he settled down at Drugjan in Srinagar. He built a huge *khanqah* and dedicated himself to the service of the people. He enjoyed cordial relations with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Ganjbaksh. Towards the end of his life, Shaikh Sultan migrated to Pakhli at the request of its ruler, Muhammad Khan. Shaikh Sultan became very popular among the people of the region in his time. His tomb at Pakhli continues to be a place of veneration.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 149-50.

Shaikh Sundha: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mu'min, a *jagirdar* from Saharanpur. Having lost his father at an early age, Sundha turned to Sufism and was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Muhammad Dawud (d. 1095/1683-4). He lived like an ascetic and was fond of *sama'* in congruence with the Chistiyya tradition.

He died in 1129/1716-17.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, pp. 487-8.

Sawati'u'l-Anwar ff. 445b-447a.

Shaikh Taha: He wa a disciple and successor of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdullah (d. 1034/1624-5), of Unnao (in UP). He became a leading Chistiyya Sufi in Rae-Bareilly.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 307b-308b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 835-6.

Rizvi, *Sufism in India*, II, p. 292.

Shaikh Tahir: Little is known about him beyond his migration from Multan to Bihar where he learnt at the feet of Shaikh Budh. His son Shaikh Hasan Tahir (d. 909/1503) distinguished himself as a Sufi of outstanding merit. See Shaikh Hasan Tahir.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U) p. 344.

Shaikh Tahir: He was the son of Yusuf bin Ruknu'd-Din bin Ma'ruf, bin Sihabu'd-Din Sindhi. A deeply learned *'alim* who came to Gujarat in 950/1543-4 from Patri. He enjoyed the company of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Afterwards, he reached the Deccan, where he became the disciple and later *khalifa* of Makhdum Jeev Shaikh, the son of Muhammad Multani, who, in turn, was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri.

Ghausi Shattari refers to the commentaries authored by Shaikh Tahir on several authoritative works related to Sufism. His scholarship and spirituality exercised a healthy influence on many.

He died in 1004/1595-6 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 391-5.

Shaikh Tahir: Little is known about him except that he was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, the distinguished Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, and lies entombed in the *pargana* of Lar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Taiyib Rafiqi: The son of Shaikh Ahmad Rafiqi and the grandson of Shaikh Mustafa. He received spiritual guidance from his father, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Majid Kubrawi of Sazgaripora and Miyan 'Abdu'l-Majid Karnawi. Hasan describes him as a Sufi of excellent merit of his time gifted with the qualities of generosity and compassion. He authored *Rufaqau'l-fuqara* dealing with the biograhphies of his ancestors. On 10 Shawwal 1266/19 August 1850 he died and lies buried at the ancestral graveyard in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 396.

Shaikh Taj: He was born in Fatehabad, he migrated to Mandu and settled there. A contemporary of Ghausi Shattari, his *tawwkul* and sincere faith are commended by the Shattariyya Sufi in his well-known biographical dictionary.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 501.

Shaikh Taqi: He was a resident of Katra Manakpur. 'Abdul-Haqq writes that he was divinely gifted with piety, grace and miracles. Nothing else is known about him beyond 'Abdu'l-Haqq's testimony to his popularity among the snake-charmers who invoked his name for effective treatment of snake bite. He died in 898/1492-3.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 312.

Shaikh Taqi bin Shaikh Ramazan Hayak Suhrawardi: Nothing is known about him except that he is buried in a village near Allahabad and that he was originally the *pir* of the Firdausiyya Sufi, Shaikh Kabir Malamati.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1230-1.

Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din Muhammad: He was a disciple of Shaikh Jamal. He died on 7 Ramazan 987/28 October 1579 and is entombed in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 318-19.

Shaikh 'Umar: He was the son of Shaikh Dawud. His father was a disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh and he himself was a Sufi of piety. Shaikh 'Umar fathered two sons, Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din and Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq (d. 837/1433). The latter founded a great Sufi centre at Rudauli (in the Barabanki district) which popularized the teachings of Sabiriyya *silsilah*.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1141.

Shaikh 'Umar As'ad Lahori: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. He is entombed at Pandua in Bengal.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 92.

Shaikh 'Umar Deeni: He was a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 384.

Shaikh 'Usman: He was a Sufi of immense spiritual values who guided seekers after the Truth in Sitapur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 311-12.

Shaikh 'Usman: He was a brother and disciple of Shaikh Shahi Muytab. The latter was a disciple of Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 833.

Shaikh 'Usman bin Ladin Qureshi: He was a *murid* of Shaikh Fazlu'llah Husain Chisti. An ascetic well versed in Hindustani music, he would spend lonely nights singing the songs of love in addition to performance of *namaz* with considerable humility. He died in 1008/1599-1600 and was buried in Mandu.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 409-10.

Shaikh 'Usman Radhu: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti's son, Shah Muhammad Farooq. He had the privilege of being a pupil of Maulana Sa'du'd-Din, Maulana Hajji Muhammad Akhwund, Mulla Sulaiman, and Mulla Muqim. During his stay in Delhi, he obtained *sanad* in *Hadis*, as well as spiritual guidance from Shah Waliu'llah. On his return home, he received further guidance on esoteric knowledge from Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman.

Shaikh 'Usman was an excellent orator and a skilled epistle writer. He is buried in his ancestral cemetery in Bagh-i Yusuf Shah, Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 353.

Shaikh Uttara 'Imadi: He was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki who, after being initiated as Suhrawardiyya, earned respect of his contemporaries in Kashmir for his goodness.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 219.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Shaikh Uwais: He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. After completing his formal education, he mastered the Shattariyya *zikr* delineated in the *Jawahir-i Khamsa*. When Ghausi Shattari called on the Shaikh in 1003/1594-5, he was encouraged by him to complete his *Gulzar-i Abrar*. He took care of the *khanqah* and mosque founded by his father at Ahmedabad.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 532-3.

Shaikh Wahid: He was a *khalifa* of Baba Farid. Nothing else is known about him.

Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, *Jawamau'l-Kilam*, p. 341.

Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din: He was the grandfather of Shah Waliu'llah. After serving the Mughal army and fighting many wars, he resigned to lead a life of piety and penance until he bid farewell to *khanqah* life in favour of courting a martyr's death. He decided to fight against the Marathas. Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign while he was travelling near the river Narmada, some robbers attacked his caravan and killed him among others. According to Rizvi, he "combined the traditions of the *futuwwa* (Islamic chivalric orders) and Sufism".

Anfasu'l-'Arifin, 1315/1897, pp. 160-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 250.

Shaikh Wali: He was the son of Maluk Shah Siddiqui and a disciple of Saiyid Wali.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 397-8.

Shaikh Wali Muhammad: He was the son of a Shattariyya Sufi of Barauda, Shaikh Muhammad Raji. An ascetic saturated with divine love, he was last seen in Ahmadnagar in 1001/1592-3.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 352.

Shaikh Wali Muhammad: He was the son of a *qazi* of Ahmedabad. Initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir, he died in 1010/1601-2 and is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 419.

Shaikh Wantapuri: He was originally a Hindu called Tarshan. He had a vision of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi before his conversion. It was at the hands of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo that he embraced Islam. After his initiation into the Rishi order, he developed into a Sufi of intrinsic worth. Entombed at Wantapura in Srinagar.

Tang, *Tuhftu'l-Fuqara*, RPD. No. 19, f. 61a.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 279.

Shaikh Ya'qub: Little is known about him except that he was initiated in the Suhrawardiyya order by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, and is entombed somewhere in Kamraj, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 248.

Shaikh Ya'qub: A disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Mahdi Rishi Baba, he lived long and made his mark as a Sufi of affable manners.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 415.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 314-15.

Shaikh Ya'qub: He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri. Although his *murshid* strongly disapproved of music, Shaikh Ya'qub had a passion for *sama'* and became ecstatic on seeing beauty of any kind.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 191.

Shaikh Ya'qub Chhatabali: He was the son of Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din. The scion of a noble family, Zafar Khan Ahsan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir, sent him to the court of Shahjahan in a delegation of dignitaries in connection with the administrative and financial matters of the Valley. Each Kashmiri celebrity was honoured by the Mughal emperor and granted a *jagir*. Shaikh Ya'qub was sent to Gwalior on a salary of 500 rupees along with Man Singh. For many years he served in Gwalior.

Once at Gwalior Shaikh Ya'qub had an encounter with a *qalandar* who addressed him in these words: "The government of this world is not in your destiny. Go to Kashmir and engage in the work of God there. Your *murshid* awaits you." Shaikh Ya'qub responded to the call of the *qalandar* by immediately resigning from the imperial service. On his return to Kashmir he met with Shaikh Muhammad Parsa in Khyahom and received spiritual training from him for twelve years. He obtained *irshad* from his *murshid* and, after the latter's death, moved to Srinagar, where at Zunimar he led a secluded life in the house of his servant. He would listen to the *Sufiana Kalam* during the nights. Later he shifted his residence to Chhatabal and, notwithstanding his love for solitude, people flocked to him. Hasan refers to the *Risala-i Majmu'a* of his father, which is replete with details about the life and achievements of Shaikh Ya'qub. On 7 Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1102/29 November 1690 he died.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 284-6.

Shaikh Ya'qub Saadi: He was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. Before his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order, he was a folk storyteller and used to beat the drum. But after becoming a Sufi, Ya'qub Saadi resorted to such extreme austerities and *zikr* that his aceticism impressed even a scholar of *Hadis* like Baba Dawud Mishkati. Such was the quality of his love for the Creator that he always appreciated all that was beautiful and would dance in a state of ecstasy. He did not care for the rebukes of his spiritual preceptor when the fire in his soul made him dance in public with devotional rapture. His tomb is situated at the village of Rudvani in Islamabad, Kashmir.

Mishkati, *Asrarul-Abrar*, Urdu tr., pp. 341-2.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 184-5.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 315-16.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 240-1.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 197.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi: He was a distinguished Kubrawiyya Sufi of Kashmir with a rich family background. Born in Srinagar in 928/1521, he was the son of Shaikh Hasan Gana'i. He learnt the Qur'an by heart at the age of seven, and began composing verses in Persian at the same age under the pen-name of Sarfi. His teachers included Maulana Basir and Maulana 'Aini. The latter was a student of 'Abdu'l-Rahman Jami (d. 1492). Impressed by the precocity of Sarfi, Maulana 'Aani endowed his talented pupil with the title of "Jami-Sani", the Second Jami. Having completed his education in *fiqh*, *Hadis*, *mantiq*, astronomy, grammar, history, mathematics, etc., at the age of nineteen, Sarfi left the Valley and travelled through India, Iran, and Central Asia in pursuit of knowledge. He met Shaikh Husain Khwarazmi, an eminent Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order, at Samarqand. Under him Sarfi learnt the principles of *tasawwuf* after obtaining initiation in the Kubrawiyya order. Shaikh Husain was so much impressed by the inquisitiveness of Sarfi that instead of entrusting him to the care of his *khalifas*, a usual practice with him, he took personal care of his spiritual development. Sarfi was then directed to move to Kashmir.

After staying in the Valley for some time, Sarfi again left for Samarqand. By the time he reached Samarqand, Shaikh Husain had already left for Mecca. So Sarfi also set out for the holy land. Whether he met his *murshid* is not known; but while in Mecca he further improved his knowledge of *Hadis* and *tafsir* under the tutelage of Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makki.

On his return to India, Sarfi met with Shaikh Salim Chisti and received initiation in the Chistiyya order from him.

When Sarfi reached Kashmir, he found the Valley in turmoil owing to internal feuds among the Kashmiri nobles. At the head of a delegation comprising Baba Dawud Khaki and some dignitaries, Sarfi had an audience with Emperor Akbar. He appealed to the Mughal Emperor to restore political stability in Kashmir. There is little doubt that Akbar's invasion of Kashmir in 1586, though essentially part of his imperialist designs, had, nonetheless, the backing of two prominent Sufis of the Valley belonging to the Kubrawiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi was a scholar Sufi of excellence and great achievements. Both Humayun and Akbar respected him for his learning. He was one of the few leading scholars of the subcontinent who was invited by Akbar to take part in the discussions in the *Ibadat-khana* in 980/1572. His dialogue in the assembly of eminent ulama of Akbar's reign centred round the argument—derived from the *Tamhidat* of 'Ainu'l-Quzat Hamadani—that the Prophet Muhammad is the embodiment of the title *Hadi* (the Guide) and that *Iblis* (the devil) is the personification of *muzill* (the tempter). So his explanation was that both titles tended to give strength to the concept of the Divine illumination; hence, crucially significant.

As a courtier of Akbar, Sarfi developed an intimate friendship with Faizi and Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni. He was all praise for Faizi's exegesis of the Qur'an, the *Sawatiu'l-Ilham*. He and Badau'ni exchanged letters. In one of his letters, written from Kashmir, Sarfi recounts the pleasant memory of his association with Faizi whose company was marked by "sublime talk and witty conversation". Badau'ni paid glowing tribute to Sarfi on the eve of his death on 8 Ziqa'd 1003/25 July 1595 describing him as "the Shaikh of the nations". (*Shaikh-i Umam*).

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi was a prolific writer. Some of his extant works include *Sharh-i Bukhari*, a Persian commentary on the most authoritative collection of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, called the *Sahih-i Bukhari*; *Khamsa*, containing five *masnawis*, under the title of *Maghazu'l-*

Nabi, *Maslaku'l-Akhyar*, *Maqamat-i Murshid*, *Wamiq 'Azra* and *Laila-Majnun*. There was also *Manasiku'l-Hajj*, in Arabic, an explanation of the rules and regulations of the pilgrimage; *Diwan*, a collection of *ghazals* and *ruba'yat*; *Kanzu'l-Jawahir*, and *Risala-i Zikriya*, which, for the most part, expounds the importance of the *zikr* and the legality of *zikr-i jahr*. In the last work, Sarfi describes Allah as Light and likens those unable to perceive Him to bats. Since in his view the bats are incapable of seeing anything in the sunshine, the sun cannot be held responsible for their worthlessness.

Abu'l Fazl and Badau'ni speak highly of Sarfi's intellectual calibre. According to Abu'l-Fazl, he was acquainted with the works of 'Ainu'l-Quzat and Ibn 'Arabi, and his writings in prose and poetry bore their influence. Badau'ni was highly impressed by a part of Sarfi's commentary on the Qur'an that he could not complete before his death. In his *Risala-i Zikriya*, Sarfi testifies to the influence of 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani, Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and Ibn 'Arabi on his mind.

As a poet, Sarfi imitates Jami and Faizi. He particularly acknowledges his debt to Jami. True, his poetry lacks originality, but idol and idol worship, wine, the cup bearer and the wine drinker have, nonetheless, symbolic importance for seekers to realize the unity of Allah within the broader framework of Sufism. The Creator and the created, in his view, are united only in terms of love. One of his poems, composed in a state of burning love for God, seeks to find Light not only in Ka'ba but, also, temple. Some verses of such kind are worthy of quote:

> O, Sarfi ! What benefit are you going to
>   gain from the pilgrimage,
> If Ka'ba, temple and tavern are not
> Identical with you. . . .
> O, Sarfi ! as on every side a ray
>   has fallen from His face to light the night,
> Impossible it is for you to say that
> Somnath has not the Ka'ba's light. . . .
> I see that comely face manifest in
> Whatever I regard,
> Though I look at a hundred thousand
> Mirrors in all that One face is manifest.

Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi made a significant contribution to Sufism in South Asia. He had a large number of disciples and the most prominent among these included Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in India and Shah Qasim Haqani, Khwaja Habibu'llah Hubbi and Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Gana'i in Kashmir.

A detailed account of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi's travels in India, Central Asia, Persia and the Arab world was furnished by his immediate disciple Khwaja Habibu'llah Hubbi Naushahri in his *Maqamat-i Qutbu'l-Aqtab*, also called *Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan*. This work, recently translated into Urdu by Muhammad Maqbul Sofi under the supervision of Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi is an invaluable source of information on the multi-dimensional personality of one of the great Kashmiri Sufi scholars and his impact on the development of Sufism in the Valley.

The tomb of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, situated at Zaina Kadal in Srinagar, has been a place of pilgrimage. It is popularly known as the Ziarat-i Ishan-Saheb.

Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, *Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan*, Persian text with Urdu translation, Srinagar, 1997.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp.176-8.

Badau'ni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. I, pp. 259, 393, 403; III, pp. 11, 142, 148, 203

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, ff. 117a-118ab.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 239a.

Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, I, p. 142.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 192-7.

Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*.

Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, pp. 116-24.

G.R. Jan, *Jam'iu'l Kamalat Hazrat Ishan Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi*, Srinagar, 1995.

Shaikh Yusuf: He was a *majzub* who lived in Lahore probably in the early sixteenth century. He had a towering personality. He shaved his head and wore an imposing turban. Even the recognized authority on *Hadis*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, writes about the value of his prophesies.

Akhbru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 486-7.

Shaikh Yusuf: He travelled from his ancestral home, Bengal, to Ahmedabad in pursuit of religious education. After becoming the disciple of the Shattariyya Sufi, Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, he settled in Burhanpur under the instructions of his *pir*. He trained many students in theology and a very few in Sufism. However one of his pupils, Shaikh Pir Muhammad, achieved fame as an ascetic so much so that he even refused to visit the ruler of Khandesh.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 329-30.

Shaikh Yusuf: He was a disciple of Raniri (d. 1658) and belonged to Macassar. Author of *Tuhfat al-Labih* and *Safinat al-najat*, the Shaikh drew his ideas from the work of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli and Shaikh Taju'd-Din Sambhali. These treatises on Sufism are available in the National Library, Jakarta.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 336 and n.

Shaikh Yusuf: He was a disciple of Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq (d.949/1542-3), a prominent Qadiriyya Sufi of Jhanjhana, east of Delhi. He belonged to Delhi and compiled his *pir's malfuzat*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 237.

Shaikh Yusuf Bengali: He learnt at the feet of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad Alwi. He is entombed in Burhanpur.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 328-30.

Shaikh Yusuf bin 'Abdu'llah Tamimi Ansari: He was a Qadiriyya Sufi who was granted *khirqa-i khilafat* by Amir Saiyid Isma'il bin Saiyid Abdal Qadiri. A Sufi of great merit, he died in 994/1585-6 in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 342.

Shaikh Yusuf Charyakoti: He belonged to the Shattariya order and, according to 'Abdu'l-Haqq, his method of remembering God was somewhat unique in that during the course of *zikr* he would recite verse impregnated with love with great fervour. His father had learnt *zikr* from Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Shattar.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 395.

Shaikh Yusuf Kumu alias Gana'i: He was a resident of Nadigam in the vicinity of Suibug in the modern district of Badgam who was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi's *khalifa*, Haja Baba. After completing his spiritual training, Shaikh Yusuf dug out a cave for himself at the foot of Kohi-Maran in Srinagar and led a life of self-denial. He lies entombed near his one-time abode of worship.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 317.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 288-9.

Shaikh Yusuf Ling: He was the son of Dawud Multani whose ancestors had settled in Agra. He was initiated into Sufism by the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari. He used to go out shopping for his daily needs. While on his way to the market, it was usual with him to exchange pleasantries with children. His exalted spiritual status and humility elicit the admiration of Ghausi Shattari. He is entombed in Agra near the tomb of Mir Muhaddis Safavi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 381-2.

Shaikh Yusuf Qadiri: He was *murid* of Saiyid Isma'il who was a *khalifa* of Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din Qureshi. He is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 339.

Shaikh Yusuf Qattal: He was the son-in-law and *murid* of Qazi Jalalu'd-Din Lahori. A contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq, he spent most of his time in meditation. He died in 933/1526-7 and lies buried in the courtyard of the building called Haft-Pul constructed by the Tughluq Sultan.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 388.

Shaikh Yusuf Sani: Little is known about him except that Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi initiated him in the Suhrawardiyya order and that his life was one of devotion to God. He is entombed at the village of Dangwachha in the *pargana* of Hamal, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 247.

Shaikh Zahid: He was the son of Shaikh Rafqatu'd-Din of Bengal. His uncle, Shaikh Anwar, son of Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam, was tortured to death by the *de facto* ruler of Bengal in order to discover the latter's hidden ancestral treasury. It seems that he was banished to Sunargaon along with his uncle. However, Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad recalled Zahid to Pandua where his successors formed a hereditary line of spiritual succession traced from Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam. None of them, however, could reach the stature of Shaikh Akhi Siraj and his successor, Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq, and the latter's *khalifa*, Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, pp. 165-6.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 265b.

Shaikh Zainu'd-Din: He was a nephew and *khalifa* of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chirag-i Dihli. Maulana Daw'ud, a disciple of Zainu'd-Din, praises his *pir* in the preface of his earliest known *masnawi* written in Hindi, *Chanda'in*. He died in 820/1417-18. See also *Chanda'in*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 271.

Miratu'l-Asrar (U), p. 918.

Shaikh Zainu'd-Din: Son of Shaikh Munawwar, he was initiated by his father. He died in Ramazan 1005/1596-7 and is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 380.

Shaikh Za'iru'llah bin Shaikh 'Umar Mandawi: His ancestors were carpet weavers who came to Mandu during the reign of Khaljis. Shaikh 'Umar had no liking for his ancestral occupation and so devoted himself to Sufism. He died in 985/1577-8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 312-13.

Shaikh Zakariyya: He was the son and *khalifa* of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Sulaiman Rudauli.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1002-3.

Shaikh Zakir: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Jhanjhana. A Sufi endowed with inner light, Shaikh Zakir remained celibate until his death in 988/1580-1 in Dahar.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 321.

Shaikh Zia'u'd-Din Chisti: Originally named Isma'il, he was born in Gwalior. Initiated into the Shattariyya order by Saiyid Razi bin Safi Husaini, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he lived a life of self-abnegation. He died in 1009/1600 and is entombed near a mosque in Dasur where he lived in relative seclusion.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 412.

Shaikh Zia'u'llah: Son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Afzal Zunimari, he enjoyed the company of several Sufis. By dint of his spiritual knowledge, he proved himself a source of inspiration for seekers after Truth. He lies buried at the Mughal Masjid in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 387.

Shaikha Baba: He received spiritual guidance from his father, Baba Tahir Buchh, and devoted his life to the cause of spreading the teachings of Sufism. After his death he was buried in the mausoleum of his father in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 309.

Shaikhu'l-'Alam: The title appears first in Baba Nasib's *Nurnama*.

Shajaratu'l-Atqiya: Written in Dakhni by Muhammad Mu'azzam Bijapuri, a disciple of Shah Miranji's grandson, Aminu'd-Din A'la, it is a poem dealing with the lives of the Chistiyya Sufis of Bijapur. The author lived in the middle and late seventeenth century.

Shajaratu'l-Atqiya: MS (Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS. Tasawwuf and Akhlaq, no. 131).

Sham Ded: She was one of the noted women disciples and *khulafa* of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, the illustrious founder of the indigenous Sufi order of the Muslim Rishis in Kashmir. Of several stories recorded in the hagiographic corpus about the circumstances leading to her initiation into the Rishi order, the most plausible seems to be her encounter with the Shaikh during his sojourn in the village of Hunchipura in the *pargana* of Biru. When the Shaikh saw Sham Ded and another peasant girl, he reproached them for cutting fresh grass. Sham Ded responded to the Shaikh's taunts with the remark that the cow fulfilled the needs of human beings: "May be milk and ghee will cool someone's fire, father; so did I come with a sickle at my waist." Nuru'd-Din was so pleased with the Hindu girl's reply that he called her a hidden jewel (*ratna mani*). He then admitted her among his disciples, at her own request.

In taunting the girls for cutting the green grass as fodder for their cows, Nuru'd-Din did not express his disapproval of the act, but actually wanted to explain to his would-be disciples the social injustice in allegorical terms in these words:

> Life it has, so why should it be cut
> Never shouldst thou feed life on life;
> However, who can undo the writ of Fate?
> All that I wanted to find was the pious motive.

Baba Kamal and Baba Khalil who give us a useful account of the dialogue between Nuru'd-Din Rishi and Sham Ded pay rich tributes to the latter's poetic genius. So distressed was Sham Ded at the death of Nuru'd-Din that she composed an elegy as a token of her intense love for and deep devotion to her spiritual preceptor. This elegy is the first of its kind in the history of Kashmiri literature, and indeed, the credit for composing such a unique literary piece goes to the female disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din.

Sham Ded, like most Rishis, subsisted on wild vegetables from the forest. After the death of Nuru'd-Din she travelled to every nook and corner of the Valley in the manner of her preceptor. She finally settled in Pushkar near the habitat of Baba Latifuddin whom she served for a considerable time. It seems that during her travels Sham Ded popularized the mystical poetry of Nuru'd-Din among the folk. Perhaps this is the reason why some old Kashmiri women still carry on the tradition of preserving the heritage of Nuru'd-Din and Sham Ded by committing to memory mystic verses and precepts of both the teacher and the taught. Some of the sayings of Sham Ded are reproduced below.

The teacher is the fountainhead of nectar. One who drinks deep at this fountain will never die.

Divulging the secrets of God is worse than shedding the blood of a thousand innocent men.

In this world the status of man is higher (than woman); but in *malakut* the status is dependent on courage. And a man characterized by cowardice is worse than a woman. But (indeed) a courageous woman is better than a man.

In (seeking) union with God, I was intoxicated (unmindful of my own puny existence); but while recognizing my own self I was saturated with the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of His presence.

Many other words of mystical wisdom are ascribed to Sham Ded.

Her elegy on Shaikh Nuru'd-Din is worthy of quote:

Nunda Sanz (Nuru'd-Din Rishi) has left for his heavenly abode
Nunda Sanz has left for his heaven's eternal sphere
Our Nunda has left for his heavenly abode
Nunda Sanz has left for heaven's eternal sphere
O worthy and righteous Nunda! Without you, our presence does not have radiating impressiveness.
How long shall I cry my heart out?
Nunda Sanz has left for his heavenly abode, Nunda Sanz was a Rishi of mettle
We shall join together in the eternal home. O disciple of Hazrat Amir (Muhammad Hamadani)!
The sublimity of your wisdom captivated boon companions and die-hards!
O flying thrush! Your melodious notes permeated the environment,
The sublimity of your wisdom captivated boon companions and die-hards!
While vindicating the Truth at Rupavan, many souls were brightened to all eternity
There (at Rupavan) people recognized the Truth
Whose souls were brightened to eternity.
Believers have been praying for you
Ever since you were entombed at Chrar
Your cloak, wooden slippers and staff (adorn Chrar)
Can one attain to such heights in a thousand years (to come)?
No one looks so graceful as yourself
Can one attain to such heights in a thousand years (to come)?
How can I part company with such a brightest jewel?
This logical reasoning is the outcome of our spiritual association.
O brother Zain (Zainuddin)! Shouldn't we be proud of such a glorious association?
Your women disciples have been wailing for you;
The light has dimmed; who will brighten our souls!

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'l-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 471-8.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 144-8.

B.N. Parimoo, *Nund Rishi: Unity in Diversity*, Srinagar, 1984.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 259-60.

Shama'il al-Nabi: Written by Tirmizi, it was translated into Persian and dedicated to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Shams Dedi: A disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Nasir Bengali. Such was her piety (*taqwa*) that throughout her life she did not expose herself before the strangers in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 242.

Shamsi Kak Suhrawardi: His real name was Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Kak. Although he received spiritual guidance from Baba Dawud Khaki, he spent his life as a Rishi in the locality of Sontabug, village Thed, near Nishat Bagh in Kashmir. He died in 1021/1612.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 422.

Shamsu'd-Din Dhari, Shaikh: He resigned government service to become the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. A booklet containing the *malfuzat* of the Shaikh was compiled by him. He lies buried in Zafarabad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 199-200.

Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, Saiyid: He came to Delhi during the reign of Islam Shah Sur. With his deep knowledge of religious sciences, philosophy and medicines, he took several books along on his extensive travels. Such was his love for knowledge and dedication to Sufism that he did not marry. For many years he lived in Kabul and earned Humayun's confidence. Along with Saiyid Abu Talib, Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din was murdered at the residence of the Qadiriyya Sufi, Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi, in Delhi in 995/1586-7.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 365-8.

Shamsu'd-Din Qadiri, Shah: He was the most prominent disciple of Shaikh Abu Ishaq Qadiri (d. 985/1577) of Lahore. He lived in Lahore. Emperor Jahangir is reported to have immense faith in his spiritual powers.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, p. 184.

Shamsu'd-Din Siddiq, Shaikh *alias* Faryadras: He was one of the many *khalifas* of Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. He has been described as a Sufi of intrinsic spiritual worth.

Lata'if-i Ashrafi as quoted in *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* (U), p. 1181.

Shamsu'd-Din Zahir, Saiyid: He was a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Qutb-i 'Alam who initiated him as a Chistiyya. Such was his love and veneration for Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti that he never entered the city of Ajmer without an ablution. And whenever he felt the need to perform another *wuzu*, he would immediately leave the city. He died at the ripe age of 150.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 312.

Shamsu'l-Mulk, Khwaja: He was a distinguished scholar of Delhi whose original name was Shamsu'd-Din. After resigning an official position in the Accountant-General department as *Mustaufi*, he began to teach. Sultan Balban bestowed on him the title of Shamsu'l-Muluk. One of his favourite pupils was Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, who took lessons on Arabic literature called *Maqamat-i Hariri* from him.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, English tr., pp. 171-3, 205n, 220.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 148.

Shamsu'd-Din Siyalwi, Khwaja: Born in 1214/1799-1800, he was initiated as a Chistiyya at a very young age by Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman. Later, when thirty-six years old, he was appointed *khalifa*. He founded a *khanqah* at Siyal in the Panjab which became a meeting place of both Sufis and itinerary travellers. He died on 21 Safar 1300/1 January 1883 after leaving thirty *khalifas* who founded their own *khanqahs* throughout the Panjab and Kashmir.

Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chist, V, pp. 417-23.

Shanga Bibi alias Yawan Maech: She was a courtesan of enticing beauty who was apparently asked by some Brahmans of Srinagar to seduce Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. The Shaikh admonished the alluring courtesan so convincingly that she was ashamed, and after offering *tauba* gained entry in the Rishi order. By virtue of her devotion and austerities, Shanga Bibi was even granted the unique privilege of acting as a *mujjawir* at her spiritual preceptor's tomb. That a courtesan, after clothing herself in the robe of faith and humble repentance, could be elevated to sainthood bears elaborate testimony to the egalitarian appeal that Islam had for the commoners in Kashmir.

Shanga Bibi lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din at Chrar-i Shariff.

Baba Nasib refers to Shanga Bibi as both Loli and Yawan Mach. The latter name definitely suggests that Loli was popularly remembered as an enraptured soul after her entry into the Rishi order. According to Baba Khalil, after offering *tauba*, Loli was named Shanga Bibi.

Nasib, *Rishinama*, ff. 32b, 34b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 135-40.

Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 211-13, 247.

Shanga Rishi: Nothing more is known about this *khalifa* of Maulana Shah Gada except that he was gifted with an illuminated heart and soul and that he is entombed in the *mohalla* of Khandani in Srinagar on the roadside.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 145.

Shanga Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he was probably a disciple of Baba Hardi Rishi. He is entombed at a Karewah in Islambad, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Shangraf Gana'i: A disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makdum, he led an austere life after his initiation in the Suhrawardiyya order. He is buried in the village of Gund Ibrahim in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 181-2.

Shankar Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi. The circumstances leading to his initiation in the Rishi order at the hands of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir are revealing in more than one respect about the attitudes of the Suhrawardiyyas towards the Rishis and the indelible impact of the latter on the former. It is said that Shankar Rishi was orphaned at an early age. One day Baba Nasib visited his uncle's house and was happy to see him there. He entrusted the young boy to the care of a teacher in order to memorise the verses of the Qur'an. After some time the boy went to see Baba Nasib, who had gone to Chrar-i Sharif. He advised the boy to go to the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi and seek communion with his soul, saying, "I have come in order to join the community of the Rishis." The boy after acting upon the advice of his *murshid* passed the night in the precincts of the shrine. When he woke up in the morning, he found that the thieves had stolen his shirt. Naked as he was, Shankar came to Baba Nasib, who explained to him the symbolic significance of his experience: "Have you understood his (Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's) message? Even a shirt is not good for the Rishis for it forms a veil between man and God in the Path." The *murshid* then brought home to the novice other spiritual profundities related to *suluk*. Having comprehended the Truth, Shankar Rishi retired to a cave and devoted himself to the worship of God.

Shankar Rishi was a perfect *'arif* and kept the company of several contemporary Sufis even while living in seclusion. Among these, Baba Dawud Mishkati and Shah Daulat are most prominent. Dawud Mishkati had personal contact with him and describes him as the guide of the faithful and the pious. He died in 1024/1615 and was buried in Bijibehara. .

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, Urdu tr., pp. 334-7.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 142-3.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 239-40.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 131.

Sharaf Shah Sag Nawaz: This *majzub* kept the company of dogs. Once he visited the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum in Srinagar along with a number of dogs when sermon was being delivered by Hafiz Abdu'llah. The preacher was enraged and ordered his men to turn what he called the mad man out of the precincts of the shrine. Reacting to this the *majzub* remarked, "O the rejected one! Soon your flesh will be devoured by the dogs."After this episode, hardly a few days had passed, that Hafiz 'Abdu'llah became the victim of the stray dogs who devoured his corpse.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 473.

Sharafu'd-Din Abu Tawwama, Shaikh: After receiving an excellent religious education in Bukhara, he came to Delhi. He did not stay for long in Delhi because his popularity aroused the jealousy of the ulama. Little is known about him beyond the fact that when Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Maneri was fifteen or sixteen years old, Abu Tawwama passed through Maunyar en route to Sunargaon in Bengal. See Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, Shaikh.

Sharafu'd-Din Kirmani, Shaikh: He lived in the town of Sarsi (district Muradabad of UP). 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis quotes Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya as saying that once he heard from Junaid Qawwal that the Sufi died on hearing a verse during the course of a *sama'* gathering.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 141.

Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, Shaikh: Son of Yahya and born at the end of Sha'ban 661/early July 1263, the Shaikh's original name was Ahmad. He received the title of Sharafu'd-Din (Glory of the Faith). His spiritual preceptor was the Firdawsiyya Sufi, Khwaja Najibu'd-Din, who preferred to lead a quiet life as an ascetic. Although Ahmad's education began on traditional lines with elementary books on grammar and the simpler lexicons, later in life he regretted what he considered to be the uselessness of such a non-spiritual education. Instead, he wished he had devoted the time to committing the Qur'an to memory.

Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Abu Tawwama's visit to Munyar opened up new vistas for the young Ahmad's education. He accompanied his new teacher, an immigrant from Bukhara, to Sunargaon which soon turned into a centre of Islamic learning in Bengal. After his father's death in Sha'ban 690/July 1291, Ahmad first left for Munyar to mourn with his mother for some time and then departed for Delhi to visit Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. By this time, according to the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, the great Chistiyya Sufi had died, though the *Manaqibu'l-Asfiya* relates that Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din did not initiate him. It is also said that Ahmad thereafter went to Panipat and called on Abu 'Ali Qalandar (d. 724/1324). Finding Abu 'Ali often absorbed in ecstasy and somewhat unsuitable as a guide, he finally entered the discipleship of the little-known Najibu'd-Din Firdawsi, who permitted him to leave for Munyar with the authority to enrol disciples. While reaching Maner the Bihari Sufi disappeared into a forest and from there secluded himself in the Rajgir Hills. Many years later, in order to reduce the rush of the visitors to his abode in the forest, he would come to offer the Friday prayer in Bihar Sharif, about twelve miles away. Maulana Nizam Madani, a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, who was close to Shaikh Sharafu'-d-Din, built a small *khanqah* for his use while in Munyar. Notwithstanding his acceptance of the gift, he referred to the *khanqah* as the temple of an idol where he had been coaxed to stay by his friends.

The reigning Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51), ordered Zainu'd-Din Majd-u'l-Muluk, the *muqta* of Bihar, to construct a magnificent *khanqah* for the Shaikh out of the revenue of the district comprising several villages, called the *pargana* of Rajgir. A grand function was organized by the *muqta* to inaugurate the *khanqah*. While seating himself on a Bulgarian prayer mat which the Sultan had sent as a gift, the Shaikh told one of the *dervishes* that he considered himself unworthy even of Islam, but was left with no alternative other than to accept such favours from the Sultan. The Shaikh's attitude, in fact, was in consonance with his personal ascetic temperament. He continued to live in Bihar Sharif until his death on Wednesday evening, 5 Shawwal 782/2 January 1381. His *khanqah* became a rendezvous for many a seekers in the Path.

Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Munyari even in being ascetic to the core was a gifted scholar who had a profound knowledge of theology and Sufism. True, in response to questions from visitors to his *khanqah*, he mainly discussed Sufism; but theological issues were also subjects of talk at the table. Numerous letters written to his disciples on these subjects elicited the praise of his contemporary Chistiyya and Suhrawardiyya Sufis as well as those of the sages belonging to later generations. The Shaikh's letters to Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq, impressing upon him the importance of justice more than long years devoted to worship notwithstanding, the Sultan executed two of his friends and fellow Sufis, Shaikh 'Izz Kaku'i and Shaikh Ahmad Bihari. The harsh treatment meted out to them for their candid expression of ideas on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was condemned by Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din, who was bewildered that "a town which instigated and tolerated such killings remained standing and escaped destruction at the hand of God". Incensed, on the advice of the ulama the Sultan decided to summon Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din. But the *farman* was cancelled at the intervention of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalal Bukhari.

The popularity of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Manyari can be gauged from the fact that his biographers estimate the number of his disciples as more than 100,000. Out of the select respected forty disciples of Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, Shaikh Muzaffar was the most prominent. Other leading disciples were Malikzada Fazalu'd-Din and Maulana Nizamu'd-Din.

The teachings of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Manyari are embodied in his *Hundred Letters*, translated into English by Paul Jackson. According to Bruce Lawrence, these letters strike an "artful balance between reflection and conduct, between explanation and advocacy, between attachment to the Law and pursuit of the Way, between sobriety and ecstasy, bondage and freedom, death and life". True, the Shaikh sounds "less personal" than the correspondence of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, "less comprehensive" than the *Kashf al-Mahjub* of Shaikh 'Ali Hujweri, "less revealing" than the twenty-eight letters he addressed to his own disciple, Muzaffar Shams Balkhi. Yet, as Bruce Lawrence brilliantly remarks, *The Hundred Letters* "are unrivalled . . . as an invitation to experience the Sufi Way as a Sufi master experienced and described it, to join him in the endless struggle, which has been ordained for man alone in the whole created order, to seek perfection while clinging to the pain of love".

Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's letters outline his ideas on various, though integrated, subjects including the Unity of God, *Shari'ah*, repentance, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, *hajj*, love, meditation, hidden polytheism, hope and fear, heart, soul, hell, and heaven. The main theme underlying his letters is to impress upon the seekers the importance of following the *Shari'ah* strictly in order to attain spiritual excellence. To him the mission of all prophets was the same: they invited their people to follow what was intrinsically the primordial religion and a belief in divine unity. Added to this, the prophets as spiritual physicians while teaching obedience to God, prescribed rules of conduct for their own people in congruity with the divine command. Following these rules (*Shari'ah*) amounts to obedience and submission to all prophets; hence faith (*din*) denotes steadfastness in the practice of following the *Shari'ah*. In this view, seeking the *Tariqa* without the *Shari'ah* was like "climbing to a roof without steps". It is incumbent upon the seeker to "adjust the Way to the Law. Anything you perceive in the Way that is not consonant with the Law will not profit you and should be dropped! It is only heretics who maintain that one can stand without the other, and that when Truth is made manifest, the Law becomes superfluous." Hence "God's curse be called upon such a faith! The external, bereft of the internal, is hypocrisy; while the internal, if it lacks external expression, is mere wishful thinking! The outer is joined to the inner at its very roots and cannot be separated by anyone. 'There is no god but God' is the Truth, 'and Muhammad is the Messenger of God' is the Law. Anyone who wants to be in a state of perfect faith cannot dissociate one from the other. Any such desire would be vain!" (Paul Jackson, Letter 28, pp. 113-14).

The first step in discipleship was, therefore, to follow the path of the Law. "When he shows himself faithful in carrying out the conditions of the Law, to its minutest prescriptions, and with utter fidelity, and also has spiritual resolve, then by virtue of his observance of the Law, and as a fruit of his high aspirations, the Way presents itself to him. That is the Way of the heart." (Letter 56). Again he writes: "When he has observed all the demands of the Way, as far as possible for him to do so, then he can again be confident that the veil covering the heart will be removed and the meaning of the Truth, which is the way of life, will be shown to him."

The Shaikh was critical of those Sufis who regarded the *Shari'ah* "superfluous" and neglected prescribed prayers. To him such Sufis followed the line of the Devil (Iblis) who refused to prostrate himself before Adam. Likewise he had great antipathy for the worldly ulama whom he likened, not unlike Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri, to the devil quarrelling over a hundred different issues.

According to the Shaikh, the three states of the divine path were knowledge, action, and love. Impregnated with the thoughts of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he drew on the ideas of Faridu'd-Din 'Attar, 'Iraqi and Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi. "The thoughts of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din transcended the theory that the lover, the Beloved and love, were essentially one. Eloquent in his defence of Bayazid Bastami and Hallaj, he affirmed that the *Tawhid* of the *Tariqa* was the highest stage in the pursuit of the spiritual state. Nevertheless, this did not mean *hulul* or *ittihad.* To Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din, *Tawhid* or the *Wahdat al-Wujud* was the fourth and final stage in the Sufi journey, related to *Lahut* (the indescribable world of Unity). He went on to say: 'The fourth stage consists in the pouring forth of the Divine Light so profusely that it absorbs all individual existence in the eyes of the pilgrim. As in the case of the absorption of particles floating in the atmophere in the light of the sun, the particles become invisible—they do not cease to exist, nor do they become the sun, but they are inevitably lost to sight in the overpowering glare of the sun—so, here, a creature does not become God, nor does it cease to exist. Ceasing to exist is one thing, invisibility is another. . . .When thou lookest through a mirror, thou dost not see the mirror, for thou mergest into the reflection of thy face, and yet thou canst not say that the mirror has ceased to exist, or that it has become that reflection, or that the reflection has become the mirror. Such is the vision of the Divine Energy in all beings without distinction. This state is called by the Sufis absorption in monotheism. Many have lost their balance here: no one can pass through this forest without the help of the Divine Grace and the guidance of a teacher, perfect, open-eyed, experienced in the elevations and depressions of the Path and inured to its blessings and sufferings. . . . Some pilgrims attain to this lofty state only for an hour a week, some for an hour a day, some for two hours a day, some remain absorbed for the greater portion of their time. . . ."

Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, *Maktubat-i Sadi,* English tr. Paul Jackson under the title *The Hundred Letters,* Indian edn. Bombay, 1985.

——*Maktubat-i Sadi,* no. I; tr. by P. Hardy in the *Sources of Indian Tradition,* ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, New York, 1958, p. 424.

——*Maktubat-i Bist-u Hasht,* Lucknow, 1870, pp. 36-9.

Ma'danu'l-Ma'ani, Bodleian, 1263, f. 72b.

Manqibu'l-Asfiya, pp. 336-49.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 211-20.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 927-35.

Kalimat, pp. 161-2.

Futhuhat-i Firuz Shahi, Aligarh, n.d., p. 8.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 86-7.

Sharh-i Bait-i Amir-i Khusraw Dihlawi: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Sharh-i Mawaqif: Written by Mirza Zahid Harawi, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim learnt it painstakingly from the author.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 90-3.

Sharif Majzub: A contemporary of Emperor Akbar who lived in the Deccan.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 293.

Sharh-i Nuzhatu'l-Arwah: It was authored by Shaikh 'Ali Sher Bangali. Contains an account of Shaikh Jalal in the preface. Ghausi Shattari's summary of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi's role in Bengal is based on this work.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* I, 315.

Sharh-i Risali-i Ghausiyya: Authored by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari.

Sharh Safar al-S'ada: See Sirat al-Mustaqim.

Sharh-i Tamhidat-i 'Ainu'l-Quzat: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Shari'ah: the revealed Law; every divine messenger (*rasul*) brought a new *Shari'ah,* emphasizes the Qur'an. But that revealed to Muhammad is the final one since it consists of the totality of Allah's commands regulating the life of every Muslim in relation to God and his fellow beings. While the *Shari'ah* has been the starting point or guide of all Sufi orders in Islam, *Tariqa* indicates the Path, way, or the branch adopted by the followers of the *Shari'ah* in order to reach near a truer understanding of the Truth (*Haqiqa*). Most prominent Sufis who represented these three stages ultimately distinguished themselves as true embodiments of the *Shari'ah.*

Shattariyya *Silsilah*: An off-shoot of the Bistamiyya *sisilah*; hence one of the oldest Sufi orders. Deriving inspiration from Bayazid Bistami, the Shattariyya order was known as Bistamiyya in Ottoman Turkey and the 'Ishqiyya in Iran and Transoxiana. The Indian branch of the order preferred to call itself the Shattariyya "because of the speed with which sufis trained in this order managed to achieve *fana*". The order's ultimate claim, "I am one, and have no companion (*ana wahdi la sharik li*)" seems to have been developed out of Bayazid's exclamation, "Glory be to me! (*Subhani*)." Ghausi Shattari observes that, in accordance with the Shattariyya technique, the neophyte at the very beginning of his training is required to consider himself to be the *'ayn* (essence) of the Being. He may then "descend step by step from the realm of self-manifestation of the Absolute to the phenomenal world". Subsequently and gradually, he "re-ascends and reaches the Divine spheres, effacing all traces of the stages of ascent". Contrary to this method, "the other Sufis direct their disciples to ascend step by step from the realm of humanity to the realm of the *Wahdat al-Wujud.* "At that stage the neophyte is assigned a particular form of mystic light (literally colour) and is then required to get rid of other colours. This long drawn-out process then leads him to the domain of the Divine drawn-out process that leads him to the domain of the Divine perception (*'alam al-shahada*)."

Shah 'Abdu'llah (d. 890/1485) who came to India is reported to have changed the name of the 'Ishqiyya order to the Shattariyya (see 'Abdu'llah Shattari, Shah). The main representative of this order was Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Another well-known member of this order was Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, the author of *Gulzar-i Abrar.*

Shaukat Mir: He was a brother of Rajabu'd-Din Mir. Baba Bamu'd-Din initiated him into the Rishi order along with his brother. See Baba Rajabu'd-Din.

Saiyid 'Ali, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739, ff. 41ab.

Nasib, *Nurnama*, RPD No. 795, ff. 144a-145b.

Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, f. 82b.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, f. 52b.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 114.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, f. 170b.

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 110a.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 24-48.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 683-4.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 103-4.

***Shifa'*:** Although the right of intercession primarily belongs to the Prophet Muhammad [see Nawab Sidique Hasan Khan, *Ikhlas al-Tauhid lil-Hamid al-Majid*, AH 1305, p. 50], the Qur'an, also grants this right to men of piety. Pointing to such exalted individuals the Qur'an repeatedly states that they will have no fear on the Day of Judgement. Qur'an, 20/3, 19/87, 53/26.

Shihab Shah Qalandar: He took to Sufism at the prime of his youth. The circumstances leading to his spiritual transmutation were, indeed, of critical significance. Once his brother's wife accused him of committing adultery. Shocked at the slander, he amputated his penis and, after renouncing the world, became absorbed in meditations. On one occasion a *qalandar* from India entered his abode. He shaved the beard of Shihab Shah and consequently the latter became a *qalandar*. Thereafter Shihab Shah Qalandar took up residence at the village of Bandipura in Kashmir and gained considerable fame for his miracles. He died on 16 Ramazan 1241/24 April 1826 and was buried on the top of the mountain at Bandipura in the *pargana* of Khuyahom.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 390.

Shihabu'd-Din 'Ashiq, Shaikh: He was the son and successor of Shaikh Imamu'd-Din who in turn was the only disciple of the distinguished Chistiyya Sufi Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 112.

Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 191n.

Shihabu'd-Din Hansvi: He was a distinguished *khatib* of Hansi whose spirituality has been described in glowing terms in the discourses of Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. According to the Shaikh, Shihabu'd-Din used to say in his prayers:

"I have fulfilled all promises that I made to You, O God! I hope that You will grant me my desire of being alone at the time of my departure from this world. Neither the angel of death nor any other angel should not be with me. There should be only You and me."

Nizamu'd-Din Auliya is reported to have said that while one night before retiring to bed, as a matter of daily practice, the Maulana was reciting the *Surah al-Baqar*, he heard a voice coming from a corner of the house: "Either yearn for me, or keep away from me; I attract friends, but your yearning for me does not seem sincere."

As everyone in the house was asleep, the Maulana wondered and asked himself "who it could be". But then he heard the same words again. "At this point, observes the compiler of the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad*, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya was "so overwhelmed and his voice so choked with tears that he was unable to complete the anecdote. He was weeping and repeating: 'This was addressed to Maulana Shihabu'd-Din'. He passed through many a vicissitude, suffered a lot and passed away from this world in the manner he had desired."

Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad, English tr. Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, Delhi, pp. 136-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 150.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 887-8.

Shihabu'd-Din Haqq Go, Shaikh: Son and *murid* of Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din Zahidi, he earned the title of Speaker of the Truth (Haqq Go) for describing Muhammad bin Tughluq as cruel. The Sultan executed him for refusing to call him a just ruler. He was buried in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 235-6.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 37-8.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f. 535.

Shihabu'd-Din Maulana: Son of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar, he had obtained exoteric and esoteric knowledge from his father. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya says that the bonds between him and Shihabu'd-Din were very strong.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 136-7.

Shirk: Associating anything with God; polytheism; paganism; idolatory.

Shoga Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki. He lived by the sweat of his brow as a peasant in Khuyahom in Kashmir. Throughout his life he wore just single ordinary cloth.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 143.

shruk: Term used for the quatrains of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi Kashmiri.

Siddiq Baiyu: He dedicated his life to the service of the people as a Sufi of piety and generous disposition. Whatever little is known about him is that he was a milkman who lived in Kashmir in the nineteenth century and lies entombed at Chaghal.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 409.

Siddiq Chisti Sabiri, Shaikh: He was the most prominent *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Chisti (d. 1064/1653-4). While in the daytime he taught theology to students seeking formal religious education, at night he gave discourses on Sufism to his disciples in the Path. He enrolled many Panjabi Muslims as his disciples. Such was the inspiring influence of his spiritual personality that it was asserted that any person who participated in his *sama'* assemblies turned Sufi and renounced the world.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya', I, pp. 482-3.

Siddiq Khan: He belonged to the tribe of Hanjis and received initiation into the Suhrawardiyya and Kubrawiyya orders from Shah Farahu'd-Din's *khalifa*, Shaikh Muhammad Munawwar Hatabi (1238/1822-3). He lived in relative seclusion at Rahpura and trained disciples and *khalifas* of great spiritual merit. He lies buried at Rahpura in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 373.

Siddiq Kishmi, Muhammad: He was a poet who left Kishm, in Badakshan, to serve the Khan-i Khanan 'Abdu'r-Rahim, a well-known patron of scholars and *dervishes*. On becoming the disciple of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah in Delhi, he was, like some other disciples of the Khwaja, asked to complete his spiritual training under Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Although Siddiq Kishmi continued to serve the Khan-i Khanan and often accompanied his military retinue, he remained dedicated to Sufism. In 1032/1622-3 he performed *hajj*. He died in Shawwal 1050/January-February 1641 and was buried in Delhi near his *pir's* tomb.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 372-6.

Siddiq Shah: Little is known about him except that he lived in Kashmir and was absorbed in an inner struggle against his self.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Sidi Maula: As an emigrant on his way to Delhi from what was known as the Upper Region (probably the Helmand river region) he visited Baba Farid before the latter's death in 1265. True to the traditions of the Chistiyya order, Baba Farid advised him to shun the company of the ruling elite considering the tragic implications of such associations for the *dervishes*. But Sidi seems to have paid no heed. True, he did not visit the court of the Delhi sultans from Balban to Jalalu'd-Din Khalji; but he managed the affairs of his *khanqah* in such a way that the nobles and dignitaries began to visit him and grew closer to him. Although Sidi Maula did not indulge in politics, his *khanqah* became the refuge of even disgruntled generals of Balban's reign. The noted *qazi*, Jalal Kashani Balbani, was one of the daily visitors to his *khanqah*. Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Khalji's son became a devotee too.

Sidi Maula evoked the approbation of his contemporary, Ziau'd-Din Barani, the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah*, despite his strange habits. Always absorbed in meditation and leading an ascetic life, he never attended Friday prayers. His dress and food were the simplest, but his guests from Delhi and many countries were regaled lavishly. What surprised Barani was that Sidi Maula never accepted land grants or any kind of gift from rulers or his devotees. However, he would defray the expenses in a mysterious way by pointing to a spot where freshly coined money would always be available at his will. This gave birth to a false story that he was an alchemist, notwithstanding the possibility of his *khanqah* having received support from the Khan-i Khanan and foreign merchants.

Sidi Maula was executed for his alleged involvement in a plot of the nobles hatched actually by Khan-i Khanan to kill Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Khalji. The unparalleled dust storm sweeping through Delhi and a severe drought and famine that stalked the Delhi Sultantate following the unlawful execution of the holy man was considered to be the divine retribution by Barani. From the devastations caused by the floods and sufferings of the people, Barani could derive only one moral lesson, that is, no ruler could afford to kill a *dervish*. 'Isami also argues in favour of Sidi Maula against the false accusations levelled against him by some Sufi impostors (*khirqa-poshan-i kham*), the Haidaris.

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, pp. 208-12.

Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 215-16.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 141.

Gulzar-ii Abrar (Z), p. 62.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 841-2.

Sikandar 'Ali, Saiyid: Born in 1229/1813-14 in a village near Allahabad, he was initiated as a Chistiyya by Miskin Shah Sahib. As a *khalifa* of his *pir*, he established a *khanqah* in Allahabad. An ardent believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, Sikandar 'Ali reminded the Sufis that strict adherence to the *Shari'ah* was the only refuge in the event of their failure in the Sufi *Tariqa*. He sought to explain the importance of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* against the background of his undertanstanding of the *Shari'ah*. According to him, the Divine attributes are neither the *'ayn* of the Essence nor are they distinct from the Essence. However, continued he, the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* are the *'ayn* of the Essence and the Essence is the *'ayn* of the attributes. The Saiyid was asked whether prayers, worship, meditation, virtues and vices were meaningless for the one who believed that "All is He." His answer was that falsehood could be differentiated from truth through such means only. Thus it was through prayers alone that a seeker could give up vice in the hope of attaining spiritual exaltedness in accordance with the divine purpose.

'Azmat 'Ali Siddiqi, *Malfuzat-i Maulana Saiyid Sikandar 'Ali*, Allahabad, 1317/1899-1900.

Sikandar, Shaikh: He was the grandson of Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal. Both he and Shaikh Kamal invigorated the interest of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi, the father of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, in the Qadiriyya order. Shaikh Sikandar died in 1023/1614-15.

Muhammad Hashim, *Zubdatu'l-Maqamat*, Kanpur, 1890, 104-8.

Sikandarpura: This is a locality founded in Srinagar by Sultan Sikandar. It is now called Nauhatta. The Sultan adorned it with the Jama'-masjid.

silsilah: the chain.

Silsilahnama: Baba Dawud Khaki, the distinguished Sufi of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, describes it as a process of recording and remembering the chain of *pirs* of the Sufi order from the Prophet Muhammad to that of one's own *pir*.

Silsilah-i Khwajgan: This lineage flourished in Transoxiana and its origin is traced to Khwaja Abu Ya'qub Yusuf al-Hamadani (d. Muharram 535/ August 1140). In India it was later known as the Naqshbandiyya. Prominent Sufis of this order were Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Khaliq Ghujduwani and Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389). Ghujduwani enumerated eight principles of Sufi life, and Bha'u'd-Din Naqshband added three more. These eleven principles of the Way of the two venerable khwajas of the *silsilah* were:

1. Awareness while breathing (*hosh dar dam*). Every breath must be taken in the divine presence. Maulana Jam'i explains it thus: "Your alphabet I'm sure you know. We lose ourselves in 'H' with every breath we blow. Utter it carefully and be awake: That is no ordinary sound you make!"
2. Watching one's step (*nazar bar qadam*), moving towards the goal perseveringly.
3. Journey homeward (*safar dar watan*) from the world of possibilities to the world of realization.
4. Solitude in the crowd (*khilwat dar anjuman*). When Khwaja Naqshband was asked to state the basic principle of spiritual development, he said it was: "Solitude in the crowd; that is being outwardly with people, but inwardly with God, Exalted is He."
5. Remembrance (*yad kard*). It is related to both oral and mental remembrance in union or transforming *zikr* of the tongue into *zikr* of the heart.
6. Restraint (*baz-gasht*). According to Khwaja Ahrar, it means the return to God. Each time one who utters the Islamic confession of faith actually pursues divine Truth single-mindedly.
7. Attentiveness (*nigah-dasht*). The only bulwark against evil or worldly thoughts during contemplation is the mental ability to control one's attention.
8. Recollection (*yad-dasht*), of constant awareness in the blissful presence of God. "The complete experience of divine contemplation, achieved through the action of objective Love."
9. Awareness of time (*wuquf-i zamani*), the endeavour of a Sufi to guard against heedlessness through self-examination. Khwaja Naqshband, quoted by Ya'qub Charkhi, describes this as "seeking forgiveness when in a state of spiritual constriction and expressing gratitude when in a state of expansion".
10. Awareness of number (*wuquf-i'adadi*) or monitoring the exact number of repetitions in *zikr* in sublime thoughtfulness rather than in a state of mental anarchy. Khwaja 'Ala'u'd-Din 'Attar observes, "The important thing is not the number of repetitions but rather the composure and awareness with which one makes them." Khwaja Naqshband says that numerical awareness is the first stage of esoteric knowledge.
11. Awareness of the heart (*wuquf-i qalbi*), identical to *yad-dasht* in meaning, but in profoundest spiritual terms being awareness of the heart of flesh during *zikr* that it "is the divine manuscript on which infinite mysteries are recorded".

Rashhat 'Ainu'l-Hayat, Kanpur, 1911, pp. 20-5, 26-7.

Hasan Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, tr. from the Turkish by Muhtar Holland, England, 1983, pp. 25-7.

Silsilah-nama-i-Khwajagan-i-Naqshband: Completed in 978/1570-1 by Nuru'd-Din Muhammad bin Husain bin 'Abdu'llah bin Pir Husain bin Shamsu'd-Din Qazwini, it provides biographical notices and the genealogical tables of the spiritual affiliations of the Naqshbandiyya Sufis. MS. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

Silsilaht al-wis'al: A *masnawi* called the Chain of Unity (*Silsilaht al-Wisal*) it was composed by the Qadiriyya Sufi Saifu'd-Din (d. 990/1582) in a state of ecstasy in just one day. The work is not extant but referred to by his illustrious son, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis in *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar.*

Silsilahtu'l-'Arifin wa Tazkiratu's-Siddiqin: Written by Muhammad bin Burhanu'd-Din bin Khwaja Muhammad Riza, known as Maulana Muhammad Qazi, and a disciple of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, this is a rare biographical account of the latter. The author was closely associated with many distinguished Uzbeks and Mughals and died in 921/1516 at Tashkent. MS, Oriental Institute, Tashkent; Aligarh Muslim University Library.

Silsilahtu'l-Auliya: Written by Muhammad Tahir in 1160/1747-8, who belonged to Central Asia, it is mostly an account of the Mujaddid's travels in Transoxiana and contact with Sufis there is not authentic. Nevertheless, the work testifies to the role of the Mujaddid's admirers in propagating his views in Central Asia.

Rizvi, *Sufism*,II, 342.

Silsilahtu's-Sadiqin: Written by Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani Kashmiri, this work, understandably a biography of Naqshbandiyya Sufis, is lost.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 238n.

Siraju'd-Din Junaidi III: He migrated from Gulbarga to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). The Sufi order to which he was affiliated and the date of his death are not recorded.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Hyderabad, p. 179.

Siraju'd-Din Multani, Shaikh: Son of 'Alam and grandson of Qwamu'd-Din, he was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Abu Bakr Khwani. Although his father and grandfather were residents of Multan, Siraju'd-Din obtained his education in Herat. After his *pir's* death, he carried on the mission of guiding people in Herat. Later he came to Gujarat and is buried in Naharwala.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 266-7.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1081.

Siraju'd-Din, Shaikh: He was a *murid* of Qutb-i 'Alam's disciple, Shaikh 'Ali Khatib. One night Sultan Mahmud Begarh of Gujarat called on him along with his favourite, Aminu'l-Mulk, a follower of the Shaikh. To the Sultan earnestly wanting to become a Sufi, the Shaikh tried to bring home that a just ruler had an equal right to enjoy a highly spiritual life. But when the Sultan was adamant on abdicating, the Sufi advised against it. In order to stimulate the interest of the Sultan in the affairs of the government, Shaikh Siraju'd-Din requested the Sultan to give him some position in the administration. This had the desired effect on the Sultan who evinced keen interest in the discharge of his administrative duties under the Sufi's guidance. Once convinced that the Sultan had achieved a certain degree of excellence in both spiritual and administrative works, Shaikh Siraju'd-Din returned to his *khanqah* with the consent of his royal disciple.

Shaikh Siraju'd-Din died in 1050/1640-1.

Mira't-i Sikandari, pp. 79-84.

Siraju'd-Din, Shaikh: He was the third son of Shaikh Muhammad Chisti (d. 1040/1630) of Gujarat. As per the will of his father, Shaikh Siraju'd-Din relinquished his claim to succession in favour of his nephew, Shaikh Abu Yusuf Yahya, the son of Shaikh Mahmud and the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad. Nothing more is known about Shaikh Siraju'd-Din beyond the fact that he died in 1050/1640-1.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 76-9.

Siraju'l-Hidaya: Compiled by Makhdumzada 'Abdu'llah, a disciple of Makhdum Jahaniyan. It is a digest of discourses delivered by the great Sufi on various occasions, 'but these lack the pithiness of those featured in the *Khulasatu'l-Alfaz*.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, p. 8.

Siraju's-Salikin wa-Lata'ifu'l-'Arifin: Written by 'Ubaidu'llah Naqshbandi Samarqandi, a disciple of Shaikh Lutfu'llah Chisti (d. 979/1571-2), it is an invaluable biography of the latter and of other Naqshbandiyya Sufis. Oriental Institute, Tashkent.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, pp. 22-3.

Siraju's-Salikin: It was written by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 418.

Sirat: The word *sirat* occurs in the Qur'an thirty-eight times. Although it denotes the "right way" (*Sirat al-Mustaqim*) in almost all verses of the Holy Book, in several works on Muslim traditions and Sufism, it is generally used for the bridge across the infernal fire described as "finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns". In many verses Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri repeats the popular tradition that the righteous will pass over it with "the swiftness of lightning" but the depraved, after quickly missing their steps, will fall into the fire of hell.

Kashmir's Transition to Islam.

siratu'l mustaqim: Right way; in each *namaz* a Muslim prays to Allah for guiding him on the "right way".

Sirat al-Mustaqim: Also known as the *Safar al-Sa'ada*, it was written by Majdu'd-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi (b. 729/1329, d. 817/1414). Containing many traditions regarding the Prophet's practices of ablution (*wuzu*), prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, invocation (*azkar*), and vice versa, the book was popular. It was for this reason that the Sufi scholar Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis wrote a Persian commentary on it. His purpose was also to remove certain misconceptions amongst thoughtless or credulous readers concerning the Hanafi law. The Shaikh called his work *al-Tariq al-Qawim fi sharh al-Sirat al-Mustaqim.*

Siratu'l-Mustaqim: It was authored by Shah Isma'il.

Sirhind: The town of Sirhind has been almost euologized by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in one of his letters addressed to Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri. As he lived in Sirhind with his sons and disciples, stated the Mujaddid, "that town was superior to others, and that it had the special honour of being the site of the tomb of his eldest son, Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq". The Mujaddid's claim that the light radiating from Sirhind was like that emanating from the Holy Ka'ba was based on his spiritual experience. Hardly some months before the death of Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq, stated the Mujaddid, "he had been shown that mystical light and although it was intended for his own (Mujaddid's) grave in Sirhind, his late son received precedence over himself".

Maktubat, II, no. 22.

Siyar-i Ahmadi: Authored by Shaikh Badru'd-Din, it contained the spiriutal attainments of his *pir*, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Its draft was lost in the author's lifetime.

Siyar-i Muhammadi: Written in 831/1427-8 by Muhammadi 'Ali Samani, it is a biography of Saiyid Muhammad bin Yusuf Husain, popularly known as Gisu Daraz.

Siyaru'l-'Arifin: Authored by Hamid bin Fazlu'llah, also known as Dervish Jamali Kambo Dihlawi, between 937/1530 and 942/1536, it is replete with the biographical information about the famous Chistiyya and Suhrawardiyya Sufis of the period. Although himself a Suhrawardiyya, Hamid bin Fazlu'llah made use of the *malfuzat* of the Chistiyyas. He also gives a valuable account of innumerable Indian Sufis who had lived or travelled in various parts of the Muslim world. One of the distinctive characteristics of the *Siyaru'l-'Arifin* is the author's use of oral evidence to supplement the meagre biographic information in earlier sources. The elegant style of the author, interspersed with humourous, often poetical, anecdotes, makes his work an invaluable source of information.

Mohammad Habib,. "Chisti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period", rpt. in K.A. Nizami, ed., *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period: Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib*, vol. I, Delhi, 1974, pp. 394-7.

S.H. Rashidi, *Masnawi Mehr-o-Mah of Jamali Dehlavi*, Rawalpindi, 1974.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab: Completed in 1056/1646-7 by Ilahdiya, it begins with the biography of the Caliph 'Ali and ends with that of his *pir*, Shah A'la (d. 1033/1624). Notwithstanding the legendary nature of his account of the earlier Chistiyyas, he throws valuable light on Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, Shaikh 'Usman Zinda Pir, son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Kabir, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, son of Shaikh 'Usman Zinda Pir, and Shaikh 'Abdu's-Salam Shah A'la, son of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din. Published in Lucknow in 1881.

Siyaru'l-Auliya: Written by Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad 'Alwi Kirmani, the author is better known as Amir or Mir Khwurd. See Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Mahmud Kirmani.

Sobhan Majzub: Originally a Rajput belonging to the Kori community, he became a *majzub* after his conversion to Islam. He served Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Din Ajodhani and spent considerable time meditating at the shrine of Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 487.

Sonti Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Naji Rishi. His whole life was spent in seclusion in Kashmir; he did not eat meat and often observed fasts.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 146-7.

Sonti Rishi: A disciple of Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar, little is known about him except that he was Sufi and lies buried at Pandachhouk village in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 333.

Sonti Rishi: Nothing is known about him beyond the fact that he was a disciple of the noted Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Sozan Rishi: He earned his living as a weaver living in the hollow of a tree at the village of Hillar in the *pargana* of Shahabad, Kashmir. Such was his adherence to the *Shari'ah* even while practising austerities that he had developed a sense of pride on that account. One day Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi passed by and impressed upon the Rishi the hollowness of practising the *Shari'ah* and asceticism in a state of cultivated pride. Thereafter Sozan felt humbled and became a disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. He took up his residence in the village of Pranbhavan and lies buried in Yangarwari (Sabur writes that he was buried at Manigam in Shahabad). The inhabitants of Pranbhavan are said to have embraced Islam at the hands of Sozan.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 35b.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 104-5.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 358-60.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 135.

Sozan Rishi: A disciple of Baba Hanifu'd-Din Haidar, after the latter's death in 890/1485 he became his *khalifa* in the village of Yar in Kashmir. He lies buried near the tomb of his spiritual mentor in Yar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 110.

Sufi 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Buchh: He was a *khalifa* of Hajji Mustafa Rumi. He was a Sufi of high spiritual merit. His tomb is at Gojwara in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 274-5.

Sufi Allahdad: He was initiated into Sufism by the most distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 186-7.

Sufi Mahmud Naqshbandi: This Mughal initially received guidance from Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. Later, he was entrusted to the care of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah. Described as a self-denying Sufi, he lies buried near the tomb of Baba Hajji Adham in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 289.

Kabir, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 174.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 318.

Sufi Sarmast: He came to the Deccan from Arabia. His disciples included mendicants (*faqir*) as well as soldiers. However, it would be wrong to describe him as a "warrior saint" on the basis of his supposed conflict with the Hindu Raja Kumaram in Sagar in Sholapur where he settled. It is more likely that Muslim soldiers sought his blessings in their military engagement against the raja; it would be wrong to presume that he himself took part in such an encounter.

Sufi Sarmast died in 680/1281 and lies entombed in Sagar, a hill fort located approximately seventy miles east of Bijapur.

'Abdu'l-Jabbar Mulkapuri, Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dakan, pp. 460-1.

Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogi, and Sagar", *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1931-32), pp. 10-11 and n.

Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 27.

Carl W. Ernest, *Eternal Garden, Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Centre*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 2004, pp. 101-2.

Suhagan-nama: See Shah Raju.

Suhaila: Composed by Shah 'Ali Pir Husaini, grandson of Shah Aminu'd-Din A'la and *sajjada-nishin* of the Shahpur Hillock shrine in Bijapur in the eighteenth century. "This work", observes Eaton, "is sung by women accompanying themselves on drums, is at once a devotional eulogy of the Prophet and also a popular song (*git*) concerning weddings and the nature of married women's life."

Sufis of Bijapur, p. 160.

Sukh Anjan: Its author, Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, who was a Sufi of Bijapur, emphasizes the importance of following the *Shari'ah* in Sufism. Saiyida Ja'far has edited the lithograph. (Hyderabad: Lutfu'd-Daula Research Institute, 1968.)

sukr: A state of drunkenness characterising a Sufi in divine love as opposed to *sahaw*.

Sulaiman bin 'Iffan Mandawi Dihlawi: He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Isa Chisti of Jaunpur. 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis credits him with having guided many seekers in the Path. Most of his time was spent in the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus. He died on 14 Muharram 944/ 23 June 1537 and lies entombed near the shrine of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 383.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 220-1.

Sulaiman Kurd, Maulana: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis. His Persian *masnawi*, entitled the *Manba'al-Khairat*, eulogizes Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. The Maulana founded a seminary in Ahmedabad after his migration from Delhi.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, II, p. 67.

Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din: He was a naked *majzub* who lived in Bihar. The renowned Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq Rudauli, met with him during his spiritual wanderings and gained useful insights from him.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), p. 1144.

Sultan Bahu: His name was Sultan Muhammad, but he was known Bahu because of the word Hu (He) with which all his verses ended. He belonged to a respectable family of Saiyids. His father, Sultan Bazid (Bayazid), was a courtier of Emperor Shahjahan. The Emperor assigned him a village in the Jhang district of the Panjab in recognition of his services to the state.

Born in 1039/1629-30, Sultan Bahu obtained formal education in his own village of Sherkot. Later in Delhi he entered the discipleship of Pir 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qadiri who was in the service of Shah Jahan. Bahu's mother, Rasti, had a considerable influence upon him. He wrote of her, "Bliss of God for Rasti be, for, with Truth is gifted she."

Sultan Bahu composed poetry in both Panjabi and Persian. He also wrote some twenty Persian treatises. But he is known for his Panjabi Sufi poetry characterized by elegant lyrical exuberance. His *Abyat*, recited at the *sama'* gatherings, is thematically typical of self-manifestation of the Absolute and the pre-eminence of consecrating one's life to asceticism. Although Sultan Bahu was a firm believer in the *Wahdat al-Wujud* and invoked the help of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani in his verses, he adhered to the rules of the *Shari'ah*. However, his criticism of prayers offered in a mere formal way was trenchant. As he wrote, "Kneeling, praying, fasting, doling, all are womanly pursuits. To Mecca tread only travellers, empty hearted and sans-roots. Longest, loudest in professions while their hearts care not two hoots. Useless are mere proclamations Bahoo ! Heart's contentment suits" (*Abyat*, p. 164).

"Rites of fasting, praying, abstaining, cries in wilderness are, ho ! Rituals do not lead to Allah! Read thyself and thyself know. Never, never, meets Beloved through the rituals, no, oh no! Burn yourself with Love, O Bahoo: And be one with One and glow !" (*Abyat*, p. 76).

The following verses point to the remembrance of the divine name planted in Sultan Bahu's heart by his spiritual guide. As A. Schimmel observes: "The water of negation and affirmation, the *la* and *illa* of the profession of faith in the *dhikr*, is combined with the allusion to Sura 50: 16 ("He is nearer to you than your jugular vein".)

"*Alif:* Allah is like the jasmine plant which the preceptor planted in my heart—O Hu! By water and the gardener of negation and positive statement it remained the jugular Vein and everywhere—O Hu! It spread fragrance inside when it approached the time of blossoming—O Hu! May the efficient preceptor live long, says Bahu, who planted this plant—O Hu!"

A Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, pp. 385-6.

Maqbool Elahi, tr., *The Abyat of Sultan Bahoo*, Lahore, 1967.

Sultan Hamid Tapa: He was a Chistiyya ascetic who was devoted to Shaikh Nizam Narnuli. He died in 990/1582 and is entombed in Agra.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 441.

Sultan Mir Jeev: He was a cousin and disciple of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Nur Muhammad Parwana. He obtained knowledge of *fiqh* and *Hadis* and, as the *khalifa* of his *murshid*, guided many people in the Path. He chose a life of solitude. Diddamari quotes Miyan Muhammad Amin Dhar as observing in his *malfuzat* that Sultan Mir had attained *fana*. He died in 1125/1713.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 372.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 297.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 226.

suluk: Journey; road; path.

Sunnah: The tradition of the Prophet, his manner of life according to which the faithful should act.

sura: Each of the 114 chapters of the Qur'an.

Sura-i Yasin: The 36th sura or chapter of the Qur'an, called "the heart of the Qur'an, recited also for a dying or deceased person.

Suran Rishi: He is believed to have been a disciple of Khalasman Rishi. Like Zulka, Miran, Rum, Ludarman, Pilasman, Khalasman, Yasman, he belongs to the category of the Rishis whose existence cannot be established in chronological and historical terms. Whatever information about their renunciation, miracles and conversion to Islam exists in the Persian sources is entirely based on folk belief rather than the established historical facts.

Sururu's-Sudur: Discourses, essays and poetry of the early Chistiyyas from Nagaur, Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri and his grandson, Faridu'd-Din Mahmud. The latter, the son of 'Azizu'd-Din [see 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shaikh], edited the *Sururu's-Sudur*.

T t

***Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*:** Written by Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani, it is a general biographical dictionary of 871 poets and Sufis of the seventeenth century with special reference to those connected with the *khanqah* of Khwaja Baqi Billah. See Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani.

***tabarruk*:** Receive something as a blessing from any spiritual guide or from the custodians of a shrine out of the offerings made by devotees in cash or kind.

***tafakkur*:** Contemplation or thought. According to the *Kitabu't-Ta'rifat*, it is the lamp of the heart whereby a man sees his own evils or virtues. The importance of reflections on the verses of the Qur'an has been abundantly emphasized in the Qur'an and the Sufi literature.

***tafsir*:** Commentary; paraphrase.

***Tafsir-i Muhammadi*:** It was a commentary on the Qur'an written by Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chisti bin Shaikh Ahmad (d. 982/1575), the greatest Chistiyya Sufi in the early sixteenth century in Gujarat. He also wrote notes on the Qur'anic commentary of Baizawi.

Mir'at-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 75-6.

Taha Chisti, Shaikh: He was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Salim Chisti. Accompanying his *pir* on his travels to Mecca, he was later appointed as his *khalifa* at Ahmedabad.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 310b-311a.
Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 444-5.

Taha, Qutbu'd-Din Qadiri: Originally an *'alim* from Kattana, Mir Saiyid Taha Qutbu'd-Din was a prominent Sufi of the Qadiriyya order. He rebuffed Aurangzeb who asked him to leave Kattana, saying that it was in the Emperor's interest to refrain from doing so. He loved the company of the common people, but was critical of the Sufis who encouraged rulers and the worldly to visit their habitats. Although he allowed visitors for a few hours at a time, he discouraged even his disciples from staying too long. Any violation of this rule was considered by him to be a calamity. He urged his visitors to spend nights in seclusion, despite family responsibilites. A verse composed by him was often on his lips: "From Taha! listen to this important advice, Flee from people and draw near to God."

His teachings were summed up by his disciple Muhammad 'Abdu'r-Rashid in these words: "If you wish to obtain light, choose darkness, if you enjoy excursions, you should be satisfied with your cell; if you wish to eat good food choose satisfactions in God; if you wish to gain worldly employment, serve Allah; if you aspire to any occupation indulge in Allah's *zikr*; if you wish to busy yourself with an external form of worship you should go out of your cell to Friday prayers, to a *dervish*."

Saiyid Taha secluded himself in a cell for forty years. He would only come out to perform obligatory Friday prayers and funeral prayers. He would repeatedly and loudly recite "Haqq-Haqq" during night, and the same words would be repeated by him quietly during the day. Among his twenty-four disciples, regarded as perfect *khalifas*, may be mentioned Shah Fath in Qandahar, Shah 'Abdu'l-Wahid in Medina, Shah Shafi in Istanbul, Shah Allah Baksh in Baghdad, Shah 'Abdu'llah Salih in Ceylon and Shah 'Abdu'l Wahid in Karbala.

He died on 12 Rabi' II 1084/27 July 1673 and lies buried in Kattana.

Muhammad 'Abdu'r-Rashid, *Taha'if-i Rashidiya*, f. 151a (quoted in Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, 148-9).

Tahir Badakshi, Shaikh Muhammad: His ancestors were Turkish soldiers from Badakshan. Himself a soldier stationed at a fort in the Rustaq, he had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr. On their advice he relinquished his job after winning the battle. According to his biographers, both he and his wife took to Sufism. On the advice of a Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Jalil Bayanki, he departed for Delhi where the Mujaddid enrolled him as a disciple. Thereafter, the Mujaddid deputed him to Jaunpur, which was then the greatest centre of Sufism and scholarship. However, the Mujaddid was not happy with his somewhat *malamati* way of life. In a letter addressed to Tahir, the Mujaddid advised him to work for his own spiritual development and also train the disciples while strictly adhering to the *Shari'ah*.

He died in 1047/1637-8 and is entombed in Jaunpur.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 354-67.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 340-3.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., pp. 314-1.

Tahir Lahori, Shaikh Muhammad: Originally initiated as a Qadiriyya by Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal, he later became a disciple of the Mujaddid's father and then the Mujaddid himself. Being essentially trained in theology, he tutored the Mujaddid's two sons, Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id and Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum. The Mujaddid bestowed on him the *khirqa-i iradat* of the Qadiriyya, the Sufic robe authorizing him to enrol disciples in that order. He was also given the *khirqa-i tabarruk*, the Sufic robe signifying blessings rather than authorizing enrolment of disciples. Shaikh Muhammad Tahir had also previously been initiated into the Chistiyya order by Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id Chisti of Saharanpur. By showering such favours on his disciple, the Mujaddid certainly departed from the general practice of Baqi Billah in not encouraging the Naqshbandiyyas to be initiated into other orders. What seems to have prompted the Mujaddid to grant such relaxation was his aim to popularize the teachings of the Naqshbandiyyas in Lahore, where the impact of the Qadiriyyas was undoubtedly immense.

Contrary to the expectations of the Mujaddid, Shaikh Muhammad Tahir's life in Lahore was modelled on Miyan Mir rather than that of an active missionary of the Naqshbandiyya order. He kept aloof from this-worldly people and took interest only in guiding the pious. He refused to accept any gift (*futuh*) or land grant. He copied religious manuscripts, and the paltry gifts received in exchange for such transcripts from the pious were enough for his daily sustenance. The Mujaddid's concern over the somewhat *malamati* lifestyle of Shaikh Tahir is reflected in his writing. He remarks that such a way of life is not in congruence with the duties of Sufi shaikh and missionary. But Shaikh Tahir was more interested in leading the life of an ascetic in the company of *dervishes* rather than disseminating the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order while living among the worldly people.

He died on 20 Muharram 1040/29 August 1630.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 340-6.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, Urdu tr. Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, Delhi, 1999, Indian rpt., pp. 299-306

Maktubat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah, p. 4.

Tair: Sufi term which indicates miraculous flying from one place to another.

Taiyib, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis and the son of Mu'in. As a Sufi, he popularized the teachings of the Qadiriyya order in Banaras.

Abdu'l-Ha'i, *Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, V, Hyderabad, 1955-7, p. 34.

Tajalliyat al-Fusus: Written by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, this treatise deals with *Wahdat al-Wujud*. MS, India Office Library.

Tajalliyat-i Rahmani: This is a hagiographic description compiled by Saiyid 'Ali Muhammad Husaini. The author, grandson of Saiyid Muhammad Mudarris (d. AD 1675), the Shattariyya Sufi of Bijapur, gives useful information about the life of his grandfather. He died in AD 1724-5.

Persian MS (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Tasawwuf no. 28).

Tajdid-i Baiy'a: Renewal of allegiance from one Shaikh to another. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis uses it in the context of Saiyid Muhammad bin Saiyid Mubarak bin Saiyid Mahmud Kirmani's association with his *pir's* disciples after the death of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 178.

tajjali-i rukh: Enlightenment of soul.

Taju'd-Din, Shaikh: A native of Sambhal, in 1599-1600 he moved to Delhi and settled there after being initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Khwaja Baqi Billah. He rose to eminence in no time. However, his zeal for reforming Shaikh Abu Bakr, a *majzub*, in an inhumane manner was not approved by Khwaja Baqi Billah who warned his disciple against intolerance in the name of the *Shari'ah* (*Maktubat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah*, no. 36). After the death of the Khwaja, Taju'd-Din migrated to Mecca. There he initiated an eminent Sufi and ascetic, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ilan (d. 1031/1621-2). Taju'd-Din's translation of the *Rashahat-i 'Ainu'l-Hayat* of Kashifi and the *Nafahatu'l-Uns* of Jami from Persian into Arabic helped the popularization of the Naqshbandiyya Sufis in Mecca, Medina, Najd, Yamen, Basra, and Syria. He translated *Al-Risala fi Suluk Kkhulasat al-Sadat al-Naqshbandiyya*, an Arabic treatise that outlined Naqshbandiyya practices. A commentary on this work, written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghani bin Isma'il al-Nablusi (1641-1713), was titled *Miftah al-'Ait Sharh al-Risalat al-Naqshbandiyya*.

Shaikh Taju'd-Din's contribution to Arabic literature and spiritual attainments impressed the Arabs and Syrians. Some prominent Meccan ulama and Sufis including Shaikh Ahmad Nakhli entered his discipleship. Shah Waliu'llah speaks highly of his image in Mecca and Medina. The Shaikh died in 1052/1642 and was buried in Mecca.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), pp. 64, 194, 393, 394.

Taju'd-Din Shersawar, Saiyid: Born in Narnaul, he was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar Hasnavi. Most of his time was spent in meditation in the hills of Narnaul, so much so that wild animals are said to have become subservient to him.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 267-8.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 104-25.

Taju'd-Din Zakariyya Ajodhani, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati (d. 957/1550) of the Qadiriyya order. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq showers encomium on him for the excellence of his personal qualities and his knowledge of Sufism; this despite the fact that the latter shared the view of several courtiers of Akbar that the Emperor was the Perfect Man (as devised by Ibn 'Arabi and his followers). However, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Badauni makes Taju'd-Din the butt of ridicule for his views on Akbar.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 416.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarirkh, II, p. 258.

Taju'l-'Ashiqin: His original name was Shaikh Muhammad. Born in Burhanpur and the son of 'Abdu'llah Sindhi, he was initiated as a Shattariyya by Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif. Akbar's conquest of Khandesh in 1008/1600 led to his arrest on the charge of being friendly with the sultans of Khandesh. However, the Shaikh was subsequently released, thanks to the intercession of a prominent noble, Qulich Khan, who took him to Lahore from Agra.

The soldiers of a rebellious Rajput chief in Lahore killed him on 1 Jumada I 1013/25 September 1604.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 425-6.

Takkyah: (1) A pillow, a place of repose, a place where some Sufi has stayed. In Central Asia, these places are often merely marked by a few stones and a flag, and are held sacred. (2) monastery, or religious house, in which *faqirs* and ascetics reside, as the Takkyahs at Constantinople and Cairo.

Until late 1970s, *takkyahs* in the city of Srinagar were abodes of *charas*-sodden *faqirs*. The rendezvous of men addicted to smoking hemp (*charas*), called *shodas* in common parlance, at Batmaloo presented a very colourful scene during the *'urs* of Shaikh Dawud Batmaloo. On this occasion the *shodas* held a feast and organized concerts.

Interestingly, some *charas*-sodden *faqirs* are said to have been persons of high spiritual calibre. This explains why they were often entertained with sumptuous meals or coloured fried rice (*tahar*) by an average Kashmiri Muslim family of Srinagar.

Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*, 2nd edn., 1999, p. 130n.

Takmilu'l-iman: Written in Persian by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, it deals with some controversial issues related to the fundamentals of belief. The author stands for the adoption of a moderate path. Published in Delhi 1312/1895.

Talib Dervish: He enjoyed the company of Hafiz Saiyid 'Abdu'llah. He often shed tears for being unable to learn the knowledge of esoteric sciences like that of Shah Waliu'llah's father, Shah 'Abdu'l-Rahim. However, his inner pain was assuaged by way of travel undertaken by him at the command of Saiyid 'Abdu'llah.

Anfasu'l-'Arifin (U), p. 56.

Talwin: Change and turning from one state to another. Although closely connected in meaning with *tamkin*, just as *hal* is connected with *maqam*, the subtle difference between the two technical terms is brought home by a Sufi master in the context of the spiritual experience of Moses and Muhammad. Thus "Moses was subject to *talwin:* he fell in a swoon (Qur'an 7/139) when God revealed His glory to Mount Sinai; but Muhammad was steadfast: he suffered no change, although he was in the very revelation of glory from Mecca to a space of two bow-lengths from God; and this is the highest grade. Now *tamkin* is of two kinds—one referring to the dominant influence of God (*shahid-i haqq*), and the other referring to the dominant influence of one's self (*shahid-i khud*). He whose *tamkin* is of the latter kind retains his attributes unimpaired, but he whose *tamkin* is of the former kind has no attributes; and the terms effacement (*mahw*), sobriety (*sahw*), attainment (*lahq*), destruction (*mahq*), annihilation (*fana*), subsistence (*baqa*), being (*wujud*), and not-being (*'adam*) are not properly applied to one whose attributes are annihilated, because a subject is necessary for the maintenance of these qualities, and when the subject is absorbed (*mustaghriq*) he loses the capacity for maintaining them."

Kashaf al-Mahjub, Nicholson, pp. 372-3.

'Awarif al-Ma'arif, H.W. Clarke, pp. 156-9.

Tamhidat: It is ascribed to the Sufi martyr, 'Ainu'l-Quzat of Hamadan (492/1098–525/1131) in 521/1127. Mas'ud-i Bak, a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din, who was a contemporary and relative of Firuz Shah Tughluq, is also said to have written *Tamhidat*. However, the latter, based on that of 'Ainu'l-Quzat, is extinct. The earlier work has been edited by Rahim Farmanish and published under the title *Ahwal wa Asar 'Ainu'l-Quzat*.

Tanbih al-'Arif: An Arabic treatise of the renowned scholar Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, also known as *al-Risalat fi bayan qawl qadami*, seeks to resolve the controversy regarding Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani's claim, "My foot is on the neck of every saint of God." He refutes the view of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi that this statement had been made in a state of mystical intoxication. On the other hand, he sought to prove that these words had been made in a state of perfect sobriety and with complete understanding of their implications. MS. Raza Library, Rampur.

Tanbihu'l-Haqai'q: See Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani.

Taqi Qadiri, Shaikh Muhammad: He became the disciple of Shaikh Naushah Ganj Baksh (d.1064/1654) of the Panjab at an early age and served his *pir* faithfully. He is reported to have nearly cut his own throat in a state of ecstasy when he intended the slaugher of a number of lambs to mark the festival of supreme sacrifice ('Id-i Qurban). He died in 1133/1720-1.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, pp. 193-4.

Taqiu'd-Din Muhammad, Shaikh: Little is known about him beyond his constant absorption in meditation and *muraqaba*. According to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, such was his communion with Allah that he did not even remember a day or month.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 146.

Taqiu'd-Din Nuh, Khwaja: He was a son of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's niece. After being conferred *khilafat*, the Shaikh advised him to cultivate patience and thankfulness in all circumstances. Further, he was to develop the virtues of forgiveness and kindness against vindictiveness. No *jagir* or stipend was to be accepted.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 177.

taqwa: Piety; abstinence; continence; preserving or guarding oneself from the snares of the self through the observance of fasts. Ja'far Husaini called externalists robbers of the faith who worshipped instead their carnal souls. To him *taqwa* was the all-consuming passion of the pious ulama.

Taqwiyat'ul-Iman: It was authored by Shah Isma'il.

Tarikh-i Qadiriyya: Completed in 1150/1735 by Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid, it draws extensively on the author's earlier work the *Tuhfa-i Rashidiyya* (1143/1730-1). MS, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Rampur.

Tarin Sambhali, Shaikh Fathu'llah: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Salim Chisti. He led a meditative life on the ridge of Fathpur-Sikri. In spite of his illiteracy, the Shaikh could answer any criticism of the ulama.

Muntakhab'ut-Tawarikh, III, p. 12.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), ff. 308b-309a.

tariqa: Path; Sufi order; religious brotherhood. All Sufi orders follow the path of Muhammad.

Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya: A new branch of the Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya founded by Khwaja Muhammad Nasir and later popularized by his son, the eminent Urdu poet Khwaja Mir Dard (b. 1133/1721). See Muhammad Nasir, Khwaja; Mir Dard, Khwaja; *Nala-i 'Andalib*.

Tarjamat al-Kitab: This is an exegesis on the Qur'an in Arabic written by Shaikh Muhibbu'llah. The Shaikh was an ardent advocate of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. See Muhibbu'llah Mubariz, Shaikh

Tarjuma-i 'Awarif al-Ma'arif: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Tarjuma-i Fakhru'l-Hasan: This is the Persian translation of the *Fakhru'l-Hasan* authored by Maulana Fakhru'd-Din (d. 1199/1785), a famous Chistiyya Sufi of Delhi, who challenged the view that there was no association between the Caliph 'Ali (d. 40/661) and Hasan Basri (b. 21/642 d. 110/728). The translator was Kalimu'd-Din Sibghatu'llah, a disciple of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din.

Tarjuma-i Risala-i Qushairiyaa: See Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad.

Tasawwur-i Shaikh: In a letter addressed to Khwaja Muhammad Ashraf, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi quotes Khwaja Ahrar in order to impress upon him the importance of the concept of *tasawwur-i Shaikh* for gaining the *ma'rifah* of God."The shadow of the guide is better than the remembrance of God. (*Saya-i rahbar bi ast zikr-i Haqq*)."

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., pp. 245-6.

Al-Tasharruf li Ma'rifat-i Ahadis al-Tasawwuf: Written by Maulana Muhammad Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi, and deals with Apostolic *ahadis* used by Sufi writers. The work was published in Karachi in 1986.

Tasuiyya: Authored by Shaikh Muhibu'llah, the work advocates the theories of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Khwaja Khwrud translated this controversial work into Persian with a commentary.

tauba: The turning of the heart from sin; repentance.

tauhid: To declare that God is One; monotheism; consciousness of one's oneness with God in the *Shari'ah*-structured relationship; in this oneness the seeker is profoundly conscious of his servantship (*'ubudiyyat*).

tawajjuh: Turning of the face towards God. It entails a total indifference to all sorts of desires.

tawakkul: Absolute trust in God. According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, f. 154b), it involves the severance of all connections and attachment with the worldly and the mundane.

Tawakkul-Beg: Son of a petty official of the Governor of Kashmir, he entered the discipleship of Mulla-Shah about 1031/1622. His association with his *pir* continued for forty years. Shah Shuja, the governor of Bengal, employed him in 1054/1644 and Dara-Shukoh appointed him a *mansabdar* of 200 and messenger for himself and Mulla-Shah. He authored *Nuskh-i Ahwal-i Shahi*. [See *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*.]

Ta'wiz: "To flee for refuge." An amulet or charm, written by a Sufi, generally contains the Quranic verses or invocations based on *Hadis*.

Ta'zim Turk, Saiyid Muhammad: He came to Bijapur from Iran during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627). Neither the Sufi order to which he was affiliated to, nor his date of death are known.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, p. 179.

tazkira: Literally "mentionings"; a collection of biographical accounts, compiled from both written and oral traditions.

Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan: Compiled by 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Mulkapuri in 1912-13, it deals with the biographies of the Sufis of the Deccan.

Abdu'l-Jabbar Mulkpuri, *Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan* (2 vols.; Hyderabad, 1912-13).

Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin: Completed in 997/1588-9 by Khwaja Miram Bazaz, a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

What prompted the author to compile the life and achievements of his *pir* was the latter's death that made him restless. He wandered in forests for some time until the idea of writing the biography of his *murshid* struck his mind. Thereupon in a state of *muraqaba* he sought the blessings of his *murshid*. What followed was the compilation of the *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*. Soon after the completion of the work, the author read it to Haidar Tulmuli and Rupi Rishi considering their importance as eyewitnesses of many events recorded therein. MS, Research Library, Srinagar.

Tazkira-i Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa: An anonymous manuscript available in the Delhi Persian Collections of the India Office Library, London, it provides some biographical information about Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa (d. 1103/1692). See Rasul Numa.

Tazkira-i Sufiya-i Panjab: This was written by I'jazu'l-Haqq Quddusi and published in Karachi in 1962.

tazkiya-i nafs: Purification of the self.

Tipu Auliya: A *majzub* who lived at Shahpur Hillock in Bijapur. Attracting attention like several Bijapuri *majzubs* for their nakedness, he died in 1725.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, II, 170 Sqq.

Tuhfa-i Ahmadi: See Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal.

Tuhfa-i Rashidiyya: Completed in 1143/1730-1 by Shaikh Muhammad Abdu'r-Rashid bin Nazr Muhammad Qadiri Kairanawi, the work deals with the life teachings of his *pir*, Shah Fath Muhammad Qadiri (also known as Ghiyasu'd-Din Miyanjiw) of Kairana in the Muzaffarnagar district of UP. MS, British Museum.

Tuhfat al-Fuqara: Authored by the Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, it furnishes an account of the various Sufi orders of Kashmir including the Rishiyya. The author's description of his contemporary Sufis is useful. He did not fail to recognize the role of the Muslim Rishis and gives an authentic account of Shaikh Dawu'd Batmaloo. Later hagiographers have drawn upon it regarding the activities of Batmaloo Sahib. Manuscripts of this important work are preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar and the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. The work has been edited by Syeda Ruqaiyah and published by the Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University.

Tuhfatu'l-Kiram: Written by Mir 'Ali Sher Qani Thattawai, it deals with the Sufis of Sindh from the earliest times to 1180/1766-7.

Tuhfatu'l-Majalis: It was written by Mahmud bin Sa'd bin Sadr Sufi Iraji, a disciple of the well-known Gujarati Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu. India Office, DP, 977. [See Shaikh Ahmad Khattu.]

al-Tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh al-Nabi: Written in Arabic by the Chistiyya Sufi, Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah (d. 1029/1620) of Burhanpur, it seeks to discourage accretions and misinterpretations in Ibn Arabi's philosophy by followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Himself an adherent of Ibn Arabi's ideas, the Shaikh's *al-Tufa* provides a spirited defence of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. The Shaikh also wrote a Persian commentary on this short treatise.

According to Rizvi, the "the commentary on the *Tuhfa* which made the greatest impact in Indonesia was an exegesis by Qushshashi's disciple, Ibrahim Kurani. Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din and Shaikh Raniri also drew upon the *Tuhfa* itself very heavily. Shaikh Kurani's commentary was written specifically for Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Ra'uf who used it extensively to devise his theory of the five stages of descent of limitation (*ta'ayyunat*) of the Absolute in his *Daqa'iq al-huruf*. . . . The prestige of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Ra'uf greatly popularized the *Tuhfa* not only in Sumatra but also among the Javanese, who in their enthusiasm to make the *Wahdat al-Wujud* intelligible to Javanese mystics, interpolated into Javanese translation of the *Tuhfa* elements of their own *suluk* which they understood so well.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 344.

Tuhfatu'l-Qadiriyya: Written by Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali Qadiri Kirmani bin Shaikh Rahmatu'llah, the *khalifa* of Shaikh Dawud of Jahani, the work deals with the life of Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilani. Published in Siyalkot in 1317/1899, it has also been translated into Urdu.

Tuman Shah: He lived in the *pargana* of Kutahar in Kashmir and kept the company of Dawud Ba'i (d. 9 Zilhaj 1079/1 May 1669). As a *qalandar*, his devotees knew him for his miraculous acts of beneficence. Often he lost temper, abused his devotees, and even thrashed them. Such an attitude towards the folk was then (as of now in respect of living *majzubs* or *qalandars*) considered an act of favour.

Tuman Shah is said to have appeared to one of his devotees in a vision instructing him to bring him a shroud. When the devotee awoke, he bought the cloth and immediately rushed to Kutahar. On reaching the village in the evening, he found Tuman Shah alive. But then the *qalandar* had a bath and while seated in the direction of Mecca for some time, breathed his last in 1108/1696-7. His tomb is in Kutahar.

Tuhfatu'l-Fuqara (R), pp. 212-13.
Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 466.

Turk Bayabani, Shaikh: Little is known about him beyond his fame as a *murid* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi. Popularly known by the title of Shah Turkman, his tomb is in Firuzabad.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 99.

U u

'Ubaid Kabuli, Khwaja: He was a *khalifa* of Maulana Lutfu'llah Naqshbandi. Mirza Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, patronized him. From Kabul he reached Akbar's court. He was banished to Thatta for his involvement in some religious dispute.

Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, *Nasama't-u'l-Quds*, Tashkent MS, f. 233a (Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 181).

'Ubaidullah Ahrar, Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din: Born in Ramazan 806/1404, he was a distinguished successor of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband's (d. 791/1389) disciple, Ya'qub Charakhi. His devout parents hailed from Baghistan, a village near Tashkent. Showing little interest in formal education, his only interest lay in frequenting the local tombs of Imam Abu Bakr Qaffal Shashi, Shaikh Khawand Tahur and Shaikh Zain'ud-Din. At the age of twenty-two, his maternal uncle took him to Samarqand for his education. There he spent more time in the company of the disciples of Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband than studying theology or literature. After meeting several Sufis in Bukhara, 'Ubaid'ullah reached Herat in very abject circumstances during the reign of Mirza Shahrukh (807/1405–850/1447). He took deep pleasure in the company of the Sufis visiting various seminaries in Herat. After four years he left for Hisar via Balkh. There he was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Maulana Ya'qub Charkhi. He received a vigorous training from his *pir* in the Naqshbandiyya *zikr* of *nafi-o isbat* also called *Wuquf-i 'Adadi*.

After staying with his *pir* for three months, 'Ubaidu'llah returned to Tashkent via Herat. He was twenty-nine when he started managing his small ancestral farm. With its growing prosperity, supporting both agriculture and livestock, he built a huge *khanqah*, a *madrasah* and a *jami'* mosque in Tashkent. His spiritual and social eminence turned his abode, Farkat, the suburb of Tashkent, into a great centre of Naqshbandiyya order.

'Ubaidu'llah's influence on the Timurid rulers was considerable. Sultan Abu Sa'id (855/1451–873/1469) attributed his victory over Samarqand to the Khwaja, who accompanied him on his campaign. But behind the Khwaja's spiritual assistance was an assurance given by the Sultan that he would promote the welfare of his subjects in accordance with the *Shari'ah*. Although several sources including 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami refer to the affluence of the Khwaja, his lifestyle was like that of the humblest *dervish* in his *khanqah*. The income received from his estates extending from Tashkent to Samarqand was expended under religious endowment (*waqf*) for the welfare of the members of his *madrasah*, *khanqah*, and mosques, besides Sufis, ulama, travellers and poor.

Ubaidu'llah died on 29 Rabi' I 895/20 February 1490 and was buried at his *khanqah* in Samarqand.

Fakhru'd-Din 'Ali bin Husian al-Wa'iz al-Kashifi, *Rashahat 'Ainu'l-Hayat*, Lucknow, 1912, pp. 224-7, 232-4, 289-92.

'ubud: Humble servants; pl. of *'abd*.

'ubudiyyat: Servantship: when God mentions the Prophet Muhammad, He refers to his 'servantship' and says: "He revealed to His servant that which He revealed." (Qur'an, 53/10). Shah Turab 'Ali Qalandar quotes Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar as saying that there is a distinction between *'ibadat* and *'ubudiyyat*. While the former denotes fulfilment of the conditions of servantship at prescribed times, the latter signifies eternal vigilance, i.e. profound awareness of one's continuous communion with his Creator.

Shah Turab Qalandar,'*Matalib-i Rashidi*, tr. Maulana Shah Mustafa Haidar Qalandar, Lucknow, n.d., pp. 7-8.

'ulama pl. of *'alim*: Scholar-jurists upon whom the interpretation of the *Shari'ah* rests.

'ulama-i Akhirat: The ulama whose interest is mostly directed towards the Other world.

'ulama-i zahiri: The worldly ulama who associated themselves with the government and complied with a ruler's wishes, even if the latter flouted the religious law; usually cultivated such habits of mind and heart through their association with kings and rich people as were inimical to the growth of higher spiritual and ethical values in Muslim society.

'Umadatu'l-Maqamat: This was written by Hajji Fazu'llah Naqshbandi Qandahari (d. 1238/1822–

23) and published by Khanqah-i Mujaddidiyya, Tandu Sai'ndad, Hyderabad (Pakistan in 1355/1936-7).

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., pp. 32-3.

'ushr: pl. *ushur*; A tenth or tithe given to the public treasury (*Baitu'l-Mal*) of a Muslim state.

'uzlat: Self-seclusion This involves closing the doors of the heart to thoughts other than the Beloved. The Chistiyya Sufi, Ja'far Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, f. 154b) describes two categories of self-seclusion. *'uzlat-i zanana* (female self-seclusion) is the closing of the inner self but male self-seclusion (*'uzlat-i mardana*) is the association of the outer self with people and the inner self with contemplation.

'urs: The marriage ceremony. A term generally used in the Indian subcontinent for the anniversary of the death of any Sufi. Tens of thousands assemble at the popular shrines of local or international importance like these of Khwaja Mu'inu'din Chisti, Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, etc.

'Usman Majzub: He was an intoxicated soul who died in Bijapur in 1700.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, p. 165.

'Usman Sayyah of Sunnahm, Shaikh: A disciple of the distinguished Suhrawardiyya Sufi, Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din Multani. Son of Qazi Wajihu'd-Din, 'Usman had served the Delhi Sultanate as a petty official when young. He met Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din while the latter was praying on the banks of the Jumna near Kilukhari. After the Shaikh initiated 'Usman into the Suhrawardiyya order, he took him to Multan where he imparted him lessons on the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*. 'Usman also memorized the Qur'an.

Shaikh 'Usman Sayyah made his mark as an ascetic. He wore only a loin-cloth and did not even carry with him the basic necessities of a pilgrim when he set-off for Mecca. After staying in Mecca for about a year, he continued travelling to other places for a further six years. On his return home, he was honoured with the presentation of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din's own garment and turban.

Shaikh 'Usman did not stay in Multan for long as his *pir* advised him to visit Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya regularly and seek his advice. Shaikh 'Usman and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din became close friends. As a result of his association with the Chistiyya order, 'Usman developed a fondness for *sama'*. Although Ghiyasu'd-Din Tughluq had prohibited musicians from singing *sama'*, nothing could once daunt 'Usman from persuading Amir Hasan, Nizamu'd-Din's favourite *qawwal*, to sing for him. No sooner had the music started than the Shaikh fell into an ecstasy and Hasan began to sing louder. Shaikh 'Usman, then, accompanied by about 200 *qawwals* and a considerable number of Sufis, began march towards Tughluqabad about three miles away, singing and dancing. The presence of the Sufis near the royal palace in such a condition, in flagrant defiance of the sultan's orders, raised the temper of the latter. However, on being informed about the righteousness of Shaikh 'Usman, the Sultan invited him and the singing *qawwals* to his palace. The Sultan treated his guests generously, but Shaikh 'Usman declined to accept any of the gifts offered.

Shaikh 'Usman died in Delhi in 738/1337-8.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 235.

Jamali, pp. 144-6.

Kalimat, pp. 144-5.

'Usman Zinda Pir, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Kabir Chisti Sabiri and belonged to the Chistiyya-Sabiriyya branch of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Panipati. After his father's death, a dispute arose between Shaikh 'Usman and his brothers over the control of the tomb of Shaikh Jalal Panipati. Understandably, the tomb yielded a considerable income. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi himself visited Panipat to arbitrate on the feud. But his order that the control of the tomb should remain with Shaikh 'Usman for the first half of the year and with his brothers for the second half was flouted by the latter. However, Shaikh 'Usman won the day, thanks to his popularity among the influential citizens of the town.

Siyaru'l-Aqtab, pp. 229-31.

Usul al-Bazdawi: This is a work on *Fiqh* which was popular among several Sufis.

Usulu'l-Tariqat: Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis describes this as a famous work of Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri Sufi (d. 673/1274).

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 76-94.

W w

Al-Wadud: The Loving One, or The Beloved. One of the ninety-nine special attributes of God.

Wahdat al-Shuhud: Unity-in-experience, implying that Allah and His seeker are joined together, their individuality preserved. In this unity the seeker is profoundly aware not only of his human individuality but, more importantly, of his Beloved's unique individuality.

Wahdat al-Wujud: Unity of being; a spiritual experience of an inflamed Sufi. Ibn 'Arabi's ideas on the Sufic experience were summarized in later Sufi poetry, particularly in Iran, Turkey, and India. But the term has generally been misuderstood and misinterpreted. It is amazing that even some leading modern scholars of Sufism have equated the *Wahdat al-Wujud* with pantheism. The fact is that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* is not an absolute category of thought but only a transitory spiritual experience in an intoxicated state of, overwhelming feeling of union with the Creator. The nature of this unity, needs to be understood within the deeper spiritual framework of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, rather than within the confines of pantheistic thought. True, most adherents of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* believed everything is He. But this stage of spiritual experience at the personal level did not prevent their behaviour conforming to the spiritual ethics of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Annihilation of oneself in the experience of His Oneness was by no stretch of the imagination a passport for identifying oneself with the Creator. What, indeed, gave birth to hair-splitting controversies were the assertions of the Sufis in a state of intoxication rather than the concept of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

"Al-Hallaj and I are of one belief," remarked Shibli, "but my madness saved me, while his intelligence destroyed him." Although Shaikh 'Ali Hujwiri quotes these remarks to prove Hallaj's faith in Islam and his own abundant love for the mystic, he firmly holds that "his path is not soundly established on any principle, and his state is not fixed in any position, and his experiences are largely mingled with error." See *Kashaf al-Mahjub*, pp. 151-2.

As a matter of fact, the *Wahdat al-Wujud* has always remained the sheet-anchor of Sufism.

wahdat: Unity; oneness.

Wajd: Ecstasy. Sufi term for the fifth stage of the spiritual journey, when the traveller in the Path attains to a state of mental excitement which is supposed to indicate a high sate of divine illumination.

wajh: Face; The Face of God occurs in the Qur'an in an appropriate signification in each place. Qur'an, Chapters 2/115, 6/52, 18/28. 2/109: "Wherever ye turn there is the face of God (Wajhu'llah)."

Wajibu'l-Wujud: A necessary existence—God. For Shah Waliu'llah's views on this term, see *Anfasu'l-'Arifin* (U), pp. 91-3.

Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad, Shaikh: Born in Gujarat in 902/1496-7, he was the son of Shaikh Nasru'llah 'Alawi. He made his mark as the most leading *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. From his early childhood he was extremely devoted to learning. At the age of thirty-eight, he had achieved academic excellence in subjects of religious, literary and philosophical importance. He became an outstanding exponent of the teachings of the Shattariyya order even while living in relative seclusion. He performed Friday congregational prayers in the private mosque attached to his house, and avoided contact with the people obsessed with the affairs of the world. His impact on the growth and development of the Shattariyya order from Gujarat to Burhanpur was indelible. He tutored a good number of disciples and even while converting his seminary into a *khanqah*, remained dedicated to teaching and writing scholarly commentaries on the works of *Tafsir, Hadis, Fiqh,* and *Kalam*. Among these may be mentioned *Fawa'id-i Diyayya, Sharh-i Irshad-i Qazi, Sharh-i Abyat-i Munhil wa Matahi dar 'Ilm-i Naju, Hashia Matul wa Mukhtasar dar 'Ilm-i Ma'ani, Hashia Tuhfa-i Shahi wa Sharh-i Khum'amini, Hashia-i Bayazwi dar 'Ilm-i Tafsir, Hashia-ii Sharh wa Qaaya wa Hidyaya dar Far'u Fiqh, Hashia-i Qutbi, Sharh Shamsiyya dar fan-i Mantiq, Hashia-i Sharh Hikmatu'l-'Ain Mir Changi dar fan-i Hikmat,* and *Sharh-i Nakhbatu'l-Fikr dar Usul-i Hadis.*

Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad died in Ahmedabad on 29 Safar 997/17 January 1589.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 373-6.

Wajihu'd-Din Pa'ili, Maulana: He was a distinguished scholar who became the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya at an old age. He is entombed at Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, p. 99.

Fawa'id al-Fu'ad, Eng. tr., p. 84.

Siyaru'l-Auliya, Urdu tr. 'Abdu'l Latif, Delhi, 1994, p. 110.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 75-6.

Wali: pl. Auliya, One who is very near. proteges of Allah, or holy men, e.g. 10/63: "Are not, verily, friends (Auliya) of God they on whom there is no fear?"

Wali Shah: A *qalandar* who lived at Devasar in Kashmir, his spirituality captivated even the Dogra ruler, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who became his great devotee. He died in 1281/1864-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 478.

Wali, Shaikh: He was the son of Shaikh Yusuf Chisti and was initiated as a Chistiyya by Shaikh Salim Chisti.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f, 309b.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, 447.

Wali Muhammad, Shaikh: An uncle of Shaikh Lashkar Muhammad 'Arif, he was born in the Champaner fort. Formerly a disciple of Shaikh Qutb-i Jahan Zakir of Naharwala, he was later initiated into the Shattariyya order by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus at Ahmedabad. He migrated to Burhanpur in 982/1574-5 and died there five years later. Anchored in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he perceived the Essence "as veiled in attributes of every particle of the universe".

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 316-17.

Wali-i madarzad: A born friend or protege of God.

Wali Shattari, Shaikh: He was a disciple of Shaikh Buddhan Shattari (d. 921/1515-16). He lived in Bidauli and died in 959/1549. His disciple was Amir Saiyid 'Ali Qiwam.

Rizvi, *Sufism*,II, 155.

Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur: Compiled by Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad in 1913-14, it is based on oral and written information regarding the kingdom of Bijapur and its Sufis. The author, Collector in the principality of the Nizam of Hyderabad in Raichur District, had access to almost all sources and published his work in gazetteer form.

Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur, Urdu lith. (3 vols., Agra, 1915).

Waqt: Time. Much has been said about *waqt* by several Sufis of venerable disposition. A Sufi becomes independent of the past and the future, when "an influence from God descends into his soul and makes his heart collected (*mujtami*)". The Sufi concept of time has been eloquently discussed in authoritative works on *tasawwuf*, e.g. *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif, Ar-Rasa'il al-Qushairiya, Kashaf al-Mahjub*, etc.

Mohammad Ishaq Khan, "Reflections on Time and History vis-à-vis the Qur'an", *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. XXI, July-September 1998, no. 3, pp. 7-14.

——"Samad and Dahar: The Changeless and the Changing", *The Indian Express*, Delhi, 12 September 2002.

Al-waqtu'd-da'im: Everlasting time. A Sufi term for the extent of the existence of the Eternal One.

Waris Shah: Born in the village of Jandyala Sher Khan near Gujranwala, he studied at Qasur under Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza. Waris Shah was a Chistiyya Sufi who re-versified the popular Panjabi folk-story Hir-Ranjha in 1180/1766.

Mumtaz Hasan, ed., *The Adventures of Hir and Ranjha*, London, 1973.

wasl: "Meeting; union." A Sufi term used for the seventh stage in the spiritual journey, when the mystic sees the Divine One face to face. The stage previous to *fana*, or extinction in the essence of the Eternal One.

Watur Thakur: Belonging to the wealthy and influential family of Thakurs in Kashmir, he once suddenly turned mad. However, he regained consciousness on being brought before Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Rishi. Subsequently he was initiated in the Rishi order. The hagiographers eulogize the ascetic virtues of Watur Thakur. His resting place lies near the tomb of his *murshid* at 'Aishmuqam in Kashmir.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 116-17.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, f. 43a.

Wahhab, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50, ff. 174b-175ab.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp.279-80.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31, pp. 762-5.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 122.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 121.

Wazir Shah: He was born with a silver spoon in mouth but divorced his wife and renounced the riches. As an ascetic he found great delight in visiting the hills and meadows and, not unoften, resorted to *chillas* all alone on the mountains. Notwithstanding his austerities, he wore costly clothes and rode bedecked horses. Each day he would spend 2 to 3 rupees and never accepted any *nazr* or gift from people. He died in 1282/1865-6 and was buried in the compound of Zain 'Ali Dhar. Although the sources do not mention his *murshid*, it is most likely that he belonged to the Kubrawiyya order.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 397.

wazifa: From wazf, a daily ration of food. A term used for regular repetition of the Qur'an or a portion of it, or for repeating certain prayers preserved in various religious compilations.

Waziru'd-Din: His ancestors were in the service of the sultans of Delhi. A contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, his brother, Malik Zainu'd-Din, enjoyed the patronage of the Sultan. Waziru'd-din did not marry; nor did he join the government service. Instead he assisted his brother in his philanthropic mission.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 389-92.

wilayat: Nafhatu'l-Unus quoted by Baba Dawud Khaki, states that *wilayat* means nearness. It is of two kinds viz., *wilayat-i 'ama* and *wilayat-i khasa*. While the first kind of *wilayat* is shared by all true believers (*muminan*), the other is exclusively reserved for *wasilan-arbab-i saluk*. In the latter category a *salik* annihilates himself in the way of God, in the hope of reaching *baqa*. The three distinctive characteristics of the *wilayat-i khasa*, attractive appearance, attractive speech, and attractive deeds, explains Khaki, marked the personality of Baba Hardi Rishi.

Khaki, *Rishi-nama* (PGMK), ff. 94ab.

Wirdu'l-Muridin: Written by Baba Dawud Khaki of the Suhrawardiyya order in Kashmir, it deals with the biography of his *pir*, Shaikh Hamza Kashmiri (d. 1576). The work, written in metre, is highly euologistic. An Urdu translation of this work with a commentary by the venerable scholar Maulana Saiyid Muhammad Qasim Bukhari was published by Hamdard Book Depot, Srinagar in 1982 under the title *Taju'l-'Arifin*.

Women Sufis of Kashmir: Kashmir is only region in South Asia which has a deep-rooted tradition about the spirituality of women. The elevation of Lal Ded to Maryam-i Makani, Rabi'a Sani, *'arifa* and so on in the Persian hagiographical literature explodes the myth about the lower status of women in Islam. Furthermore, most female Sufis of the Valley were converts to Islam. Their glorification in the Persian sources points to the estimation in which they were held by the folk. Unlike Bibi Jamal and Jahan Ara Begum—the only known female Sufis during the Mughal period—the Kashmiri women Sufis were able to develop close contacts with the commoners. See Behat Bibi or Dehat Bibi, Shanga Bibi or Yawan Maech, Sham Ded, Dehat Bibi, Behat Bibi, Sanga Bibi, Sala Bibi I, Sala Bibi I.

Wudu'du'llah Shattari, Shaikh: Also known as Shaikh Lad, he was the son of Shaikh Ma'ruf Siddiqi. As a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, it took him twelve years to learn the secrets of *zikr* and master the technique of the *da'wat-i sama'* under the guidance of his *pir*. He settled in Ashta, a Malwa village, following his *pir's* departure for Gujarat. He enrolled many Afghans as his disciples in the region whose dispersal in the wake of Akbar's conquest of Malwa in 968/1516 led to his migration to the independent sultanate of Khandesh. He died in 993/1585 at the ripe age of over a hundred.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 354-5.

Wujudiyya: Written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, this treatise expounds the author's own views about Sufism in relation to the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Wujudu'l-'Ashiqin: The, 1858 It was written by Gisu Daraz; the author believed in the traditional Chisti concept of the unity of love, lover and the Beloved.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, 255.

Wusi Sahib: He was an eminent Sufi of the Naqshbandiyya order in Kashmir. See Mir Saiyid Muhammad Amin.

Wutu, Shaikh: He belonged to the Shuryani tribe inhabiting the region around Peshawar and Qasur (near Lahore). The Afghan tribe of Shuryanis, like that of the Khweshgis, was devoted to the Chistiyyas. Son of Shura bin Khweshgi, Wuttu was a real seeker after the truth. After visiting a number of Sufis, he finally found his *pir* in the person of Khwaja Maudud Chisti in Chisht. He lived in Wutu for forty years after his initiation in the Chistiyya order.

Before his death in 577/1181-2, Khwaja Maudud appointed Shaikh Wutu *khalifa* and advised him to return to his ancestral home. However, after spending some years at his *pir's* mausoleum, he went to Peshawar. True, the Afghans did not initially acknowledge him as a *pir*. But he made his presence felt as the Great Pir (*Pir-i Kibar*) among the tribesmen within no time. So great was the impact of Shaikh Wutu on the Khweshgi Afghans that for a considerable period they remained devoted to the Chistiyya order under the spiritual leadership of his successors.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, II, p. 292.

Yy

Ya Hu: “O He!” that is, “O God!” An exclamation often recited by *dervishes* or Sufis in their religious *zikrs*.

Yahya Dihlawi, Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din: A contemporary of Khwaja Mu‘inu'd-Din Chisti, his inner piety and devotion to God evokes the praise of Ghausi-i Shattari. He is entombed in Delhi.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), p. 36.

Yahya Madani, Shaikh: Son of Shaikh Mahmud bin Shaikh Muhammad Chisti, he was born on 20 Ramazan 1010/14 January 1602. His original name was Shaikh Abu Yusuf Yahya, but became famous as Miyan Shaikh Yahya Chisti of Gujarat. Before dedicating himself to the cause of the Chistiyya order, he had served the army. What, however, forced him to relinquish military service was his disgust with fellow soldiers who plundered local villages for food. Having preferred hunger to pillage, he finally succeeded his grandfather in his spiritual mission after the latter's death in 1040/1630.

Miyan Shaikh Yahya commanded the respect of Aurangzeb in spite of his indifferent attitude to the future ruler of India. He repeatedly refused to grant him interviews when he was the governor of Gujarat (February 1645-January 1647). But when Aurangzeb ultimately succeeded in personally meeting the Shaikh, the latter's reply to his request for advice on how to promote the cause of Islam was somewhat evasive, indicating that Islam would progress naturally without help. Notwithstanding this, Aurangzeb used to send Rs. 200 to the Shaikh. On assuming royal authority, Aurangzeb increased the amount to Rs. 1,000 per annum.

Shaikh Yahah was fond of the *sama‘* and organized assemblies for the recitals of *maulud*. His passion for such gatherings was not popular with the *muhtasib* of Gujarat. When the *muhtasib* wanted to enforce the imperial commands regarding music, the Shaikh resisted. He advised his disciples to confront the official machinery without any fear, and subsequently lodged a written complaint with the emperor. Consequently, Aurangzeb ordered the governor, Raja Jaswant Singh, and other high officers to advise the *muhtasib* to be cautious in regard to religious issues of controversial nature. Not only did the Mughal officers express regrets to the Shaikh on behalf of Aurangzeb but they also gifted him one thousand rupees and four *tolas* of gold.

Although the Shaikh had performed *hajj* earlier, he left India for good, following his mother's death. While living in Mecca and Medina alternately, his seminaries in these cities became the rendezvous of Indian pilgrims and Sufis. Not a few Indians received initiation in the Chistiyya order in Mecca and Medina, thanks to the inspiring influence of Shaikh Yayah.

Shaikh Yahya rendered meritorious service to the cause of Sufism in Mecca and Medina for fourteen years. He was deservedly regarded as the greatest Chistiyya *pir* of his time. His illustrious disciple was Shah Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi (d. 1142/1729).

Shaikh Yahya died on 28 Safar 1101/11 December 1689.

Mira't-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 79-83.

yaqin: Belief; true faith.

al-yaqin: The certainty. A term which implies belief, sure knowledge, and which occurs in the Qur'an to express the hour of death. Sufis say, on the basis of the Qur'an, that there are three degrees of spiritual knowledge: *'Ilmu'l-Yaqin*, that which a man apprehends with his intellectual faculties. *'Ainu'l-Yaqin*, that which he sees with the eye. *Ḥaqqu'l-Yaqin*, that which he fully embraces with the heart; the highest form of spiritual knowledge, especially of the Unity of God.

Yaqub, Khwaja: The youngest son of Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar. Well-known for his generosity and sociability, the Khwaja chose the life of a *malamati*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 138.

Yar Muhammad, Shaikh: His ancestral home was Taliqan near Balkh. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi initiated him as a Naqshbandiyya. After performing *hajj*, he returned to India in 1046/1636-7. So moved was he by Maulana Rumi's verses on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* that he was often overcome with ecstasy. Some of the letters of the Mujaddid are also addressed to him. Just before he was preparing a note on his *pir* for inclusion in the *Hazaratu'l-Quds*, Yar Muhammad breathed his last at Agra.

Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani, Urdu tr., pp. 308-9.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, Urdu tr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, pp. 323-4.

Yasin, Shaikh: A disciple of the Qadiriyya Sufi Shaikh Taiyib of Banaras, he was born in 1022/1613-14. He moved between Banaras, Jaunpur and Kora. He authored a biographical dictionary of Sufis under the title the *Manaqibu'l-'Arifin*.

'Abdu'l-Ha'i, *Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, V, Hyderabad, 1955-7, p. 434.

Yasman Rishi: He was the brother of Khalasman Rishi. Known for his renunciation and association with the wild animals of the forests, Yasman belongs to the category of Rishis whose antecedents are doubtful. Yet later Persian sources take pride in calling such Rishis Muslims, on the strong folk beliefs about their past history.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 111-12.

Yawan Shaikh: He received his early education in *suluk* from Mir 'Ali Khan Chewdari's son, Mir Hasan. Later he went to India and received initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order from Khwaja Khwurd's son, Khwaja Ziau'd-Din. After returning to Kashmir, he resorted to numerous *chillas* on the hill of Ustarwan. He is entombed in the compound of the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshband in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 317.

yoga: The power of devotion, the power or strength derived from continued abstract meditation.

yogi: One who practices penance by undergoing all sorts of physical mortification; one who is well-versed in the practice of *yoga* in particular.

Yusuf Barki, Shaikh: He belonged to Barka, situated between Kabul and Qandahar. Although affiliated to some other order before his initiation as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he was in correspondence with the latter about his spiritual experiences. The Mujaddid's thoughtful response prompted him to visit Sirhind and seek his discipleship. He worked as a missionary of the Mujaddid in Jalandhar in the neighbourhood of Barka and died there in 1034/1624-5.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 379-81.

Hazaratu'l-Quds, pp. 362-6.

Yusuf Budh, Shaikh: He was a disciple of the Chistiyya Sufi of Iraj, Khwaja Ikhtiyaru'd-Din 'Umar (d. 809/1406). A poet and a prose writer, the Shaikh translated Ghazzali's *Minhaju'l 'Abidin* into Persian. Later Saiyid Jalal Bukhari and Shaikh Raju Quttal initiated him into the Suhrawardiyya order. In spite of his affiliation to the Suhrawaridyya order, he was fond of *sama'* and breathed his last while absorbed in a performance of a *sama'*. He died in 834/1430-1. Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Mandwi raised a magnificent dome over his tomb. His prominent disciple was Muhammad Bihamand Khani, author of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 277.

Ma'riju'l-Wilayat, f. 214a.

Yusuf Chisti, Shaikh: He was a leading disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti.

Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat (R), f, 309b.

Khazinatu'l-Asfiya, I, 447.

Yusuf Husaini, Saiyid: Son of Saiyid Jamal Husaini, his ancestors came to India from Mashhad and settled in Multan. During the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq the Saiyid left Multan for Delhi in the capacity of a soldier. In recognition of Saiyid Yusuf Husain's piety and knowledge, the Sultan appointed him a teacher in a *madrasah* founded by him near Hauz-i 'Ala'i.

It is said that Saiyid Yusuf Husaini used to have the vision of the Prophet every Thursday night. He wrote a commentary on Qazi Nasiru'd-Din Baizawi's famous book *Lubu'l-Lubab fi 'ilmu'l-'Araab*. He also wrote a commentary on another noted work *Kitab-i Magar* under the title *Tawyihu'l-Afkar*. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Yusuf Husaini was the pupil of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din who in his turn, was the student of Maulana Qutbu'd-Din Razi. He died in 790/1388 and is entombed in Hauz-i 'Ala'i.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 269.

Yusuf Kashmiri, Hajji: He was initiated as a Naqshbandiyya by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The Mujaddid's letter to his Kashmiri disciple expounded his ideas on *nazar bar qadam* and *hosh dar dam*.

Maktubat, I, no. 295.

Yusuf Rishi: He was a disciple of Baba Loli Hajji, a contemporary of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. Baba Kamal refers to him as the latter's contemporary. Yet Hasan describes him as a friend of Baba

Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, and the dates cannot reconcile. He is said to have passed sleepless nights and observed fasts for 12 years. During this period he ate only turnips. He is entombed at Chrar-i Sharif.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 133.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, p. 222.

Yusuf Samarqandi, Maulana: First enrolled as his disciple by Khwaja Baqi Billah who later put him under the spiritual guidance of the Mujaddid. He died during the lifetime of his *pir*, the Mujaddid.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, pp. 367-8.

Yusuf Shah: He was a descendant of Shah Abul Baqa. He excelled in exoteric knowledge. From Karam Shah Shahabadi, he obtained spiritual guidance and made his mark as a God-fearing, pious and disciplinarian Sufi particularly punctilious about time. He died on 17 Rabi'u's-Sani 1306/ 21 December 1888 and is buried at Bozgar *mohalla* in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 99.

Yusuf Shah: Little is known about him save that he was a close companion of Hakim Shah Majzub and lies buried near his tomb at Hawal in Srinagar.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 470.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 334.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), pp. 347-4.

Z z

Zada Sulaiman Sa'du'd-Din, Mustaqim: He translated the Mujaddid's letters into Turkish in the eighteenth century, which were published in 1277/1860-1 in Istanbul.

Rizvi, *Sufism,* II, 342.

Zadu'l-Muttaqin fi suluk tariqu'l-yaqin: Written in 1003/1594-5 by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, this biography of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi and his pupil Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab bin Waliu'llah Muttaqi settled in Mecca, provides glimpses into the links between such forces of India and Hejaz as profoundly influenced the religious and intellectual life of Muslims of South Asia. MS. Raza Library Rampur, British Musuem.

Zadu'l-Musafirin (Provisions for Travellers on the Sufi Path): Authored by Amir Husain, it imitates both Sana'i's *Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqa* and the *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz.

Ethe, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office.*

Zafar Baba Hamadani: He was the son of Baba Qutbu'd-Din Haqqani who, in his turn, was the grandson of Shah Qasim Haqqani. Diddamari praises his manifold qualities as a Sufi of the Kubrawiyya order belonging to Kashmir. He died in 1119/1707.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 366.

zahid: Abstinent; continent. An ascetic person.

zahir: Outward, exterior, manifest. A word much used in Muslim theology to express that which is manifest, as distinguished from *batin* (interior) or *khafi* (that which is hidden).

Az-Zahir: The Manifest, is one of the Attributes of God in the Qur'an.

Zain Badr 'Arabi, Shaikh: He was a close disciple of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Manyari. In 769/1367-8, he compiled a collection of 151 letters of the Shaikh, addressed to a number of important disciples as well as Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's sons, Qazi Husamu'd-Din, Qutbu'd-Din, 'Abdu'l Malik, and Fakhru'd-Din. Two letters were addressed to Dawar Malik, a son-in-law of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, and two to Sultan Firuz. See Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, Shaikh.

Zain Muqbil, Saiyid: He came to Bijapur from Arabia during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). The Sufi order to which he was affiliated to is not known, though his date of death is recorded as AD 1718.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, p. 197.

Zainu'l-'Abdidin, Saiyid: He was the second son of the the Qadiriyya Sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani (d.940/) of Uch.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 361.

Zakhiratu'l-Khawanin: Written by Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, this is an important biographical account of the Mughal nobles from the reign of Akbar to 1061/1650-1. Being devoted to many contemporary Sufis, he mentions them reverentially. MS. copies of the work are rare, but the Pakistan Historical Society has published it in three volumes.

zakir: One who remembers God by reciting His names and praises. The reciter of a *zikr*.

Al-Zamaskhshari, Abu'l Qasim Mahmud: He was an Iranian from Khwarazm who is famous for his commentary on the Qur'an entitled *al-Kashshaf an Haqa'iq al-Tanzil*. Completed in 1134, notwithstanding a Mu'tazila bias, the commentary has always been popular with the standard-bearers of the *Shari'ah*. Zamakshari stressed both the grammatical perfections and the rhetorical beauty of the Qur'an. As a scholar of grammar between 1119-21 he wrote the famous work, *al-Mufassal*. Significantly, however, the commentary of al-Zamakshari did not find favour with some learned Sufis. Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, f. 114b), a Sufi of the Chistiyya order, for example, who had himself spent many years mastering the works of *Fiqh*, was of the view that such eminent commentators as Zamakshari had been unable to fathom the spiritual dimension of the Qur'an because of their obsession with irrelevant semantics. He believed that the long period devoted by him to mastering the works of *Fiqh* had kept him as far removed from the real faith as a dog from a mosque. See Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far al-Makki, Saiyid.

zanbil: Literally a basket made of palm leaves, technically a bag hung acround the neck or across the shoulder for collecting food by means of begging. Several Sufis, including Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, resorted to this practice in order to crush their ego during a certain period of their spiritual training.

Zaina Baba Siyahposh: He was a disciple of the Suhrawardiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Dawud Khaki, who was noted for his spiritual excellence.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 217.

Miskin, *Tarikh-i Kabir*, p. 192.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 220.

Zaini Rishi: Sabur and Sa'du'llah Shahabadi describe him as Zaini whereas Hasan as Ripi Rishi. He became famous as Baba Ruknu'd-Din. He was a disciple of Baba Hajji Loli Rishi, a contemporary of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. True to the teachings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, Zaini Rishi himself cultivated land. After the death of his spiritual mentor, he became his *khalifa* at Chrar. Among his many disciples were Baba Gangi Rishi, Baba Miri Rishi, Sahha Rishi, Fasta Rishi and Haka Rishi. He is entombed at Chrar-i Sharif near the mausoleum of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi.

Sabur, *Khwariqu's-Salikin*, RPD No. 230, ff. 37b-38a

Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059, f. 111b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 132-3.

zat: Nature and essence of God. Allah is the *Ismu'z-Zat*, or Essential Name of God.

zawiya: Small modest establishments, centred around the Shaikh.

Zeti Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he was a disciple of Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Zeti Shah Majzub: He belonged to tribe of Chaks of Kupwara and was the brother of Mas'ud Chak. He held the post of *sipahsalar* during the time of 'Ali Khan Chak. Once Zeti Shah was presiding over a meeting of the dignitaries of Regipura. Suddenly, a lightening struck him and he lost consciousness for a considerable time. After recovering from the terrible experience, Zeti Shah resigned his official position and, subsequently, began to wander nude.

Baba Haidar Tulmuli writes that Zeti Shah lived in a cave for twenty years. It was not until his meeting with Shaikh Hamza Makhdum that he found an inner light. After being initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order, Zeti Shah was appointed *khalifa* by his *murshid*. He also remained in the service of Shaikh Bahram Gourtangi, a disciple of Hamza Makhdum, for some time.

Several miracles attributed to Zeti Shah testify to his spiritual status in the hierarchy of the intoxicated souls.

The tomb of Zeti Shah Majzub is situated at Drugamulla in the pargana of Uttar. The mosque and the shrine founded later in the picturesque surroundings attract a considerable number of devotees.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 181.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497, ff. 153a-154b.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 450-1; also pp. 188-9.

zikr: In the deeper recesses of heart and mind (*bi'l-qalb*) and with the tongue (*bi'l-lisan*) means remembrance or recollection. There are several ways of glorifying Allah with certain fixed phrases, either aloud or in the mind, with a particular breathing and physical movements. *Zikr* is intrinsically intended to expel thoughts of anything other than God. According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, ff. 154b-55b), the negative (*la-Ilaha*) aspect of *zikr* is intended to purge the evil of the *nafs-i ammara* and the positive (*il'allah*) is meant to flood the heart with divine guidance. In his *Qaulu'l-Jamil*, Shah Waliu'llah thus describes the *zikr-i jali*: "The worshipper sits in the usual sitting posture and shouts Allah (God), drawing his voice from his left side and then from his throat. Sitting as at prayers he repeats the word Allah still louder than before, first from his right knee, and then from his left side. Folding his legs under him he repeats the word Allah first from his right knee and then from his left side, still louder: Still remaining in the same position, he shouts the word Allah, first from the left knee, then from the right knee, then from the left side, and lastly in front, still louder!"

The importance of *zikr* has been abundantly valued in all Sufi orders considering its roots in the Qur'an (s. 18: v. 24; s. 33: v. 41; s. 39: v. 22; s. 43: v. 36; s. 63; v. 9) and the *Sunnah*. The *zikr* was the major activity of the Kubrawiyya order in Kashmir, so much so that regular attendance at the Khanqah-i Mu'alla seems to have become, for practical purposes, the best index of membership. The social aspect of the *zikr* was of fundamental significance. The Attributes of Allah contained in the *Awrad-i Fathiyya* are still recited aloud in a rythmic manner in the mosques and shrines of the Kashmir Valley.

Zikr-i chahar zarb: A particular method of glorifying God by the constant repetition of His name, by rhythmic breathing either mentally (*zikr-i khafi*) or aloud (*zikr-i jali* or *jahri*). This practice which was specially adopted by the Suhrawardiyyas of Kashmir also seems to have been popularized by Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. In his *Dasturu's-Salikin* the noted Kashmiri Sufi scholar eloquently describes *zikr-i chahar zarb*.

Dastur al-Salikin, ff. 78a; 142b.

Zikr-i Jamil'-i Auliya'-i Dihili: Muhammad Habibu'llah bin Shaikh Jahan Akbarabadi completed it in 1140/1727-8. He gives an account of the Delhi Sufis. He modelled it on the *Kalimatu's-Sadiqin*.

zikr-i khafi: Remembrance of the Creator in the heart and mentally. Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi emphasizes the recitation of *zikr* inwardly as well as mentally (*zikr saethi ratun malay fikr saethi tarus pan*). See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam.*

Zikru'l-Asfiya fi Takmilat Siyaru'l-Auliya' dar Manqabat-i Shamsu'l-Huda: Written by Gul Muhammad Ma'rufi Karkhi Chisti Ahmadpuri (d.1827), it deals with the biographies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Sufis of the Chistiyya order.

Zinda Hajji: He was the son of Paik Ram Raj of the Deccan. He became a *murid* of Shaikh Ma'ruf Sa'du'llah Chisti during his visit to Dahar in Malwa. During his pilgrimage to Mecca along with his *pir* in 998/1589-90, he sought the latter's permission to wear the *langi* or *lungi*.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 98-9.

Zinda Shah: Born in a Pandit family and related to Krishna Pir, he became a disciple of Miyan Manak Shah who later entrusted him to the care of Krishna Pir. Rejecting idol worship, Zinda Pir believed in the oneness of God. Being a *qalandar*, he was an adherent of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Whenever Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar happened to see him, he would prostrate before Zinda Pir.

Zinda Pir belonged to the category of the saints in Kashmir who did not belong exclusively to either Islam or Hinduism but were above the barriers created by the literal interpretations of religions. Since the disciples of Zinda Pir were both the Hindus and the Muslims, both argued, after his death, among themselves whether he be cremated or buried. What put an end to such a row was the sudden disappearance of the corpse from the coffin. It so happened that while the devotees of Zinda Pir were engaged in a squabble, they saw a person rushing towards them. He told them that he had seen Zinda Pir crossing the Drugjan Bridge in Srinagar in a great deal of extraordinary hurry. On being asked why he was running so fast, Zinda Pir retorted: "I was dead. Hindus and Muslims are fighting among themselves. I have run away from such ignorant people." On hearing this incredible story, the followers of Zinda Pir opened the lid of the sarcophagus and, to their utter bewilderment, found only the shroud in it. Thus they divided the shroud between the two parties. The Muslims buried the shroud and the Hindus cremated it. The mosque raised near the tomb of the shrine of Zinda Shah at Rainawari in Srinagar to commemorate his memory has since attracted the faithful for the prescribed prayers rather than for the performance of any ceremonies associated with the shrine.

Whatever the truth about the above anecdote, it brings home to us the reverence that men of God commanded in the traditional Kashmiri society irrespective of the apparent religious differences between Hinduism and Islam.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), pp. 457-8.

Diddamari, *Waqi'at* (US), p. 182

Zinjani, Shaikh Husain: He was a disciple of Abu'l-Fazl Muhammad bin al-Hasan Khattali who, in turn, was a *murid* of Husri (d. 371/981-2) of the school of Junaid Bhagdadi. He settled in the Panjab after its annexation by Mahmud of Ghazna under the orders of his *pir*. Little is known about him beyond the fact that he lies buried in Chah Miran, now a suburb of Lahore.

ziyarat: Visit to a shrine, often the tomb of a Sufi; in the Valley of Kashmir it also denotes a glimpse of the relics of the Sufis caught by the visitors to the shrines on special occasions. The shrine of Hazratbal in Srinagar is famous for being the respository of the Prophet's sacred hair that is exhibited on special occasions.

Ziyarat-i Qabur: (Pilgrimage to Tombs) The practice of visiting the tombs and shrines of the Sufis for seeking their help in spiritual and worldly affairs is a marked feature in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, notwithstanding the opposition of the Ahl-i Hadis who generally believe that the Prophet forbade such visits. The intercessions of the departed Sufis are sought by the devotees through various kinds of rituals prevalent in the shrines.

In towns and in great centres of population, the tombs which are visited as *ziyarats* are usually substantial structures; but in villages they are often the most simple graves, marked by a few flags, and surrounded by a low wall to keep the sacred spot free of defilement. Not a few of *ziyarats* are situated on the main roads or roadsides of some highways. While the *ziyarats* of the Sufis mentioned in this dictionary have been historical places of immense spiritual and social significance, innumerable others not mentioned in the hagiographical and historical records, are frequented by the devotees. True, the antecedents of several such *ziyarats* rest on the strong folk beliefs and traditions; but, by and large, they seem to have been either resting-places of some pilgrims who, returning from Mecca, died of disease or were killed by highway robbers. In either of the circumstances, in the context of *Hadis,* such pilgrims suffered a martyr's death. The natural respect and love for such martyrs gradually turned their tombs into *ziyarats*. Initially, such *ziyarats* were taken care of by some individuals voluntarily or generally by a *dervish* committed to lead the life of renunciation. With the passage of time, a shed raised near the sacred space out of modest offerings either turned into a big complex or continued to retain its original humble glory. Adjoining many such *ziyarats* of eminence, are now found mosques supported by large endowments.

What strikes an impartial observer is the acute significance that tombs as shrines have assumed in both the religious and cultural consciousness of their devotees. The relationship that exists between the people and shrines is not simply of a certain "mystical" nature as opined by some authors, but also of historical consequence. As a matter of fact, a huge network of shrines sprang up in the subcontinent in an essentially Hindu-Buddhist environment exposed to the radiant influences of the spiritual and ethical teachings of the Sufis. Since originally the conversion of the commoners to Islam never took place in the strictest religious sense, it was but natural that the shrines served as cultural mediators between Islam and Hinduism. In the evolution of such a process, Islam became intelligible to the commoners more through their folk medium than through the *Shari'ah* and *Sunna*. What intrinsically gave a vital identity to the subcontinental Muslim societies in their creative evolution was, indeed, adaptation of their ancient beliefs and practices to Islam, not through a process of syncretic synthesis, but through symbiosis. Nothing illustrates this point better than the mosques attached to the tombs or one-time habitats of the Sufis.

The ambience of the Muslim shrines in the subcontinent reflects the role of the Sufis as well as the response of the people who came under their influence. The tomb, in fact, is the central point that attracts huge crowds. An average visitor enters and touches the railing around the tomb; he then recites *fatiha* and seeks the help of the spirit of the Sufi by such exclamations as "Ya! Dastagir!" (O Helper),""Ya! Mushkilkusha! (O Solver of difficulties!), Ya Agha! (O Master!).

This kind of direct communication between the pilgrims and the deceased spirit of the Sufi is common and has earned for them the epithet of *mushrik* from the reformist Muslim movement, Ahl-i Hadis. The main argument put forward by them is that it is not permissible under the *Shari'ah* to invoke the help of the deceased Sufi for that amounts to worship; such pilgrimage is *shirk*. While the argument of the Ahl-i Hadis is not without religious reason, it needs to be borne in mind that the prescribed prayers offered by the pilgrims in the precincts of the shrines, or in congregations, distinguish them from *mushriks*. As a matter of deeper spiritual reality, a visit to the tomb is permissible in the context of the sayings of the Prophet. The devotees, in fact, seek the intercession of the deceased because of their ennobling and exalted spirits. In the blended nexus of their consciousness and belief, the more efficacious way of making oneself heard in the court of Allah is to repent for one's sins and approach the Creator in a state of extreme humbleness of their selves *vis-a-vis* the exaltedness of men near to Allah by virtue of their piety.

The visits of the faithful to the graves have been highly valued in the hagiographies of the Sufis. Significantly, no less a person, than an acknowledged authority on *Hadis* in the sixteenth-century India, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, played an important role in popularizing visits to the tombs of the pious Sufis among the Muslims of India. He would himself constantly visit the tomb of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi in the company of the latter's *khalifa*, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, during his stay in Mecca. His communion with the spirit of the deceased Sufi, recorded by him, is redolent of spiritual cravings of seekers in the Sufi Path. Baba Dawud Khaki Kashmiri considered such visits to the tombs to be in conformity with the *Sunnah*. But he did not favour the visits of women to graveyards, except that of the Prophet Muhammad, which is a *Sunnah* for men and women. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri is reputed to have undertaken the pilgrimage of the tomb of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi along with his close disciples. The Naqshbandiyya Sufi of Kashmir, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, and his disciple, Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, frequently refer to their visits to the tombs of numerous Sufis in the Valley. However, such visits were carried out with spiritual solemnity rather than for the fulfilment of mundane desires.

Ziya'u'd Rumi, Shaikh: One of the celebrated *khalifas* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi in India, he initiated Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Shah Khalji as both disciple and *khalifa*. However, the Sultan did not succeed in his aim in making Ziya'u'd-Din a rival of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya because of the former's old age and senility. Ziyau'd-Din died soon thereafter and was buried on the road leading to the tomb of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), pp. 140-1.

Rizvi, *Sufism*, I, pp. 195-6.

Ziyau'd-Din Sunami, Khwaja: He was a contemporary of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya whose conduct and thought were in strict conformity with the *Shari'ah*. Author of a treatise in criticism of many a *bid'a* called the *Nisabu'l-Ihtisab*, the Khwaja even often questioned the Shaikh on the validity of *qawwali* from the standpoint of the *Shari'ah*. The Shaikh, however, would seek the forgiveness of the Khwaja for his spiritual indulgence, and always showed respect to him.

Nizmamu'd-Din Auliya is said to have called on the Khwaja during his illness. As the Khwaja saw the venerable Chistiyya Shaikh, he placed his turban at the feet of the venerable guest as a mark of respect. But the Shaikh reciprocated by touching his eyes with the turban of the ailing Khwaja and placed the same on his head. No sooner had the Chistiyya Shaikh left the premises of the ailing Khwaja than the latter breathed his last. Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, with tears in his eyes, then highly praised the Khwaja for being the standard-bearer of the *Shari'ah*.

Akhbaru'l-Akhyar (U), p. 198.

Ziya'u'd-Din Zahgir: This son-in-law of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Akbar Hadi, and a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rasul Zahgir, was a Sufi of immense merit who guided many seekers in the Path. On 5 Rajab 1260/21 July 1844 he died and was buried near the mausoleum of his *murshid*.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 393.

Ziya'u'llah, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din: He was the son and successor of the renowned Sufi of the Shattariyya order, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He received a literary and religious education from Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din and studied *Hadis* under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Muhaddis of Naharwala. He lived in Gwalior after his father's death but subsequently left for Agra where he founded a *khanqah*. 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni was highly impressed by his thoughts on Sufism and *Tawhid*. He also refers to an exegesis on the second chapter of the Qur'an delivered by the Shaikh, which was not acceptable to him.

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 387-8.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, III, pp. 121-5; Eng. tr., pp. 177-82.

Zubairi, Qazi Ibrahim: He migrated from Gujarat to Bijapur during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1627-56). He belonged to the Suhrawardiyya order and died in AD 1683.

Rauzatu'l-Auliya, Asfiyah Library, Hyderabad, pp. 220-2.

Zubdatu'l-Maqamat: Compiled in 1037/1627-8 by Muhammad Hashim bin Muhammad Qasim al-Badakshani al-Kishmi, it is also known as *Barakatu'l-Ahmadiyyati'l Baqiyya*. The author divides his work in three parts: the life of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah; an account of the sons and *khalifas* of the Khwaja; and the ancestry of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, plus an account of his father, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ahad. Some interesting information regarding the Chistiyyas and other early Sufis is also furnished by the author. This important work was first published in Lucknow in 1885 and later in Kanpur in 1890. An Urdu translation of the work was also published at Lahore.

zuhd: Abstinence; a religious life; exercising oneself in the service of God; especially being abstinent in respect of eating; subduing the passions. This involves the voluntary abandonment of self. According to Ja'far-i Makki Husaini (*Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867, ff. 154b), what is considered to be unlawful at this stage is a love of pleasure at the expense of service, in this world, and its anticipation in the next.

Zuhur, Baba Hajji Hamid: He was a disciple and *khalifa* of the distinguished Shattariyya Sufi of Bengal, Shaik 'Ala. He took care of his deceased *pir's* son, Abu'l-Fath Hidayatu'llah Sarmast, training him in the Shattariyya path. Considering Abu'l-Fath to be a worthy successor of his *pir* in due course, Shaikh Zuhur transferred the *khirqa*, received by him from Shaikh 'Ala, to him. He withdrew from the *khanqah* life and enrolled himself as Shaikh Abu'l-Fath's *khalifa*. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti also describes Shaikh Zuhur as a *khalifa* of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath Sarmast. According to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, his *pir*, Shaikh Zuhur, was perfect spiritual guide, thanks to his mastery of the Shattariyya technique of invoking the names of Allah (*da'wat-i asma*).

Gulzar-i Abrar (Z), pp. 198-9, 202.

Ghaus Shattari, *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, ff. 70a-70b.

Mir'atu'l-Asrar (U), pp. 1225-6.

Zulka Rishi: A legendary Rishi of Kashmir who is said to have secluded himself in the forest of Dandakvan where he spent his whole life in devotion and meditation. The earliest reference to him is found in the poetry of the Kashmiri Sufi, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, whom he describes thus: "Zulka Rishi of Dandavan, Who subsisted on (wild) fruit of shrubs, Was a true lover to attain salvation, May God grant me the same spiritual power."

Nuru'd-Din's eulogization of Zulka Rishi is not an exact description of a certain historical personality but a profound and illuminating portrayal of sage living in the folk consciousness who was devoted to God. This fact notwithstanding, some modern Kashmiri writers in Urdu, lacking historical perspective and methodology, have attempted to prove the Muslim origin of Zulka Rishi. See *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*.

Zuna Rishi: He was an Uwaisi Rishi who led a secluded life in the forest of Malawan in the *pargana* of Devsar. He subsisted on wild herbs of the forests. Baba Kamal describes him as well as his two brothers, Nuna Rishi and Runa Rishi, as contemporaries of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi. He further writes that even Mir Muhammad Saiyid Hamadani, after hearing about their fame, decided to see them.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24, pp. 366-9.

Zuni Rishi: Nothing is known about him except that he was probably a disciple of Baba Hardi Rishi. He is entombed on a *karewah* in Islamabad, Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 144.

Zuni Shah: Little is known about him except that, as *majzub*, he was a companion of Tuman Shah and lies buried at Kutahar in Kashmir.

Hasan, *Tazkira* (U), p. 470.

zunnar: Belt or cord worn round the middle by Christians and Jews in Persia. It also signifies the Brahmanical thread. While some Sufis used the term for sincerity in the path of religion, the distinguished Sufi of Bihar, Sharafu'd-Din Maneri, regarded government service as years old an infidel's girdle (*zunnar*) of steel.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

ARABIC AND PERSIAN

Abbas Khan Sarwani, Abbas Khan, *Tuhfa-i Akbar Shahi* or *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Dacca, 1964.

Abdu'l-'Aziz bin Sher Malik, *Manaqib-i Hazrat-i Shah Ni'matu'llah*, Rieu, II, 833a.

———*Tazkira-i Habibi wa-tazkira-i Murshidi*, Ivanow, 246.

Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shah,'*Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, Meerut, 1314/1896-7.

———*Fatawa-i Shah 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, Delhi, 1311/1893-94.

———*Fathu'l-'Aziz*'or *Tafsir-i 'Azizi*, Delhi, n.d., Urdu tr., Karachi, 1977-8.

Abdu'l-Baqi Nihawandi Khwaja,'*Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, vols. I-III, Calcutta, 1910-31.

Abdu'l-Ha'i, *Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, V, Hyderabad, 1955-7; Urdu tr., Lahore, 1965.

Abdu'l-Hamid Lahori, *Padshah-nama*, Calcutta, 1866-72.

Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, vols. I-III, Calcutta, 1864-9; vol. I, English tr., G.S.A. Ranking, Calcutta, 1895-9; vol. II, W.H. Lowe, 1884-98; vol. III, T.W. Haig, Calcutta, 1899-1925.

———*Najatu'r-Rashid*, MS, India Office, Delhi Persian Miscellaneous 34.

Abdu'l-Qadir al-Jilani, *Al-Fath ar-Rabbani*, Cairo, 1864.

———*Futuh al-Ghaib*, Persian commentary by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Muhaddis, Lucknow, 1881.

———*Sirral-asrar wa mazhar al-anwar*, Cairo, n.d.

Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, Shaikh, *Maktubat*, Ethe, 1873, Delhi, 1871.

———*Rushd Nama*, Hindi tr., Alakh Bani, S.A.A. Rizvi and S.Zaidi, Aligarh, 1970.

———*Nuru'l-Huda*, Ethe, 1924 (14).

———*Qurratu'l-'Ain*, Ethe, 1924 (16).

———*Anwaru'l-'Uyun*, Urdu tr., Delhi, 1311/1894.

Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, Shaikh, *Fathat-i Kubrawiyya*, RPD No. 50.

Abdu'l Wahid Bilgrami, Mir, *Saba'-i Sanabil*, Kanpur, 1881-2. Urdu tr. Mufti Muhammad Khalil Khan Barakati with introduction by Dr. Muhammad Ayub Qadiri, Indian reprint, Rizvi Kitab Ghar, Maharashtra.

———*Haqa'iq-i Hindi*, AMU MS.

Abdu'l-Wali, "A Sketch of the life of Sarmad", *JASB*, 1924, pp. 112-13.

Abdu'llah, *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, ed. S.A. Rashid, Aligarh, n.d.

Abdu'llah Khweshgi Qasuri, *Akhbaru'l-auliya' min lisanu'l-asfiya'*, Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta, Ivanow, 273.

Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti,'*Mir'atu'l-Asrar*, MS, Rieu, I, 359b.Urdu tr. Captain Wahid Baksh Sayal Chisti Sabiri, Alfaisal Publishers, Lahore, n.d.

———*Mir'at-i Madari*, MS, Rieu, I, 361a.

Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashi, *Maktubat*, MS, Ethe, 1855.

Abdu's-Samad bin Afzal, Muhammad, *Akhbaru'l-Asfiya'*, Ethe, 641.

Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad, al-Khwarazmi, *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, Leiden, 1895.

Abu'l-Fazl 'Allama, *Akbar-Nama*, Calcutta, 1873-87, English tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897-1921.

———*Ain-i Akbari*, Lucknow, 1892; English tr. vol. I by H. Blochmann, 2nd revised edn. by D.C. Phillott, Calcutta, 1939; vol. II and III tr. by H.S. Jarret and revised by J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1948.

Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, *Sukh Anjan*, ed. Saiyida Ja'far (Deccani litograph), Lutf al-Daula Research Institute, 1968.

Ahmad 'Ali,'*Qasr-i 'Arifan*, Oriental College Magazine, 1965-6.

Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Calcutta, 1939.

'Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad, Chisti Barnawi, *Chistiyya-i Bihishtiyya*, Ivanow, Curzon, 78.

Ali Asghar, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, Lahore, 1301/1884.

Ali Muhammad Khan, Bahadur, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Supplement, Barauda, 1930.

Ali Hamadani, Mir Saiyid, *Maktubat*.

———*Darweshiyya*.

———*Siyaru't-Talibin*.

———*Risala-i Khawatir*.

———*Faqriyya*.

———*Mir'atu't-Ta'ibin*.

———*Mihaju'l-'Arifin*.

———*Munajat*.

———*Sa'iru't-Talibin*.

The manuscripts mentioned above refer to the Research Library, Srinagar.

———*Risala-i Akhi*, Raza Library, Rampur.

———*Risala-i Futuwwa*, Raza Library, Rampur.

———*Sharh-i Fususu'l-Hikam*, Sir Salar Jang Hyderabad MS.

———*Zakhirat al-Muluk*, Urdu tr. Muhammad Riyaz Qadiri under the title *Dhakhirat al-Muluk* (Indian edition, Islamic Foundation, Delhi, 1989; Urdu translation by Shamsuddin Ahmad under the title *Zakhira' Sa'adat*, 2 vols., Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar, 1993.

Ali Musawiu'l-Qadiri, *Mishkatu'l-Nubuwat* (quoted in Eaton, *Sufi of Bijapur*).

Ali Quli Khan Walih Daghistani, *Riyazu'sh-Shu'ara*, Lucknow University MS.

Ali Sher Qani, Mir, *Tuhfatu'l-Kiram*, I, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1971.

Ali Sher Qani' Tattawi, *Maqalatu'sh-Shu'ara*, Karachi, 1957.

Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, Tehran, n.d.; also ed. E.D. Ross, etc. vol. I, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1939.

Aminu'd-Din A'la, *Risala-i Wujudiyya*, Deccani MS, Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tasawwuf & Akhlaq no. 102.

———*Risala-i Qurbiyya*, Deccani MS, Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tasawwuf and Akhlaq no. 99.

———*Risala-i Tasawwuf*, Deccani MS, Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, Urdu MS, Tsawwuf & Akhlaq no. 59.

Aminu'd-Din A'la II, *Makhzanu'l-Amin*, Persian MS, Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad, Tasawwuf no. 1722.

Amir Hasan Sijizi, *Diwan*, Hyderabad, 1933.

———*Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad*, Bulandshahr, 1272/1855-6; English translation with introduction and historical annotation by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, Delhi, 1996.

Amir Husain, *Zadu'l-Musafirin*, Ethe, 1832.

Amir Khusraw Dihlawi, *Tughluq Nama*, ed. S. Hashimi Faridabadi, Aurangabad, 1352/1933.

———*Matla'u'al-Anwar*, Delhi, 1293/1876.

———*Shirin wa Khusraw*, ed. Yur Aliyev, Moscow, 1961.

———*The Nuh Sipihr: An historical Masnawi on the reign of Mubarak Shah*, ed. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Calcutta, 1949.

———*I'jaz-i Khusravi*, vol. 2, Lucknow, Newal Kishore Press, 1867.

Amir Khurd, Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak, *Siyaru'l-Auliya'*, Delhi, 1302/1885; Urdu tr. 'Abdul-Latif, Fariheen Publishing Company, Delhi, 1994.

Asiri, F.M, *Ruba'iyat-i Sarmad*, Shantiniken, 1950, no. 249.

Azizu'llah Haqqani, *Lata'ifu'l-Haqqani*, Urdu tr. Ghulam Rasul Bhat with an introduction by Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Haqqani Memorial Trust, Kashmir, 1999.

Baba 'Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin*, R.P.D No. 592.

Baba Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, RPD Nos. 741 and 1108; Urdu tr. Saiyid Qasim Bukhari, Hamdard Book Depot, Srinagar, 1982.

———*Qasida-i Lamiyya*, RPD Nos. 28 and 805; *Sharh-i Qasida-i Lamiyya*, published by Master Assadu'llah Rishi, Kashmir, 1979.

———*Rishinama*, MS in possession of Pir Ghulam Muhammad Khaki, Naibasti, Islamabad (Anantnag, Kashmir).

———*Qasida-i Gusul-i Yusuf Shahi*, RPD No. 1914.

Baba Dawud Mishkati, *Asraru'l-Abrar*, RPD No. 5. Urdu tr. Saiyid Muhammad Tahir Bukhari and Ali Rashid Nazki, Srinager, 1979.

Baba Kamal, *Rishinama*, CA No. 24.

Baba Khalil, *Rauzatu'r-Riyazat*, CA No. 31.

Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, *Nur Nama*, RPD No. 795.

Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, *Rishinama* edited with introduction by Muhammad Asadu'llah Wani and Mas'ud Samun, Cultural Academy, Srinagar, 1982.

Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad, *Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur*, Urdu lith. 3 vols., Mufid-i'Alam Press, Agra, 1915.

Dara Shukoh, '*Safinatu'l-Auliya*, Kanpur, 1900.

———*Sakinatu'l-auliya*, Tehran, n.d., Urdu tr. Maqbul Baig Badakshani, Naz Publishing House, Delhi, 1971.

Ethe, H.E., *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903, 1937.

Fakhri-i Mudabbir, *Tarikh-i Fakhru'd-Din Mubarak Shah*, London, 1927.

Fakhru'd-Din 'Ali bin Husain al-Wa'iz al-Kashifi, *Rashahat-i 'Ainu'l-Hayat*, Kanpur, 1911.

Farid bin Salar, *Rafiqu'l-'Arifin*, Mujibiyya Khanqah, Phulwari, Patna, n.d.

Faridu'd-Din, *Sururu's-Sudur*, Habibganj, Aligarh Muslim University, MS, Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh, no. 1361.

Faridu'd-Din Attar, *Tazkirat al-Auliya*, text & tr. given by R.A. Nicholson, "The Origin and Development of Sufism", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906.

Francois Bernier, F., *Travels in the Mogol Empire*, tr. A. Constable, ed. V.A. Smith, London, 1916.

Gharib Yemeni, *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*, Delhi, 1298/1880-1.

Ghazali, Abu Hamid, *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*, Cairo, 1957.

———*Kimiya'-i Sa'dat*, Lucknow, 1873; Urdu tr. entitled '*Ikseer-i Hidyat*, 20th edn., Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1976.

———*Mishkatu'l-Anwar*, Cairo, 1964, English tr. W.H.T. Gairdner, London, 1924.

Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Ma'asiru'l-Kiram*, Hyderabad, 1910.

Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi, *Riyazu'l-Fusaha*, Delhi, 1934.

Ghulam Muhammad Hadi Ali Khan Chisti Kashmiri, *Manaqib-i Hafiziya*, Kanpur, 1305/1888.

Gisudaraz, Saiyid Muhammad bin Saiyid Yusuf Husaini, *Jawami'u'l-Kilam*, British Museum MS. Or 252; compiled by Saiyid Muhammad Akbar Husaini, Intizami Press, Hyderabad.

———*Khatima*, Ethe, 1856.

———*Wujudu'l-'Ashiqin*, Ethe, 1859.

———*Asmaru'l-Asrar*, Ethe, 1861.

———*Istiqamatu'sh-Shari'at*, Ethe, 1862.

———*Hada'iqu'l-Uns*, Ivanow, 1228.

———*Tarjuma-i Adabu'l-Muridin*, Ethe, 1863.

———*Sharh-i Tamhidat-i 'Ainu'l-Quzat*, Ivanow, 1219-21.

———*Sharh-i Bait-i Amir Khusraw Dihlawi*, Ivanow, 1221-2.

———*Risala-iAzkar-i Khanwadah-i Chistiyya*, Ivanow, 1221-3.

———*Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz*, Ivanow, 1232.

———*Tarjuma-i Risala-i Qushairiyya*, Sir Salar Jang MS.

Gul Muhammad Ma'rufi-i Kharkhi, *Zikr al-asfiya fi takmilat Siyaru'l-Awilya dar manqabt-i Shams al-Huda*, Delhi, 1312/1894.

Habibu'llah 'Abdu'l-Fath, *Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah*, MS., Asafiyah Library, Tasawwuf no. 1420, Hyderabad.

Hafiz Sayed, ed., *Kulliyat-i Bahri*, Lucknow, Newal Kishore, AH 1339.

Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, Ethe, 2846.

Haidar Tulmuli, *Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin*, RPD No. 497.

Hamid Qalandar, *Khairu'l-Majalis*, edited with introduction by K.A. Nizami, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, 1959.

Hasan bin 'Ali Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, Bodleian, 315.

Hasan Mu'izz Balkhi, *Maktubat Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, Shah Taqi Hasan Balkhi MS, Patna.

Hasan Nizami, *Taju'l-Ma'asir*, Rieu, I 239a.

Hashim Khudawand Hadi, *Chakki-nama 'Irfan*, Deccani MS, Idara-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad, no. 93 B.

Hujwiri, Shaikh 'Ali, *Kashfu'l-Mahjub*, English tr. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1936; Urdu tr. Miyan Tufail Muhammad, Lahore, reprinted in India by Markazi Maktaba-i Islami, Delhi, 1979.

Husain bin Wa'iz Kashifi, *Rauzatu'sh-Shuhada*, Lucknow, 1873.

Ibn al-'Arabi, Muhi'i'd-Din, *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*, ed. and tr. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911.

———*Fusus al-Hikam*, Urdu tr. Maulana Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Qadeer Siddiqui, 'Itiqad Publishing House, Delhi, 1987.

———*al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, Cairo, 1329/1911-12.

Ibn Battuta, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, tr., H.A.R. Gibb, Haluyt Society, I, 1958; II, 1962; III, 1971; Urdu tr. titled '*Aja'ib al-Afsar*, vol. 2 by Maulavi Muhammad Husain, reprinted by National Institute for Historical and Cultural Research, 1983.

Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 3 vols., New York-London, 1958; Urdu tr. Maulana Ragib Rahman Dihlawi, I, Delhi, 1987.

Ilah-diyah Chisti, *Siyaru'l-Aqtab*, Lucknow, 1889.

Imam Qushairi, *Ar-Rasa'il al-Qushairiya*, Karachi, 1964; Persian translation, Tehran, 1345/1966; Urdu tr. Dr. Pir Muhammad Hasan, reprinted in India, Islamic Publisher, Delhi, n.d.

Iraji, Mahmud bin Sa'd, *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis*, India Office, D.P. MS.

Isami, Khwaja Abu Malik, *Futuhu's-Salatin*, Madras, 1948.

Ishaq Qari, Khwaja, *Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin*, RPD No. 500.

Ja'far al-Makki, *Bahru'l-Ma'ani*, Ethe, 1867; also consulted manuscript preserved in the Library of Daru'l-'Ulum of Nadwa, Lucknow.

Jahan Ara, Begum, *Munisu'l-Arwah*, Rieu, I.

Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, English tr. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, vols. I-II, London, 1909-14, rpt., Delhi, 1968.

Jalal al-Din Rumi, *The Mathnavi*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, 8 vols. London, 1925-40.

Jamali Kanboh Dihlawi, *Siyaru'l-'Arifin*, Delhi, 1311/1893.

———*Diwan*, Rampur MS.

———*Mir'atu'l-Ma'ani*, Habibganj Collection, Aligarh.

———'*Masnavi Mihr wa Mah*, Oriental College Magazine, XI/I.

Jamalu'd-Din 'Ata'u'llah bin Fazlu'llah, Husaini, *Rauzatu'l Ahbab*, Lucknow, 1880-2.

Jami, 'Abdu'-Rahman, *Kitab Nafahat al-Uns*, Tehran, 1918; also published by, Newal Kishore, 1915.

———*Lawa'ih*, tr. E.H. Whinfield and Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, Or. Tr. Fund, 1906, 1928.

Jili, 'Abdu'l-Karim, *al-Insan al-Kamil*, in R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921.

Jonaraja, *The Rajatarangini*, English tr. by J.C. Dutt, Calcutta, 1898; Persian tr. Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi and rewritten by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, MS, Ethe, 508, Rieu I.

Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi, *Sharh-i Risala-i Taswiyya*, Delhi Persian 1067a, India Office London.

Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab*, I, Calcutta, 1860-74.

Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD MS.

Kharraz, Abu Sa'id, *Kitab al-Sidq*, English tr. A.J. Arberry, Oxford, 1937.

Khwaja Baqi Billah, *Ruba'iyat-i Khwaja Baqi-Billah*, Lahore, n.d; Urdu, tr. Karachi.

Khawja Habibu'llah Naushahri, *Diwan-i Hubbi*, printed by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1994.

———*Tanbihu'l-Qulub*, printed by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1993.

———*Rahatu'l-Qulub*, printed by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1994.

———*Mira'tu'l-Ghuyub*, printed by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1995.

———*Rislatu'l-Insaf*, printed by Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1994.

———*Maqamat-i Hazrat-i Ishan*, Persian Text with Urdu tr. Hajji Pir Ghulam Nabi, Srinagar, 1997.

Khwaja Hasan Qari, *Rahatu'l-Talibin*, R.P.D No. 501.

Khwaja Mir Dard, *'Ilmu'l-Kitab*, Delhi, 1310/1892-3.

———*Urdu Diwan*, ed. Khalilu'r-Rahman Da'udi, Lahore, 1962.

———*Chahar Risala*, Bhopal, 1310/1892-3.

Khwaja Muhammad A'zam Diddamari, *Waqi'at-i Kashmir*, Urdu tr. Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, rpt. Srinagar, 1998; Urdu tr. with notes by Shamsu'd-Din Ahmad under the same title published by Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, *Mir'at-i Taiyibat*, Raza Library, Rampur MS.

Khwarizmi, Husain al-Hasani, *Irshadu'l-Muridin*, Ivanow, Curzon, 433.

Khwushgo, *Safina-i Khwushgo*, Patna, 1953.

Lal Beg, *Samaratu'l-Quds*, Rampur and Sir Salar Jang, Hyderabad MS.

Maulawi Ahmad 'Ali Khairabadi, *Qasr-i 'Arifan*, published in the Oriental College Magazine, May, August, November 1965.

Maulawi Ilah Bakhsh Baluchi, *Khatam-i Sulaimani*, Lahore, 1325/1907-8.

Mahmud Bahri, *Man Lagan*, ed. Muhammad Sakhawat Mirza, Karachi: Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i Urdu, 1955, pp. 15 sqq.

———*'Arus-i 'Irfan*, Persian MS, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, Tasawwuf no. 114.

———*Bangab-nama*, in M. Hafiz Syed, ed., *Kulliyat-i Bahri*.

Mahmud bin Sa'd bin Sadr Sufi Iraji, *Tuhfatu'l-Majalis*, India Office, DP, 977.

Majdu'd-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi, *Sharh Safar al-S'ada*, Lucknow, 1885. Also known as *Sirat al-Mustaqim*.

Mahmud Shabistari, *Gulshan-i Raz (The Mystic Rose Garden)*, ed. and tr. E.H. Whinfield, London, 1880.

Mas'ud-i Bak, *Mir'atu'l-'Arifin*, Ethe, 1854.

———*Nuru'l-Yaqin*, Rieu, II, 632.

Maulana Imamu'd-Din, *Nafi'u's-Salikin*, Lahore, 1285/1868-9.

Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Calcutta, 1963-4, tr. H.G. Raverty, *The Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vols. I-II, London, 1881-99; rpt., Delhi, 1970.

Mir 'Ali Akbar Husaini Ardastani,'*Majma 'u'l-Auliya*, Ethe, 645.

Mir 'Ali Akbar Sher Qani,'*Tuhfatu'l-Kiram*, Lucknow, 1886-7.

Mir Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i Gujarat*, Calcutta, 1909.

Mir Ahmad Shah, *Tuhfatu'l Auliya*, Lahore, 1321/1903.

Mir Muhammad Fazil, *Mukhbiru'l-Wasilin*, Calcutta, 1833-4.

Mir Muhammad Sadiq, *Shamsu'l-Haqa'iq*, Deccani MS, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, Urdu MSS, Tasawwuf & Akhlaq no. 136).

Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir, *Maktubat-i Ashrafi*, British Museum, Or 267, History Department, AMU, Aligarh, MS.

Miram Bazaz, *Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin*, RPD No. 503.

Miranji Shamsu'l-'Ushshaq, *Khud-niwisht wa Nasl-nama*. Persian MS, Idara-i Adbiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad, no. 863.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Rieu, I, 164b; English tr. E. Denison Ross, London, 1898.

Mirza Muhammad Hasan bin 'Ali,'*Mirat-i Ahmadi*, vols. I-II and supplement, Baroda, 1930.

Muhammad A'zam, *Tarikh-i A'zami*, Lahore, 1885-6.

Muhammad Akram bin Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali,'*Sawati'u'l-Anwar*, Ethe, 654.

Muhammad Aman b. Muhammad Rahim, *Safinatu'l-'Arifin*, IOL, Delhi Persian.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, Rieu, I.

Muhammad Ghaus, *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, Ethe, 1875.

———*Bahru'l-Hayat*, Ethe, 2002.

Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, ed. Muhammad Zaki, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, 1994.

Muhammad Habibu'llah, *Zikr-i Jami'-i Auliya'-i Dihli*, Rieu, III.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidyya*, Lahore, n.d.

Muhammad Hasan, *Masha'ikh-i Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya*, Lahore, n.d.

Muhammad Hashim Badakshani, *Zubdatu’l-Muqamat*, Lucknow, 1885.

Muhammad Hashim Badakshani, *Zubdatu’l-Maqamat* or *Barakatu’l-Ahmadiyyati’l Baqiyya*, Kanpur, 1890.

Muhammad Husain Muradabadi, *Anwaru’l-‘Arifin*, Lucknow, 1876.

Muhammad Husain Qadiriya, *Futuhat-i Qadiri*, RPD No. 30.

Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi,*Rauzatu’l-Auliya, Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dar al-Zafar Bijapur*, MS, Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad, Tazkira no. 266.

———*Basatin al-Salatin*, Persian lighograph, Hyderabad, Saiyid Press, 1892-93.

Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi, *Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif,* ed. Saiyid Sharafat Naushahi, Lahore, 1975.

Muhammad Kabir, *Afsana-i Shahan*, British Museum, MS., Rieu, I.

Muhammad Khan Razzaqi, *Malfuz-i Razzaqi*, Lucknow, 1313/1896.

Muhammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatu’l-Fuqara*, ed. Saiyidda Ruqaiyah, Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar, n.d.

Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, Lucknow, n.d.

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani, *Kalimatu’s-Sadiqin*, Mashhad MS, 7879, Astana-i ‘Aliyya.

Muhammad Salih Kamboh, *Amal-i Salih*, Calcutta, 1912-36.

Muhammad Saqi Musta’idd Khan, *Ma’asir-i ‘Alamgiri*, Calcutta, 1870-3, p. 27.

Muhammad Taqi, *Nafhatu’l Anbariya*, Lucknow, 1920.

Mu‘inu’d-Din Naqshbandi, *Kanzu’s-sa’adat* (also known as *Ganj-i-sa’adat*), MS, Oriental Institute, Tashkent.

Muhi’u’d-Din bin Husain, *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina,* Urdu tr. Latifu’llah, Idarah-i Saqafat-i Islamia, Lahore, 1994.

Muhiu’d-Din bin Saiyid Mahmud Qadiri, *Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda,* Urdu tr. Akbaruddin Siddiqi, National Fine Printing Press, Hyderabad, 1966.

Muhiu’d-Din Miskin, *Tahaif al-Abrar fi zikr-i Auliya-i Akhyar*, Amritsar, 1905.

Mulla Ahmad Sabur, *Khwariqu’s-Salikin*, RPD No. 230.

Mulla Baha’u’d-Din, *Sultani*, Lahore, 1933.

Mulla Nizamu’d-Din Muhammad Sihalawi, *Manqib al-Razzaqiyya*, Lucknow, 1896/1905.

Munshi Muhammad Kazim, *‘Alamgir-nama*, Calcutta, 1868.

Munshi Qadir Khan Bidari, *Tazkiratu’l-Qadiri,* Persian MS, Asafiyah Library, *Tazkirat*, Hyderabad, Jadid, no. 1086.

Murtaza Husain, *Hadiqatu’l-Aqalim*, Lucknow, 1879.

Na‘imu’llah Bahra’ichi, *Ma‘mulat-i Mazhariyya*, Kanpur, 1271/1854-55.

Najmu’d-Din Nagauri, *Manaqibu’l-Mahbubin*, Rampur, 1289/1872-3.

Najmau’d-Din Yusuf,’*Mahbubiyya*, India Office, D.P.

Nakhshabi, Ziya’u’-Din, *Tuti Nama,* Ethe, 743-51.

———*Silku’s-Suluk,* Ethe, 743-51.

Ni‘matu’llah Harawi, Khwaja, *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Mukhzan-i Afghani,* Dacca, 1960.

Ni‘matu’llah Wali, *Rasa’il-i Ni‘matu’llah Wali*, Ivanow, 1239, 1240.

Nizamu’d-Din Ahmad, Khwaja, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, vols. I-III, Calcutta, 1913, 1927, 1931; English tr. B. De, Calcutta, 1913-36.

Nizamu’d-Din Yamani, *Lata’if-Ashrafi*, Urdu tr. Maulana ‘Abdu’l-Haqq, 1-7 vols. Danish Book Depot, Tanda, 1997-2000.

Nuru’d-Din Husain, *Fakhru’t-Talibin*, Delhi, 1315/1897-8.

Nuru’d-Din Ja‘far Badakshi, *Khulasatu’l-Manaqib*; Urdu tr. Shamsu’d-Din Ahmad, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003.

Nuru’llah Shustari, Qazi,’*Majalisu’l-Mu’minin*, Tehran, 1881-2.

Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Asraru’l-Akhyar*, Urdu tr. titled *Tazkira-i Auliya Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1960.

Rizqu’llah, *Waqi‘at-i Mushtaqi*, MS, British Library, London, no. Add. 11633.

Sa‘du’d-Din Khairabadi, *Majma‘u’l-Suluk,*Urdu tr. under the title *Fawa’id-i Sa‘diyya*, by Qazi Irtaza ‘Ali Khan, Sharp Printing Agency, Delhi, 2002.

Sa‘du’llah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, RPD No. 1059.

Saiyid ‘Ali,‘ *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, RPD No. 739.

Shaikh Abu’l-Maali Qadiri Kirmani bin Shaikh Rahmatu’llah *Tuhfatu’l-Qadiriyya*, Siyalkot, 1317 / 1899.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddis,’*Akhbaru’l-Akhyar,*Muhammadi Press, Delhi, AH 1283; Urdu tr. Maulana Iqbalu’d-Din Ahmad, Daru’l-Ish‘at, Karachi, 1963.

———*Takmilu’l-iman*, Delhi 1312/1895.

———*Madariju’n-Nubuwwa,* Lucknow, 1867.

———*Zadu’l-Muttaqin,* Rampur, MS.

Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Quddus, *Maktubat-i Quddusiyya*, Delhi, 1871.

Shaikh Ahmad Chagli, *Risala-i Sultania*, RPD. No. 502.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani,* Urdu tr. Maulana Muhammad Sa‘id Ahmad Naqshbandi, Faisal Publishing House, Deoband, 1988.

Shaikh Ahmad Trali, *Risala-i Lahmiyya*, RPD MS, No. 1056.

Shaikh Badru’d-Din bin Ibrahim Sirhindi, *Hazaratu’l-Quds*, Auqaf Department, vol. II pub. Auqaf Department, Lahore. Indian edition of vol. II was pub. by Danish Publishing Company, Delhi, 1999.

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhiratu’l-Khawanin*, I, Karachi, 1961.

Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari, *Irshadu’l-Talibin*, Amritsar, 1327/1909.

Shaikh Muhammad Akram, *Sawatiu’l-Anwar*, also called the *Iqtibasu’l-Anwar*, MS, India Office Library, London.

Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Riyazu’l-Auliya*, MS, British Museum,.

———*Mir’atu’l-‘Alam*, British Museum MS, Add. 7657; AMU MS.

———*Mir’at-i Jahan-numa*, Rampur MS; AMU MS.

Shaikh Muhammad Ma‘sum,’*Maktubat-i Ma‘sumiyya,*’Karachi, 1976, III, no. 122, 221, 227.

Shaikh Muhammad Sa‘id, ‘*Maktubat-i Sa‘idiyya,* Lahore, 1365/1965.

Shaikh Nur Qutb-i ‘Alam, *Maktubat*, Aligarh University MS.

Shaikh Ruknu’d-Din, *Lata’if-i Quddusi*, Delhi, 1311/1894.

Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Abi Hafs ‘Umar Suhrawardi, *Awarifu’l-Ma’arif,* Arabic Text, Cairo; Urdu tr. Maulavi Abu’l-Hasan, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1926; English tr. Lieut. Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke, Taj Company, Delhi, 1997.

Shaikh Zia’u’d-Din Abu Najib ‘Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi,’*Adab al-Muridin*; Urdu tr. Ghulam Ahmad Biryan, Muslim Press, Delhi, AH 1319.

Shah ‘Abdu’r-Rahim,’*Anfas-i Rahimiyya*, Delhi, 1915.

———*Ifadat-i Rahimiyya*, in *Al-Rahim*, Hyderabad, Sind, February 1966.

Shah Ghulam ‘Ali, *Maqamat-i Mazhari*, Delhi, 1892.

Shah Kalimu’llah Jahanabadi, *Maktubat-i Kalimi*, Mujtaba’i Press, Delhi, 1315/1897-8.

Shah Manjhan Shattari, *Madhumalti*, ed. Mataprasad Gupta, Allahabad, 1961.

Shah Murad bin Saiyid Jalal, *Maqsudu'l-Murad*, Persian MS, Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad, Tasawwuf no. 335.

Shah Na'imullah, '*Ganj-i Asrar*, Persian MS, (Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, Taswwuf no. 134).

Shah Ra'uf Ahmad, ed., *Makatib-i Sharifa*, Madras, 1334/1915-16 .

Shah Shua'ib, *Manaqibu'l-Asfiya'* , published as a continuation of the *Maktubat-i Sadi*, Lucknow, 1287/1870.

Shah Turab Qalandar, *Matalib-i Rashidi*, tr. Maulana Shah Mustafa Haidar Qalandar, Kakuri, Lucknow, n.d.

Shah Waliu'llah, *Anfasu'l-'Arifin*, Delhi, 1315/1897.

———*Anfasu'l-'Arifin*, Delhi, 1315/1897; Urdu tr. Saiyid Muhammad Farooq al-Qadiri, Maktabu'l-Falah, Deoband, 4th edn. n.d.

———*al-Tafhimat al-ilahiyya*, ed. G.M. al-Qasimi, Hyderabad/ Sind, II.

Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asiru'l-Umara'*, II, Calcutta, 1888-91.

Shams Siraj 'Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta, 1888-91.

Sharafu'd'-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafar Nama*, Calcutta, 1885-8.

Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, *Maktubat-i Sadi*, English tr. Paul Jackson, *The Hundred Letters*, Better Yourself Books, Bombay, 1985.

Sher Khan Lodi, *Mir'atu'l-khayal*, Bombay, 1324/1906.

Shihabu'd-Din Nizam,'*Manaqib-i Fakhriyya*,'Delhi, 1315/1897.

Shrivara, *The Rajatarangini*, English tr. by J.C. Dutt, Calcutta, 1898.

Shuka, *The Rajatarangini*, English tr. J.C. Dutt, Calcutta, 1898.

Sikandar, B.M. Manjhu, *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, Bombay, 1308/1890-1.

Sultan Husain, *Majalisu'l-'Ushshaq*, Newal Kishore, 1897.

———*Maktubat-i Sadi*, no. I; tr. P. Hardy in the *Sources of Indian Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, New York, 1958, p. 424.

———*Maktubat-i Bist-u Hasht*, Lucknow, 1870.

Syed Muhammad Akbar, *Jawam'imu'l-Kilam* (Collection of the Utterances of Shaikh Gesudaraz, AH 1356, Kanpur).

Tawakkul Beg Kaulabi, *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, MS, British Museum, AMU.

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, Calcutta, 1931, English tr. K.K. Basu, Baroda, 1932.

Ya'qub Sarfi, Shaikh, *Maghaziu'n-Nabi*, Lahore, 1899.

Yusuf Gada, *Tuhfatu'n-Nash'ih*, Lahore, 1283/1866-7.

Yusufi, *Mahbubiyya*, India Office, D.P. MS.

Ziya'u'd-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta, 1860-2; Urdu tr. Dr. Moinu'l-Haq, Lahore.

Zu'lfaqar Ardastani, ascribed to, *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, Lucknow, 1904, English tr. D. Shea and Troyer, vols. I-III, Paris, 1843.

Anonymous, *Safar Nama-i Makhdum Jahaniyan*, India Office, D.P. 1107 .

Anonymous, *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, MS, Bankipur, VII, 547.

Anonymous, *Sirat-i* Firuz *Shahi*, MS., Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.

SECONDARY SOURCES

'Abdu'r-Rahim Dihlawi, Maulvi, *Hayat-i Wali*, Maktaba-i Taibiyya, Bilal Ganj, Lahore, n.d.

'Mulkpuri, Adbu'l-Jabbar, *Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan*, 2 vols.: Hasan Press, Hyderabad, 1912-13.

Abdul Hayy Nadwi, Maulana, *Gul-i ra'ana*, Azamgarh 1364/1945, p. 111.

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, Maulana Saiyid, *Tarikh-i da'wat wa'azimat*, II.

Advani, K.B., *Shah Latif*, Delhi, 1970.

Aftab Asghar, Aftab, "Elegy Writing of Amir Khusro and the Elegy of Hazrat Khwaja Nizam al-Din Auliya", in *Majallaae Tehqiq*, vol. I, nos. 3-4, Faculty of Islamic and Oriental Studies, Panjab University, Lahore, 1970.

Ahmad 'Ali Khairabadi, Maulawi, *Qasr-i 'Arifan* (*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1965, pp. 182-7).

Arberry, A.J., *Mulsim Saints and Mystics*, London, 1966.

Arnold T.W., *A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures*, I, and III, revd. and ed. J.V.S. Wilkinson, Library of A. Chester Beatty, London, 1936.

——*The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (2nd edn., London, 1913).

Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, Maulana, *Shari'at wa-Tariqat*, Delhi, n.d.

Askari, S.H., "The Correspondence of the fourteenth century Sufi saints of Bihar with the contemporary Sovereigns of Delhi and Bengal", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, March 1956.

Baljon, J.M.S., "The Qur'anic views of Ubayd Allah Sindhi and Shah Wali Allah", *Islamic Studies* XVI, 1977.

Commissariat, M.S., *History of Gujarat*, I, Madras, 1938.

Corbin, Henry, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, English tr. R. Manheim, Princeton, 1969.

Currie, P.M., *The Shrine and Cult of Muin al-din Chisti of Ajmer*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

Dahnhardt, Thomas, *Change and Continuity in Indian Sufism: A Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Branch in the Hindu Environment*, Delhi, 2002.

Daudpota, U.M., "Sindhi Literature" in S.M. Ikram, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1955.

Digby, S., *Encounter with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography*, SOAS London, mimeographed, January 1970.

'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi (AD 1456-1537), 'The Personality and Attitude of a Medieval Indian Sufi', *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. 3A, Aligarh.

Diwana Mohan Singh, "Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Shaikh Ibrahim Aur Farid Sani", *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, February 1938, May 1938 and February 1939.

Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, tr. Joseph W. Swain, New York, 1961.

Ernest, Carl W., *Eternal Garden, Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Centre*, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004.

Faruqi, Nisar Ahmed, "Ameer Khusro in the Presence of His Mentor Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia", *Contemporary Relevance of Sufism*, ed. Syeda Saiyidain Hameed, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Delhi, 1993.

Faruqi, Ziyau'l-Hasan, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, 1963.

Forlong, J.G.R., Letters on "Bud, Bad-a-r and Madra", *JRAS*, 1895.

Fouq, Munshi Muhammad Din, *Tarikh-i Aqwam-i Kashmir*, 2nd edn., Lahore, 1993.

Friedmann, Yohanan, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of his Thought and a Study of his Image in the eyes of Posterity* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1971).

G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1948-9.

Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, II, London, 1971.

Graaf, De and De H.J., "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century", in P.M.H. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton, B. Lewis, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge, 1970.

Grierson, George and L.D. Barnett, *Lalla-Vakyani, or, the Wise Sayings of Lal Ded: A Mystic Poetess of Kashmir*, London, 1920.

Grunebaum G.E. Von and Roger Caillois, *The Dream and Human Societies*, California, 1966.

Habib, M., *Hadrat Nizamuddin Awliya: Hayat aur Ta'limat*, University of Delhi, Delhi, 1972.

Habib, Mohammad, "Chisti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period", reprinted in K.A. Nizami, ed., *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period: Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib*, vol. I, Delhi, 1974.

———*Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, Bombay, 1927.

Hasan, Mohibbul, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 2nd edn., Srinagar, 1974.

Hasan, Mumtaz, ed., *The Adventures of Hir and Ranjha*, London, 1973.

Hughes, Thomas Patrick, *Dictionary of Islam*, rpt. Rupa & Co., Delhi, 1988.

Hunter, W.W., *The Indian Musulman*, London, 1871.

Husain, Yusuf, *Glimpses fo Medieval Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959.

Ikram, Shaikh Muhammad, *Ab-i Kawsar*, Lahore, 1952.

———*Mawj-i Kawsar*, Lahore, 1950.

———*Rud-i Kawsar*, Karachi, n.d.

———, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1955.

Iqbal, 'Allama Muhammad, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Kitab Bhavan, Delhi, 1981.

Ishaq Khan, Muhammad, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis*, Delhi, 3rd edn., 2002.

———*Experiencing Islam*, Sterling, Delhi; University Press, Dacca, 1997.

———*History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*, 2nd edn., Srinagar, 1999.

———"A Study of Ritual Behaviour and its Impact on the Evolution of Kashmiri Muslim Society", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 5, no. I, Birmingham, 1994.

———"*Shari'a*, State and Conversions in Medieval Kashmir: An Assessment of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's Historical Role", Aparna Rao, ed., *Vally of Kashmir*, Manohar, Delhi, forthcoming.

———"The Impact of Islam on Kashmir in the Sultanate Period, 1320-1586", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23, 2 (1986); reprinted in Richard Maxwell Eaton, *India's Islamic Traditions*, Oxford, 2004.

———"The Rishi Movement as a Social Force in Medieval Kashmir", *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, ed. Muzaffar Alam, F. 'Nalini' Delvoye and Marc Gaborieau, Manohar, Delhi, 2000, pp. 129-47.

———"Reflections on Time and History *vis-à-vis* the Qur'an", *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. XXI, July-September 1998, no. 3.

———"Religious Devotion and Politics at Hazratbal in Kashmir", in *India's Religions: Perspectives from Sociology and History*, ed. T.N. Madan, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004, pp. 371-82.

———"Samad and Dahar: The Changeless and the Changing", *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, 12 September 2002.

Ishaq, M., *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadis Literature*, Decca, 1955.

Jahn, Karl, *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, The Hague, 1965.

Jayalal Kaul, *Lad Ded*, Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, 1973.

Khan, Ahmad Husain, *Hazrat Khwaja Banda Nawab ka Nizam-i Tasawwuf wa Suluk*, Abu'l-Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1966.

Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad, *Tazkira-i Ahl-i Dihili* (rpt., Karachi, 1955).

Lawrence, Bruce B., "Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period", *Khuda Baksh Library Journal*, no. 3, 1977.

———*Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Tehran, 1978.

———(ed.), *The Rose and the Rock*, University of North Carolina, Durham, 1979.

Lawrence, Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, rpt., Srinagar, 1967.

Le Strange, G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, London, 1960.

Lewis, B. and Lambton, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge, 1970.

Madan, T.N., ed., *India's Religions: Perspectives from Sociology and History*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004, pp. 371-82.

Makdisi, "The Hanbali School Sufism", *Humaniora Islamica*, ed. Swartz, Warrensburg. et al., vol. II, 1974.

Masoodul Hasan, *Data Ganj Baksh*, Lahore, 1972.

Massignon, Louis, *The Passion of Hallaj*, Eng. tr. from the French with a biographical foreword by Herbet Mason, Bollingen Series, 98, Princeton, 1982.

Mirza, Muhammad Sakhawat, ed., Introduction to *Man Lagan* by Mahmud Bahri, Urdu, Anjuman-i Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi, 1955.

———"Shaikh Mahmud Chisti al-Mulaqqab ba Khush Dahan Bijapuri", *Urdu-nama* (January-March 1962).

Mirza, Wahid, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta, 1935.

Nicholson, R.A., *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1914.

———*The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge, 1923.

———*The Mathnawi of Jalalu'd-Din Rumi*, Cambridge, 1939.

———*A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1930.

———Attar Faridud-Din, *Taxkirat al-Auliya*, text & tr. given by R.A. Nicholoson, "The Origin and Development of Sufism", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 344.

———*Rumi, Poet and Mystic*, London, 1950.

———*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1967.

Niyazmand, Muhammad Siddique, *Haft Ganj-i Sultani*, Uwais wa Qas Publishing House, Srinagar, 1994.

Nizami, K.A., *Tarikh-i Masha'ikh-i Chisti*, rpt., Karachi, 1975.

———*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century*, rpt. Idarah-i Adabiyat-i, Delhi, 1978.

———*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century*, rpt. Idarah-i Adabiyat-i, Delhi, 1978.

———*Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1966.

———"Khanqah Life in Medieval India", *Studia Islamica*, VIII, 1957.

———"The Shattari saints and their attitude towards the state", *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, no. 2.

———*Historical Role of Three Auliya' of South Asia*, Dr. I.H. Qureshi Memorial Lecture Series no. 2, ed. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, University of Karachi, 1987.

———*Hayat-i Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi*, Delhi, 1953.

———"Muhammad bin Tughluq", in Habib and Nizami, eds., *Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanate* (*AD 1206–1526*), People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1970.

———"Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi as a Great Historical Personality of Medieval Gujarat", *Medieval India—A Miscellany,* vol. 3, Aligarh, 1975, pp. 234-59.

———*Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new edn., III, p. 635.

Parimoo, B.N., *The Ascent of Self,* Delhi, 1978.

———*Nund Rishi: Unity in Diversity,* Srinagar, 1984.

Parmu, R.K., *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir,* Delhi, 1969.

Qureshi, A.Q., *Mazhar Janjanan aur unka Urdu kalam,* Bombay, 1961.

Rahim, M.A., *Social and Cultural History of Bengal,* Dacca, 1967.

Rama Krishna, Lajwanti, *Panjabi Sufi Poets,* Delhi, 1973.

Rashidi, S.H., *Masnawi Mehr-o-Mah of Jamali Dehlavi,* Iran/Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, Rawalpindi, 1974.

Riyaz, Muhammad, *Ahwal-u Asar wa Ash 'ar Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani,* Islamabad, 1985.

Rizvi, S.A.A. and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri,* Bombay, 1975.

Rizvi, S.A.A., *Sufism in India,* 2 vols., Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1978, 1983.

———, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign,* Delhi, 1975.

Roy, Asim, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal,* Princeton, 1983.

S.M. Naguib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh,* Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society, III, 1966, pp. 12-15.

———, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri,* Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

Saiyida Zafar, *Saiyid Mir 'Ali Hamadani,* rpt., Delhi, 1987.

Sarwari, Abdul Qadir, *Kashmir mae Farsi Adab ki Tarikh,* Srinagar, 1968.

Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1980, pp. 39-40.

———, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* The University of North Carolina Press, USA, 1975.

———, "Mystic Impact of Hallaj", in Hafeez Malik, *Poet Philospher of Pakistan,* Columbia, 1971.

———, "Reflections on Popular Muslim Poetry", *Contributions to Asian Studies,* vol. XVII, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1982.

———, "Sindhi Literature", in J. Gonda, ed., *A History of Indian Literature,* Wiesbaden, 1974.

———, "A Sincere Muhammadan's way to salvation", in S.F.G. Brandon Memorial Volume, *Man and his Salvation,* Manchester, 1973.

———*Pain and Grace,* part I, Leiden, 1976.

Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Shah-i Hamadan: Hayat aur Karnamay,* Srinagar, 1995.

Siddiqi, Azmat 'Ali, *Malfuzat-i Maulana Saiyid Sikandar 'Ali,* Allahabad, 1317/1889-1900.

Siddiqi, M. Akbaruddin, "The Dakani Inscription on the Amin *Dargah* in Bijapur", *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement,* 1968, pp. 79-81.

Siddiqui, I.H., "The Early Chisti *Dargahs*", in *Muslim Shrines in India,* ed. Troll, Delhi, 1987.

———, "A Note on the *Dargah* of Salar Mas'ud in Bahraich in the Light of the Standard Historical Sources", ed. Troll, *Muslim Shrines in India.,* pp. 44-7.

Siddiqui, M. Akbaruddin, *Bujhte Chiragh: Dakani Adab par Mazamin ka Majmu'a* (Urdu), National Fine Press, Hyderabad, 1966.

Siddiqui, Shakil Ahmad, *Amir Hasan Sizhi Dehlawi: Hayat aur Adabi Khidmat,* Lucknow, 1979.

Sorley, H.T., ed., *Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif of Bhit: His Poetry, Life and Times,* rpt., Oxford, 1966.

St. John, R.F., St. Andrew, "A Burmese Saint", *JRAS,* 1894.

Suhagan-nama, Salar Jung Museum, Hydrabad, Urdu MSS, Pand & Nasayih no. 144.

Sukhdeva Singh, ed., *Kabir-Bijak,* Allahabad, 1972.

———'Qutban's Mrigarat', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* 1955, pp. 452-87.

Tahir Mahmood, "The *Dargah* of Sayyid Salar Mas'ud Ghazi in Bahraich: Legend, Tradition and Reality", in Christian W. Troll, ed. *Muslim Shrines in India,* Oxford University Press, Delhi, pp. 24-43.

Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture,* 2nd edn., Allahabad, 1963.

Tarafdar, M.R., *Husain Shahi Bengal,* Dacca, 1965.

Tattawi, 'Ali Sher Qani, *Maqalatu'sh-Shu'ara,* Karachi, 1957.

Temple, R.C., *The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess,* Cambridge, 1924.

Tirmizi, S.A.I., *Ajmer Through Inscriptions,* Delhi, 1968.

Trimingham, Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* Oxford, 1971.

Troll, Christian W., *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries,* vol. 2, *Religion and Religious Education,* Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1985.

———*Muslim Shrines in India,* Delhi, 1987.

'Ubaidu'llah Sindhi, Maulana, *Shah Waliu'llah aur unki Siyasi Tahrik,* Lahore, 1970.

——, *Shah Waliu'llah aur un ka falsafa,* 3rd edn., Lahore, 1946.

Zaehner, R.C., *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane,* Oxford, 1961.

Zore, Muhiu'd-Din Qadiri, *Taxkirah-i Makhtutat,* 5 vols., Idara-i Adabiyat, Hyderabad, 1957.

UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATION

Adbul Hamid Rather, *Historical Importance of Dastur-us-Salikin of Baba Dau'd Khaki,* History Department, Kashmir University, Srinagar, 1986.

REFERENCE WORKS

Abullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an.*

Maulana Muhammad Shafi, *Ma'rifu'l-Qur'an,* 8 vols., Deoband.

Al-Bukhari, Abu'Abdu'llah Muhammad, *Sahi al-Bukhari,* an abstract of 1044 *Ahadis* in original Arabic with Urdu tr. under the title *Muqaddima Tajrid al-Bukhari,* Malik Muhammad Din and Sons, Lahore, 1936.

John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English,* Oxford University Press, London, 1968.

F.A. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary,* rpt., Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1985.

Mishkat, XXI, chp. IV.

Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency: Bijapur District, Bombay, 1884.

Index

'abd, 13
'Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shah, 14
'Abdu'l-'Aziz, Shaikh, 14, 15
'Abdu'l-Ahad, Shaikh, 14
'Abdu'l-Awwal, Mir Saiyid, 14
'Abdu'l-Baqi Kubrawi, Baba, 15-16
'Abdu'l-Gani, Shaikh, 15
'Abdu'l-Ghafur Azampuri, Shaikh, 15
'Abdu'l-Ghafur Burhanpuri, Shaikh, 15
'Abdu'l-Ghafur, Baba, 15
'Abdu'l-Ghani, Shaikh, 16
'Abdu'l-Ha'i, Maulana, 16
'Abdu'l-Hadi, 16
'Abdu'l-Hadi, Maulana, 16
'Abdu'l-Hai, Shaikh, 16
'Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti, Mulla, 16
'Abdu'l-Hakim, of Srinagar, 16
'Abdu'l-Hakim, of Svandvip, 16
'Abdu'l-Hakim, Shaikh, 17
'Abdu'l-Hamid 'Usman, Shaikh Mustafa, 18
'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis, on miracles, 415
'Abdu'l-Jalil, 18
'Abdu'l-Jamil, Hajji, 18
'Abdu'l-Karim Jilli, 388
'Abdu'l-Karim, 18
'Abdu'l-Karim, Saiyid, 18
'Abdu'llah 'Aidarus, Shah, 21
'Abdu'llah Abdal, Shaikh, 23
'Abdu'llah Akbarabadi, Hafiz Saiyid, 22
'Abdu'llah bin 'Umar al-Bayzawi, 28
'Abdu'llah Chingal, 22
'Abdu'llah Garzayal, Baba, 22
'Abdu'llah Makhdumi, Baba, 22
'Abdu'llah Sayyah Chisti, Shah, 22
'Abdu'llah Shattari, Shah, 22
'Abdu'llah Sufi Shattari, Shaikh, 23
'Abdu'llah Yassawi, Baba, 23
'Abdu'llah, Shaikh Budh, 24
'Abdu'l-Latif Bhitai, Shah, 24
'Abdu'l-Latif Laubali, Shah, 18
'Abdu'l-Latif Qadiri, Shah, 18
'Abdu'l-Latif, Shaikh, 19
'Abdu'l-Malik Qari, Shaikh, 19
'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani, Shaikh, 19
'Abdu'l-Qadir, 19
'Abdu'l-Qadir, Shah, 19
'Abdu'l-Qadir, Shaikh, 20
'Abdu'l-Samad Kan'ani, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahhab al Muttaqi al-Qadiri, Shaikh, 20-1
'Abdu'l-Wahhab Tulmuli, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahhab Wanganpori, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahhab, a Kashmiri *majzub*, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Khwaja, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Saiyid, a descendent of 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahid Banyani, Shaikh, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgarami, Mir, 21
'Abdu'l-Wahid Lahori, Mulla, 20
'Abdu'l-Wahid, Maulana, 21
'Abdu'l-Wahid, Shaikh, 20
'Abdu'n-Nabi Diwani, Mulla, 40
'Abdu'n-Nabi, 24
'Abdu'r-Ra'uf, Shaikh, 28
'Abdu'r-Rahim Kubrawi, 24
'Abdu'r-Rahim Nawachu, 24
'Abdu'r-Rahim, Shah, 24
'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, 25
'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti, Shaikh, 25
'Abdu'r-Rahman Girhori, Shaikh, 26
'Abdu'r-Rahman Mirza Madari, Saiyid, 26
'Abdu'r-Rahman Muttaqi, 26
'Abdu'r-Rahman Pak Naushahi, 26
'Abdu'r-Rahman Qadwa'i, 26
'Abdu'r-Rahman, 25
'Abdu'r-Rashid Maantju, 26-7
'Abdu'r-Rashid, 26
'Abdu'r-Rasul bin Qasim bin Shah Budh, 25
'Abdu'r-Rasul Roshna'i Farosh, 27
'Abdu'r-Rasul Zahgir, 27
'Abdu'r-Rasul, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq Bansa, Shah, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq Pal, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq Qadiri, Shah, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq Ta'i, Shaikh, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Shah, 27
'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Shaikh, 27
'Abdu'r-Riza, 24
'Abdu's-Sabur (Sabr Qutb), 28
'Abdu's-Salam Paran, Shaikh, 28
'Abdu's-Salam Qadiri, 28
'Abdu's-Salam Sagami, 28
'Abdu's-Salam Tak, 28
'Abdu's-Salam Wanganpuri, 28
'Abdu's-Samad Khuda-Numa, Mir Saiyid, 28
'Abdu's-Samad, Shaikh, 28
'Abdu's-Sattar Zargar, 28
'Abu'l-Mu'ti, 32
'Aidarusi order, 41, 370
'ain al-Yaqin, 209
'Ain fi Masha'ibu'l-Haramayn, 51
'Ainu'd-Din Qattal, 37
'Ainu'l-'ilm, 37, 365
'Ainu'l-'irfan, 37
'Aishmuqam, 33, 81, 133, 246, 298
'Ala, Shaikh Muhammad, 41
'Ala'i Qureshi, Shaikh, 41
'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani, 43, 311
'Ala'u'd-Dawla, 311
'Ala'u'd-Din 'Ali bin Ahmad Sabir, Shaikh, 42

Index

‘Ala’u’d-Din Nilay, Maulana, 42
‘Ala’u’d-Din Qureshi Gawaliari, Shaikh, 42
‘Ala’u’d-Din Usuli, Maulana, 42
‘Ala’u’d-Din, Hajji, 42
‘Ala’u’d-Din, Shaikh, 44
‘Ala’u’d-Din-Pura, Srinagar, 358
‘Ala’u’d-Dub ‘Attar Khwaja Muhammad, 42
‘Ala’u’l-Haqq, Shaikh, 42
‘Ala’u’l-Hasani, 14
‘alam al-arwah, 249
‘alam al-Ghaib, 41
‘alam Allah Muhaddis, Shaikh, 41
‘alam al-misal, 30, 41, 249
‘alam al-mulk wa Shahada, 41
‘alam-i malakut, 41, 245
‘Alamu’d-Din Hajji, Shaikh, 41
‘Alau’u’d-Din Awadhi, Saiyid, 42
‘Ali Bada’uni, Khwaja, 44
‘Ali bin Qiwam, Saiyid, 44
‘Ali Khan Ju, 44
‘Ali Khatib, Shaikh, 44
‘Ali Maula, 44
‘Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh, 44
‘Ali Piru, Shaikh, 45
‘Ali Rishi, 46
‘Ali Shah Chisti, Saiyid, 46
‘Ali Shaikh, 46
‘Alif, 46
‘Alikadal, 129, 291, 329
‘Alim bin Abu’l-Hasan al-Husaini, 48
‘Alimu’llah Gangohi, Maulavi, 46
‘Alimu’llah, Saiyid, 46
‘Allama Hariri, 205
‘Allama Yusuf ‘Ali, 13
‘Aqa’id-i Nusratiyya, 336
‘aqida-i Sunniya, 52
‘Ara’is al-Bayan, 52, 88
‘Arab Islam’, 4
‘Arafatu’l-‘Ashiqin, 52
‘Arif Chisti, Shaikh Muhammad, 52
‘arif, 52
‘Ashra-i Mubasshshara, 187
‘Ashur Baig, 53
‘Atiqu’llah Qadiri, 53
‘Atiyaus-Samaaiyya fi Anfasu’l-Hamadiyya, 51
‘Awarif al-Ma‘arif, 54, 171, 412
‘Aynu’l-‘ilm, 54
‘Aynu’l-Ma‘ani, 54, 388
‘Azizu’d-Din Sufi, Khwaja, 54
‘Azizu’llah Chisti, 55
‘Azizu’llah Mutwakkil, Shaikh, 55
‘Azmatu’llah Akbarabadi Sayyid, 55
A‘lapur, 392
A‘zam Shah, 55
Abdal, 13
Abjadu’l-‘Ulum, by Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan, 28
Abraj, 291
Abrar, 29
Abu (bu) ‘Ali Qalandar of Panipat, Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din, 29
Abu ‘Abdu’llah ‘Ala’u’d-Din ‘Ali, 29
Abu ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Ahmad, 52
Abu Bakr ba’l-Faqih, 29
Abu Bakr Haidari Tusi, Shaikh, 30
Abu Bakr Mu’i Tab, Shaikh, 30
Abu Bakr Qureshi, 30
Abu Ishaq Maghribi, 30
Abu Ishaq Qadiri, Shaikh, 30
Abu Madyan Shu‘aib bin al-Husain, 30
Abu Muhammad, 30
Abu Sa‘id Chisti Sabiri Gangohi, Shaikh, 30
Abu Sa‘id, Shah, 30
Abu Tahir Muhammad, Shaikh, 31
Abu Talib, Saiyid, 31
Abu Turab, 31
Abu Turab, Saiyid, 31
Abu’l Fuqara, 32
Abu’l-Fath Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 31
Abu’l-Fath Makki, Shaikh, 31
Abu’l-Hasan Qadiri I, 32
Abu’l-Hasan Qadiri, Shah, 31
Abu’l-Khair, Shaikh, 32
Abu’l-Ma‘ali Chisti Sabiri, Shah, 32
Abu’l-Ma‘ali, Shaikh, 32
Abu’l-Makarim, Shaikh, 32
Abu’l-Qasim Akbarabadi, 24
Abu’r-Riza, Shaikh, 32
Abyat of Sultan Bahu, 29
Acheh, in Sumatara, 28
Adabu’s-Salikin, 420
Adam Banuri, Shaikh, 29
Adavin, Kashmir, 70, 318
Ad-Durratu’l-Baiza, 110
Adhan Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 33
Adhan Shah, 33
Adilpur, 363
Advita tatva, 33
Adwah, 109
Afghan, 368
Afghanistan, 348
Afsana-i Shahan, 33
Afzal Rishi, 33
Afzalu’l-Fawa’id, 33
Agar Shah, 33
Agra, 19, 30, 33, 35, 125, 130, 250, 316, 318, 337, 353, 359, 362, 365, 75, 376, 378, 381, 384, 396, 398, 399, 403, 409, 414, 419, 448
Aham, Kashmir, 344
Ahkam, 33
Ahkam-i Shar‘iah, 33
Ahla Baba, 34
Ahla Rishi, 34
Ahlamar, 278
Ahl-i bait, 33
Ahl-i Hadis, 33
Ahl-i manajat, 316
Ahl-i Sunnah wa Jama‘ 34, 336
Ahmad ‘Abdu’l-Haqq, Shaikh, 34
Ahmad Baba, 35
Ahmad Bada’uni, Shaikh, 35
Ahmad Banuri, Shaikh, 35
Ahmad Barki, Maulana, 35
Ahmad bin Ibrahim, 115
Ahmad Deobandi, Shaikh, 35
Ahmad Hafiz, Maulana, 35
Ahmad Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 35
Ahmad Majd Shaibani, Shaikh, 35
Ahmad Naharwani, Shaikh, 36
Ahmad Nazir, Saiyid, 36

Ahmad Qushshashi Shinnawi, Shaikh, 36
Ahmad Sa‘id Shuryani, Shaikh, 36
Ahmad Shah, 36,
Ahmadakadal, 127, 234
Ahmad-i-Ma‘shuq, Shaikh, 36
Ahmadnagar, 426, 431, 396
Ahmadpura, 197
Ahmedabad, 20, 197, 279, 316, 317, 335, 359, 366, 372, 377, 383, 384, 392, 394, 396, 399, 426, 431
Ahrariyya-Naqshbandiyya Path, 94
Ahsanu’l-Aqwal, 36
Ahsanu’sh-Shama’il, 36
Ahsanu’z-Zaman, Maulana, 36-37
Aiba Bayo, 37
Aiba Rishi, 37
Aiyaru’l-Aqtab, 42
Ajmer, 111
Ajodhan, 63, 370
Akbar S. Ahmad, 5
Akbar Yar Khan, Mulla, 37
Akbar, Emperor, 10, 20, 24, 180, 205
Akbarabad, 17, 55, 129, 242, 291
Akhal, 62, 65
Akhassu’l-Khawwas, 37
Akhbar al-jamal, 37
Akhbaru’l-Akhyar fi Asraru’l-Abrar, 37-8
Akhbaru’l-Asfiya, 38
Akhi Siraju’d-Din ‘Usman, Shaikh, 38
Akhlaq-i Nasiri, 46
Akhwund Baba Wali Zahgir, 38
Akhwund Mahdi ‘Ali Kubrawi, 38
Akhwund Mulla ‘Ubaidu’llah Shahid Sa‘id, 167
Akhwund Mulla Jamal, 38-9
Akhwund Mulla Kamal, 39
Akhwund Mulla Muhammad Muqim *alias* Topigaru, 39
Akhwund Mulla Nazuk Tashwani, 39
Akhwund Mulla Shah, 39-40, 56
Akhwund Mulla Taiyib, 40-1
Akhwunzada Nuru’llah, 41
akhyar, 23
Akram, Shaikh Muhammad, 41
Al-‘Arfal-nadi fi nusrat al-Shaikh Ahmad al-Sirhindi, 52
Al-‘Asab al-Hind, 29
Al-‘Asab al-Hindi, 53
Al-a‘yan al-‘ibniyya, 1
Al-a‘yan al-ghaibiyya, 1
Al-a‘yan al-thabita, 1
Alakbhani, 360
Alangi Majzub, 41
Al-Barzanji Muhammad bin ‘Abdu’r-Rasul, 95
Al-Bukhari, 99
Al-Dahr, 105
Al-Imadad fi Maasiru’l-Ajda, 51
Al-Juzzu’l-Latiffi Tarjamatu’l ‘Abdu’l-Za‘if, 51
Al-Kanzu’l-Makhfi, 158
Al-Kimiya, 188
Allahabad, 130, 174, 386, 394
Allahdad Rishi, 46
Allahdiya Khairabadi, 46
Al-Mashiyya, 207
Al-Nashira al-najira lil-firqa al-fajira, 29, 273
Al-Nubzatu’l-Bariziyya, 51
Al-Qau al-Jamil, 289
Al-Risalat fi bayan qawl qadami, 299
Al-Sair wa’l-Suluk, 14
Al-Sirat al-Mustaqim, 14
Al-Tasharruf li Ma‘rifat-i Ahadis al-Tasawwuf, 453
Al-Tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh al-Nabi, 15, 28, 454
Al-waqtu’d-da‘im, 458
Al-yaqin, 461
Al-Zamaskhshari, Abu’l Qasim Mahmud, 464
Amanu’llah Afghan, Shaikh, 46
Amanu’llah Malik Shahabad, 46
Amanu’llah Panipati, Shaikh, 46
Ambala, 354, 359
Amethi, 201, 317, 347, 414
Amin Dargah, 357
Aminu’d-Din A‘la, 47
Amir Hasan Sizji, 47
Amir Husain, 48
Amir Khusraw, Abu’l-Hasan, 50-1, 90
Amir Khwurd, 51
Amir Saiyid Ahmad, 51
Amora, Kashmir, 318
Amrita-Kunda, 51, 93
ana al-Haqq, 32, 51
Anantnag, 67, *see* Islamabad
Anburhel, in Anchar, Kashmir, 359, 389
Anchar Lake, 67, 359
Andarun, Kashmir, 70, 83
Andarwari, Kashmir, 422
Andarwari, Srinagar, 72
Anfas al-Khawass, 52
Anfas-i Rahimiyya, 51
Anfasu’l-Arifin, 51
Anisu’l-Arwah, 52
Anisu’l-Musafirin, 23, 52
An-Nasa’i, 52
Annemarie Schimmel, 5, 6
An-Nujaba, 52
An-Nuqaba, 52
An-Nur, 52
Antolia, 349
Anwar al-tanzil wa-asrar at-taw’il, 28
Anwaru’l-‘Uyun, 34, 52, 360
Anwaru’l-Asrar, 52, 388
Anwaru’l-Majalis, 177
‘Aqibat Mahmud, 52
Arab world, 433
Arahama, Kashmir, 316, 324
Aran, 67
Arin, Kashmir, 407
Arwat, 325
Asghar Hussaini, Shah, 53
Ashab-i-suffa, 6
Asham, Kashmir, 321
Ashi‘at al-Lama‘at, 53
Ashjar al-jamal, 53
Ashjaru’l-Khuld, 167
Asim Roy, 5
Asiwan, 361
Asma’al al-Rijal, 53
Asma’al-Asrar, 53
Asmau’l hasna, 53
Asnad-i ashghal-i Shatariyya, 53
Asra-i Haqiqat wa Tariqat, 41, 53
Asraru’d-Da‘wat, 23
Asraru’l-Abrar, 53

Asraru'l-Asjhar, 53
Asraru'l-Auliya, 53
Asraru'l-Nabi, 53
As-simt al-Majid al-Jamil-Salasil, 53
Asthanpura, 324
Atit Turk Jogi, 88
At-tibbu'r-Ruhani, 53
Aurangzeb, 5, 19, 32, 101, 132, 202, 210, 248, 253, 346, 350, 399, 408, 461
Avantipur, 113, 320, 232, 317
Avatara, 8
Awadh, 42, 324, 392, 424
Awanpura, Kashmir, 317, 337
awrad, 53
Awrad-i Fathiyya, 54, 62, 185, 312, 389
Awrad-i Suffiya, 23, 54
awtad, 54
ayah, 54
Ayina-i Bakht, 93
Ayyam-i bid, 54
Azerbayjan, 22
Azmat ‘Ali Siddiqi, 203

Baba ‘Abdu'llah Narwari, 15
Baba ‘Abdu'llah, 56
Baba ‘Abdu'l-Latif, 56
Baba ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab, 56
Baba ‘Abdu'n-Nabi Kubrawi, 56
Baba ‘Abdu'r-Rahman Balkhi, 56
Baba ‘Abdu'r-Rashid, 56, 71
Baba ‘Abdu'sh-Shakur Gana'i, 56
Baba ‘Adbu's-Samad, 58
Baba ‘Ali Raina, 57
Baba ‘Ali Yassawi, 58
Baba ‘Ali, 56
Baba ‘Ata'u'llah Guchhabali, 58
Baba ‘Azizu'llah Khatbi, 58
Baba ‘Usman Qadiri, 83
Baba ‘Usman Ucchap Gana'i, 84, 88
Baba ‘Usman, 83
Baba A‘zam Kubrawi, 58
Baba Aadit Rishi, 56
Baba Abu'l-Baqa, 36, 58
Baba Abu'l-Fath Katli, 58
Baba Abu'l-Hasan, 58
Baba Akram Mattoo, 20
Baba Asadu'llah, 58
Baba Ayatu'llah, 58
Baba Badru'd-Din, 58-9
Baba Bahi Din Rishi, 59
Baba Bahrang, 59, 377
Baba Bamu'd-Din Rihi, 59
Baba Darya Rishi, 59
Baba Daryau'd-Din, 60
Baba Dawud Khaki, 6, 61
Baba Dawud Mishkati, 9, 60
Baba Dawud, 60
Baba Dila Rishi, 62
Baba Faqiru'llah Rafiqi, 62
Baba Faqiru'llah, 62
Baba Farid, 62, 63, 393
Baba Fathu'llah Sani, 38
Baba Feri Kashmiri, 64
Baba Firuz Rishi, 64
Baba Gangi Rishi, 64
Baba Ghulamu'd-Din, 65
Baba Gulab Rishi, 65
Baba Haidar Tulmuli, 141
Baba Haidar, 65
Baba Hajji Bahram, 65
Baba Hajji Rishi, 65
Baba Hanifu'd-Din, 65, 66
Baba Hardi Rishi, 66
Baba Hasan Khaki, 67
Baba Hasan Zahid, 67
Baba Hatim Gujwari, 67
Baba Hayat, 67
Baba Husain, 67
Baba Ishaq, 67
Baba Isma‘il Qadiri, 67
Baba Jandi Rishi, 68
Baba Jawharu'd-Din, 68
Baba Kapur Majzub, 68
Baba Lachak Din, 68
Baba Lachham Rishi Sani, 68
Baba Ladi Kachu, 68
Baba Lankar Mal, 68
Baba Lashkari, 69
Baba Lasta Rishi, 69
Baba Latifu'd-Din, 69
Baba Loli Rishi, 70
Baba Luda Rishi, 70
Baba Ludi Gana'i, 70
Baba Ludi Mal, 70
Baba Lusti Rishi, 71
Baba Mahmud Muqim Sultani, 72
Baba Mahmud Qadiri, 71
Baba Mahmud Zahgir, 71
Baba Mahmud, 71
Baba Majnun Narwari, 71
Baba Mas‘ud Narwari, 71
Baba Muhammad ‘Ali, 71
Baba Muhammad Akbar, 71
Baba Muhammad Balkhi, 72
Baba Muhammad Fazil, 72
Baba Muhammad Kazim, 72
Baba Muhammad Mahdi Suhrawardi, 72
Baba Muhammad Maqsud Makhdumi, 72
Baba Muhammad Maqsud, 72
Baba Muhammad Mirza, 72
Baba Muhammad Muqim, 73
Baba Muhammad Nizam, 73
Baba Muhammad Qa'im, 73
Baba Muhammad Qamar, 73
Baba Muhammad Rafiq, 73
Baba Muhammad Safi, 15, 73
Baba Muhammad Salih, 73
Baba Muhammad Shaafiv, 73
Baba Muhammad Siddiq, 73
Baba Muhammad Wali Sani, 73
Baba Muhammad Wani, 73
Baba Muhammad Yusuf Fanbu, 73
Baba Muhammad, 72
Baba Muhiu'd-Din, 74
Baba Muzaffar, 74
Baba Nami Rishi, 74
Baba Nasibu'd-Din Ghazi, 9, 74-5
Baba Nasru'd-Din, 75-6

Baba Nata Rishi, 76
Baba Nauroz Kashmiri, 77
Baba Nauroz Rishi II, 77
Baba Nauroz Rishi, 76
Baba Nazuk Kashmiri, 77
Baba Neki Rishi, 77
Baba Nizamu'd-Din, 77
Baba Nur Muhammad, 78
Baba Nuri Kashmiri, 78
Baba Nuri Rishi, 78
Baba Nuru'llah, 78
Baba Payamu'd-Din, 78
Baba Qa'im, 78
Baba Qadir, 78
Baba Qamaru'd-Din, 79
Baba Qasim, 79
Baba Qiyamu'd-Din, 79
Baba Qutbu'd-Din, 79
Baba Rajabu'd-Din, 80
Baba Ratan, Shaikh, 80
Baba Rati Rishi, 80
Baba Raza, 81
Baba Rishi, 81
Baba Saburu'd-Din, 81
Baba Sadiq, 81
Baba Sadru'd-Din, 81
Baba Salih, 81
Baba Sangi Rishi, 81
Baba Sani Rishi, 81
Baba Shah, 81
Baba Shamsu'd-Din Nayak, 82
Baba Shamsu'd-Din, 81, 82
Baba Sharif Nagami, 82
Baba Shoga Rishi, 82
Baba Shukuru'd-Din, 82
Baba Siman Rishi, 83
Baba Tahir Buchhwari Kubrawi, 83
Baba Tahir Gaani, 83
Baba Tahir, 83
Baba Taju'd-Din, 83
Baba Taz-Din Rishi, 83
Baba Totak Din, 83
Baba 'Ubaidu'llah, 83
Baba Yusuf Aadwani, 84
Baba Yusuf Daru Kashmiri, 84
Baba Yusuf Darzi, 84
Baba Yusuf Shouqi, 84
Baba Yusuf, 84
Baba Zafar, 84
Baba Zahid Nagami, 84
Baba Zainu'd-Din, 84
Baba Zakir, 85
Baba Zeni Rishi, 85
Baba Ziyau'd-Din, 85
Baba Zuni, 85
Baba, 56
Babur, 360
Bachhabaran Darwaza, Srinagar, 240, 347, 409
Bada'un, 15, 87, 152, 410
Badakshan, 24
Badal, 85
Badauni, 'Abdu'l-Qadir, 415
Badi'u'd-Din Madar, Shah, 86
Badi'u'd-Din, Shaikh, 86
Badrakot, 167
Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi, Shaikh, 86
Badru'd-Din Ishaq, Maulana, 87
Badru'd-Din Muy-tab, Shaikh, 87
Badru'd-Din Samarqandi, Khwaja, 87
Badru'd-Din Sani (the Second) Shaikh, 87
Badru'd-Din Sirhindi, Shaikh, 88
Badru'd-Din Sulaiman, Shaikh, 87
Badru'd-Din, Shaikh, 87, Shaikh, 88
Badru'd-Duja, 309
Baghdad, 18, 31, 43, 57, 233, 349, 357, 362, 375, 385, 391, 397
Bagh-i Sulaiman, 85
Baghwanpura, 268, 358
Baha'u'd-Din Ganj Baksh, Shaikh, 88
Baha'u'd-Din Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 89
Baha'u'd-Din Mattu, 88
Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband, Khwaja, 89
Baha'u'd-Din Shattari, Shaikh, 89
Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, Shaikh, 90
Baha'u'd-Din, 88
Baha'u'd-Din, Shah, 89
Bahadu'r Lang, 91
Bahadu'r Shaikh, 91
Bahau'd-Din, Shaikh, 90
Bahawalpur, 99, 123, 126
bahishti darwaza, 64
Bahjat al-asrar wa ma'din al-anwar, 87, 91
Bahlul Barki, Shah, 91
Bahlul Darya'i, Shaikh, 91
Bahr al-Haqa'iq, 91
Bahram Rishi, 92
Bahram Saqqa, 92
Bahr-i-Mawwaj, 92
Bahr-i-Zakhhar, 92
Bahru'd-Din, Qazi, 92
Bahru'l-'Irfan, 93, 239
Bahru'l-asrar fi Manaqibu'l-Akhyar, 92
Bahru'l-Hayat, 93
Bahru'l-Ma'ani, 93
Bairagi, Das Ghanun, 90
Bairam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, 14, 380
Baizawi, notes on his Qur'anic commentary, 139
Bajan, Shah, 88
Bakharzi's conversion to Sufism, 117
Bala'ul, Saiyid Shah, 93
Baldimar, 409
Balkh, 131 205, 215, 261, 276
Bandipur, 363
Bandrpora, 409
Bangab-nama, 199
Bangar Rishi, 93
Bangil, Kashmir, 65, 81, 109, 167, 197, 261, 330, 367
Banwali Das Wali, 93
Baqa Baba Shahabadi, 36
Baqa Shaikh Muhammad, 93
baqa, 2, 384
Baqi Billah, Khwaja, 94
Baqi', 339
Baramulla, 131, 178, 266, 309, 325, 326, 384, 396
Barani, Ziya'u'd-Din, 94
Barap, 64
Barauda, 19, 243, 365, 406, 428
Barbar Shah, 95

Bareilly, 353
Bariku'llah Chisti, Shaikh, 95
Bariqah, 95
Bark, 35, 138
Barnawa, 90, 115
Barthana, Kashmir, 408
Barzakh, 95
Basant, 199
Basharat-i mazhariyya dar faza'il-i hazrat-i tariqa-i *Mujaddidiyya*, 96
Basharatu'l-Ikhwan, 96, 235
Basharatu'l-Zikr, 96
Basharatu'z-Zakirin, 96, 235
Bashi Shar *alias* Basi Sar, 96
Batmaloo, 268, 278, 378
Batwa, 316
Bawariqu'l-Wilaya, 51
Bayan ahwalo-malfuzat Khwaja Khwurd, 97
Bayan Majzub, 97
Bayan Tajalli, 28
Bayana, 151, 423
Bayas, 358
Bayazid Batakzai Chisti, Shaikh, 97
Bayazid Bistami, Mulla Shah on, 40
Baz-gasht, 97
Bazipura, 73
Behat Bibi, 97
Bengal, 11, 93, 132, 372, 376, 381, 385, 392, 430
Berar, 388
Bha'i Ishaq Hasur, 97
Bhagavad Gita, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chisti on, 25
bhakti, 5, 98, 394
bhand, 98
Bhikh Chisti, Shah Miran, 98
Bhilluwal, Lahore, 355
Bhimbar, 335
Bhum Sadh, 59
Bibi Auliya, 98
Bibi Fatima Sam, 98
Bibi Jamal Khatun, 98
Bibi Rasti, 98
Bibi Sara, 98
Bibi Sharifa, 98
Bibi Zulaikha, 99
bid'a, 10, 12, 99
Bidar, 18, 31, 349, 357
Bidauli, 393
Bihamad Khani, Muhammad, 99
Bihar, 341, 385, 411, 438
Bijapur, 18, 19, 27, 32, 34, 128, 139, 141, 153, 199, 226, 243, 254, 291, 317, 349, 349, 370, 385, 447
Bijbehara, 82, 118, 221, 34, 128, 334, 361, 410, 438
Bijnaur, 290
Bilgaram, 21
Birpur, 395
Biru, Kashmir, 56, 78, 92, 317, 323, 335
Bodi Shaikh, 99
Bogra, district, 11
Bola Baba Qadiri, 99
Bota Kadal, Srinagar, 171
Bozgar, 463
Brahman from Kamrup, 51
Brahman *rahib*, 70
Brahman, 11-12
Brahman, Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani on, 312-13
Brain, Srinagar, 65
Brang, Kashmir, 428
Bruce Lawrence, 7
Buchhwara, 184, 406
Buddhan Shattari, Shaikh, 99
Buddhists, 338
Budh Hazar, Jaunpur, 392
Budhan, Makhdum Shaikh, 99
Budhgir, Srinagar, 168
Budi Rishi, 99
Budshah, 99
Buhanu'd-Din 'Alawi, 19
Bukhara, 22, 89, 139
Bulaq Qadiri Shah, 99
Bulbul Lankar, 246
Bulbul Shah, 99, 130
Bullhe Shah Qadiri Shattari, Mir 99-100
Bumu, Kashmir, 385
Bumzu, 103, 110, 343
Burdawan, 376
Burhan Laharpuri, Shaikh, 100
Burhani, 100, 212
Burhanpur, 23, 35, 55, 100, 133, 243, 247, 250, 275, 289, 323, 336, 364, 368, 374, 381, 387, 389, 391, 392, 394, 395, 398, 409, 411, 414, 419, 420, 424, 428, 430, 431
Burhanu'd-Din 'Alawi, 24, 30
Burhanu'd-Din Gharib, 36, 100
Burhanu'd-Din Janam, 100
Burhanu'd-Din Mahmud, Shaikh, 100
Burhanu'd-Din Nasafi, Shaikh, 100
Burhanu'd-Din Sagharji, 101
Burhanu'd-Din Sufi, Shaikh, 101
Burhanu'd-Din, Shaikh, 101
Burhanu'd-Din Kaziruni, 101
Burli, in Hyderabad Sindh, 18
Buruj, 102
Buruj-i Nur, 102
Bustan, 46
But-khana, 102
Buzgarkadal, Srinagar, 346

Cairo, 130
Caliph 'Ali, spiritual meeting with him, 32
Central Asia, 88, 164, 433
Ceylon, 21
Cha'in Laddah, Shaikh, 103
Chaatargam, Kashmir, 428
Chagal, Kashmir, 365, 397
Chaghaniyan, 42
Chahar Shahadat, 103
Chakdar, 68
Chakki-namas, 103, 116, 139, 349
Chaku, Kashmir, 302
Chalak Rishi, 103
Champaner, 384
Chanda'in, 103, 360
Chandanpur, Kashmir, 384
Chari-Maqamer Bhed, 16
Charkas, 16
Chatgam, 351
Cheevdara, Kashmir, 234
Chhatabal, Srinagar, 67, 72, 84, 166, 195, 334, 431
Chhatragam, Kashmir, 196, 324
Chhouna Rishi, 103

Chhukuru, 376
Chichillatu'l-'Arifin, 173
Chihil-Maqamat-i Sufiya, 312
Chihl-Asrar, 312
Chilah-i Ma'kus, 63
Chilchilatu'l-'Arifin, 103, 104
Chilla, 19
China, 101
Chiragh-i Dihli, 104, 412-13
Chishtiyya-i Bahishtiya, 90, 104
Chistiyya-Sabiriyya order, 25, 52
Chittagong, 345, 351, 411
Chittor, 23, 349
Choti Dargah, 104
Chouna Rishi, 104
Chrar-i Sharif, 68, 76, 104, 197, 344, 437
Chrath, Kashmir, 46, 228
Classical Indian music, 87
classical musical traditions, 90
Col. Miyan Singh, 133
Commentary on the Qur'an titled *al-Kashshaf an Haqa'iq al-Tanzil*, 93
Converts to Islam from Buddhism and Hinduism, 7, 362-3, 365, 367
Culture, of diverse hues, 11

Da'im Shah Dervish, 105
Daantar, 127
Dabistan-i Mazahib, 266
Dabur, 105
Dacca, 345
Dachhun, Kashmir, 15, 310
Daddyar mohalla, 126
Dahar, 435
Dakhni, 199
Dalilu'l-'Arifin, 105
Dam Madar, 105
Danamazar, Srinagar, 316
Dangarpura, 56
Dangwachha, 434
Daqa'iq al-Huruf, 28
Dara, Kashmir, 66, 71, 307
Darah Rishi, 106
Dara-Shukoh, 5, 15, 105, 132, 245
Darjat-i Sa'dat, 106
Darnan, Kashmir, 355
Daru'l Qarar, 106
Darwaza Masjid, Mazar-i Salatin, 336
Dastur al-Salikin, 61, 106
Dasur, 362, 376, 435
Data Bu 'Ali Qalandar, 15
Data Ganjbaksh, Abu'l-Hasan, 106
Daulat Shah, 108
Daulatabad, 14
Dawud Palhi, Maulana, 108
Dawud Rishi, 108
Dawud, Shaikh Muhammad, 108
Dawud, Shaikh, 108
Deccan, 196, 307, 349, 392
degrees of sainthood, 108
Dehat Bibi, 109
Delhi Sultans, 4
Delhi, 11, 16, 18, 98, 159, 165, 198, 245, 319, 322, 349, 354, 357, 383, 384, 411, 414
Deoband, 289
Dera Ghazi Khan, 204
Dervish Jamali Kanbo Dihlawi, 135
Dervish Muhammad Ashraf, 109
Dervish Muhammad Wa'iz, Maulana, 109
Dervish, 109
Deta Bibi, 109
Devagaon, 11
Devatalla, 11
Devsar, 387
Dhar Sadhu, 59
Dhar, Malwa, 395
Dharsu, 382
Dhrupad, 137
Diddamar, 265, 329
Din Shah Majzub, 131
Dipalpur, 370, 382
Diti Rishi Baba, 109
Diti Rishi, 109
Diwan Kripa Ram, 255
Diwan, 110
Diwan-i Hafiz, 57, 110
Diwan-i Hubbi, 169
Diwan-i Shamsi, 110
dohas, 23
Drabagam, Kashmir, 373
Drand, 399
Dreams, 110, 139
Drugmulla, 60
Drunkenness, 110
Duchhanpur, 316
Dukan Sangin, Srinagar, 358
Dukan Shri Bhat, 259
Dunat Rishi, 110
Durkheim, 3
Durr-i Yatim, 262
durud, 110
Dushanbe, 16
Dwarka, 24

Eaton, Richard Maxwell, 5, 140
Egypt, 21

Face of God, 111
Faiz al-Bari, 14
Faiz Murad, 167
Faiza Baba Sarafkadli, 111
Fajapura, 317
Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, 238
Fakhr-i Sadat Husaini, 21
Fakhru'd-Din Ahmad Ajmeri, 111
Fakhru'd-Din Bijnauri, Shaikh, 111
Fakhru'd-Din Husain Zanjani, Shaikh, 111
Fakhru'd-Din Ibrahim, Shaikh, 111
Fakhru'd-Din Maruzi, Maulana, 112
Fakhru'd-Din Maulana, 112
Fakhru'd-Din Mir, 113
Fakhru'd-Din Safahani, Shaikh, 113
Fakhru'd-Din, Saiyid, 113
Fakhru'd-Din Sani, Shaikh, 113
Fakhru'd-Din Zahidi, Shaikh, 111
Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, 113
Fakhru'l-Hasan, 37, 114
Fakhru't-Talibin, 114

Index

fana al-afal, 1
fana al-sifat 1
fana al-zat, 1
fana fit-Tawhid, 114
fana, 1-2, 114
Fansur, in Sumatara, 28
faqih, 114
Faqir Madhu, 114
Faqir Rishi, 115
Faqir, 115
Faqr al-Muhammadi, 115
faqr, 115
faraq, 115
Farid bin Salar, 115
Faridu’d-Din Ganj-i Shakar, 115
Faridu’d-Din, Shaikh, 115
Farkhandasiyyar Khwaja Haidar, 115
Fasihu’d-Din, 116
Fasta Rishi, 116
Fatawa al-‘Alamgiriyya, 24, 175
Fatawa-i Naqshabandiyya, 116
Fatawa-i Sufia, 116
Fateh Shah Sani, 116
Fatehkadal, 62, 116, 185, 245, 311, 333, 414, 399, 400
Fath Muhammad Qadiri, Hajji Shah, 116
Fath Shah Sarmast Shattari, Shaikh, 116
Fathat-i Kubrawiyya, 116
Fathpur Hanswa, 355
Fathu’llah b. Auhadu’d-Din, Shaikh, 116
fatiha, 117
Fatq, 117
Fatrah, 117
Fatwa-i Naqshbandiyya, 175
Fauraha, in Kamraz Kashmir, 132
Fawa’id-Razziyya, 117
Fawa’idu’l-Ashraf, 117, 235
Fawa’idu’s-Salikin, 117
Fawa’id-ul-Fu’ad, 47
Fawai’du’r-Riza, 167
Faza’il-A‘imma Isna ‘Ashar, 117
Fazlu’llah Ruzbihan Isfahani, 158
Fazlu’llah, Shaikh, 117
Feast, given by Shaikh Ahmad, 392
Filhal Qadiri, 117
Fiqh, 9
Firaq-nama, 167
Firdaus-i Khayal-i Auhadi, 117
Firdausiya-i Qudsiya, 117
Firdawsiyya Sufis, 117, 167
Firishta, 22
Firuz Baiu, 118
Firuz Rishi, 118
Firuz Shah Sani, 118
Firuz Shah, 118, 119
Firuzabad, 356
footprint, a dome built over the Prophet Muhammad’s, 18
Fususu’l-Hikam, 14, 45, 119
Futuh al-Ghayb, 87, 119
futuh, 119
Futuhat al-Makkiya, 14, 119, 235
Fuzail Naushahi, Khawaja Muhammad, 119

Gachi Mahal, 19
Gamru, Kashmir, 27, 73, 238
Gandarpura, Srinagar, 61, 354, 364, 354
Ganga Bibi, 120
Gangoh, 30, 360
Ganj Baksh, cemetery of, 38
Ganj-i Arshadi, 120
Ganj-i Asrar, 120
Ganj-i La Yafna, 120
Ganj-i-Sa‘adat, 158
garden of apricot trees, laid out by Baba ‘Abdu’llah Garzayal, 22
Gardiz, 348
Garzayal, a village in Kashmir, 22
George Makdisi, 34
ghaib, 120
ghaibat, 120
Ghaibi Shah Mujzub, 120
Ghaibi Shah, 120
ghairat, 120
Gharaibu’l-Ghara’ib, 262
Ghaus, 120
ghazal, 21
Ghazali, 238, 177, 306
ghazi, 120
Ghiyasu’d-Din, Saiyid, 121
Ghori Khan, 121
Ghulam ‘Ali Azad, 18
Ghulam Muhammad Hadi ‘Ali Khan Chisti Kashmiri, 204
Ghulam Muhammad Khan Jhajjari, 204
Ghulam Nasiru’d-Din, Shaikh, 121
Ghulam Qutbu’d-Din, Shaikh, 121
Ghulam Rashid, Shaikh Abu’l-Faiyaz, 121
Ghulam Sharafu’d-Din, 121
Ghurab, 121
Ghurbati, 32
Giru, 381
Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad, 121-2
Gogi, 199, 256, 317, 347
Gogjipathri, Kashmir, 337
Gojwara, Srinagar, 133, 170, 171, 196, 197, 224, 260, 263, 327, 334, 447
Gongal, 123
Gorakhpur, 347, 349
Goripura, 373
Gosain Jadrup, 10
Goshah-Nishin, 123
Gotapura, Kashmir, 268, 351
Gourtang, Kashmir, 375
Gratabal, 195
Guhan, between Kashmir and Kishtwar, 377
Gujarat, 20, 22, 27, 45, 141, 196, 201, 319, 320, 367, 371, 379, 393, 394, 395, 399, 412, 428
Gujarat, influence of Shattariyya on, 23
Gul Muhammad Ma‘rufi Karkhi, 123
Gulab Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir, 153
Gulbarga, 14, 141, 206
Gulistan, 361
Gulshan-i Wahdat, 123
Gulzar-i Abrar, 123-4
Gund Devsar, Kashmir, 336
Gund Ibrahim, Kashmir, 380, 389, 403, 437
Gurgarhai mohalla, 84, 182, 266
Guru Nanak, 387
Gustave Von Grunebaum, 5
Gusul, 124
Gwalior, 19, 68, 402

Haba, 125
Habak, 401
Habal-i Matin, 125
Habaz, Kashmir, 335
Habba Kadal, 186, 423
Habs-i dam, 40, 125
Habs-i nafs, 87
Hadaiqu'l-Uns, 125
Hadi Shaikh, 125
Hadis, 3, 7, 9, 125
Hadramaut, Arabia, 370
Hafiz 'Abdu'l-Karim Basir, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Fatehkadli, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu'llah Sani, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu'llah, 22, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu'l-Latif, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu'r-Rasul Waiz, 125
Hafiz 'Abdu's-Sabur Faktu Baramulli. 125-6
Hafiz 'Inayatu'llah Qadiri, 126
Hafiz 'Usman Harawi, 19
Hafiz Abu'l-Khair Charoo Islamabadi, 126
Hafiz Ahmad Baramuli, 126
Hafiz Dawud A'ma, 126
Hafiz Fakhru'd-Din bin Shaikh Muhibbu'llah bin Shaikh Nur-ud-Din'llah, 54
Hafiz Habibu'llah, 126
Hafiz Hasan A'ma, 126
Hafiz Hidayatu'llah, 126
Hafiz Ibrahim Zargar, 126
Hafiz Ibrahim, 126
Hafiz Mahmud, 19
Hafiz Muhammad Amin, 127
Hafiz Muhammad Isma'il, 127
Hafiz Muhammad Mukhtar, 127
Hafiz Muhammad, 126
Hafiz Murad, 127
Hafiz Rashid, 127
Hafiz Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Akbarabadi, 24
Hafiz Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali Khairabadi, 36
Hafiz Shah Muhammad Qadiri, 127
Hafiz Shams, 127
Hafiz Shattari Jaunpuri, 127
Hafiz Taiyib Mazin, 127
Hafiz Turk 'Ali, 127
Hafizu'llah Khan, 130
Haft-ahkam, 127
Haft-iqlim, 127
Haidar Mazjub, 128
Haidar Shah Buchh, 128
Haidar, 127
Haidaris, 128
Haidarpura, 65
Haigam, 333
Haja Baba, 22, 128
Haja Baba-i Qalash, 128
Haja Rishi, 128
Hajj, 3, 15, 17, 28, 41, 46, 57, 65, 70, 81, 84, 90, 95, 129, 130, 132, 168, 169, 173, 178, 181, 185, 186, 197, 213, 216, 217, 226, 230, 233, 261, 290, 316, 354, 358, 359, 361, 363, 373, 376, 377, 380, 381, 385, 396, 397
Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari, Shaikh, 128-9
Hajji, 'Abdu'l-Wali, 129
Hajji 'Abdu's-Salam Dhar, 129
Hajji 'Atiqu'llah Qadiri, 129
Hajji Ahmad Qadiri, 130
Hajji Baba-i Qadiri, 130
Hajji Bahram, 130
Hajji Fateh Muhammad Sialkoti, 131
Hajji Gada, 131
Hajji Gagan Shuryani, Shaikh, 130
Hajji Gana'i, 131
Hajji Ibrahim Adham, 131
Hajji Ibrahim Muhaddis Qadiri, 130
Hajji Khizr Khan Afghan, 29
Hajji Muhammad Fath Sialkoti, 39
Hajji Muhammad Miskin, 131
Hajji Muhammad Qadiri, Shaikh, 131
Hajji Muhammad Salih, 131
Hajji Muhammad, 131
Hajji Mustafa Rumi Naqshbandi, 131
Hajji Mustafa, 131
Hajji Najmu'd-Din Nagauri, 204
Hajji Najmu'd-Din, 132
Hajji Naushah Baksh, 146-7
Hajji Ni'matu'llah Sirhindi, 132
Hajji Ni'matu'llah, 132
Hajji Nizmau'd-Din Forahi, 132
Hajji Rishi, 132
Hajji Salih Kashmiri, 132
Hajji Shah Muhammad, 132
Hajji Shuhrat, 132
Hajji Sulaiman, 132
Hajji Uwais, Shaikh, 133
Hajji Witar (Utar) Baba, 133
Haka Rishi, 133
Hakim 'Inayatu'llah Gaani, 133
Hakim 'Usman Shattari, 133
Hakim Masihu'z-Zaman, 133
Hakim Nuru'd-Din Mattu, 133
Hakim Shah Majzub, 133
Hakim Shah Sani, 133
Hal, 133-4
Halim Ibrahimabadi, 134
Hall-i ashgha-i Shattari, 23, 134
Halmat Rishi, 134
Ham'at, Sufism described as *ihsan* in, 134
Hama Ust, 134, 235
Hama'il, 134
Hamadan, 311
Hamal, Kashmir, 69, 70, 79, 285, 434
hamam, 22
Hamid bin Fazlu'llah, Shaikh (Jamali) 135
Hamid Kabir, Saiyid, 135
Hamid Qadiri, Shaikh, 135
Hamid Qalandar, Maulana, 135
Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Qazi, 135-6
Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, Shaikh, 136-7
Handwanpura, 69, 70
Hanjak, 131
Hansi, 353, 393, 409
Haqa'iq-i Hind, 21, 137
Haqiqa, 8, 137, 176, 209, 244, 384
Haqiqatu'l-Muhammadiyya, 137, 249
Haqiqi, 137
Haqq al-Yaqin, 138, 209
Haqq, 137
Haqqu'n-Nas, 138
Hara Masjid, Srinagar, 344

Hara, 138
Hardi Rishi, 138
Hardoi, 21
Hariparbat, 198, 220, 237, 259, 333, 345, 359, 363, 378, 384
Hariparbat, *khanqah* of Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi at the foot of, 389
Haripura, 408
Harwan, 196, 388
Hasan 'Ajami, Shaikh, 138
Hasan Abadal, 158
Hasan Afghan, Khwaja, 138
Hasan Barki, Shaikh, 138
Hasan bin 'Ali, 29, 53
Hasan Budla, Shaikh, 139
Hasan Lutfi Shushud, 4
Hasan Muhammad Chisti, Shaikh, 139
Hasan Sarmast, Shaikh, 139
Hasan Shah Majzub, 139
Hasanabad, 240
Hashim Khudawand Hadi, Shaikh, 139
Hashim Kishmi, Khwaja Muhammad, 139
Hashim Pir 'Alawi, Shah, 139-40
Hashiya Tarjamat al-Qur'an, 140
Hasilpur, 397
Hasnatu'l-Muqarrabin, 140
Hasrat Nama, 94
Hauz-i Shamsi, 18, 426
Hauzu'l-Hayat, 51
Hawa, 140
Hawajim, 140
Hawajis, 140
Hawal, Srinagar, 133, 239, 264, 328, 463
Hayat-i Rahim, 140
Hazaran Bazar, Srinagar, 269
Hazaratu'l-Quds, 88, 141
Hazrat, 140
Hazratbal, 268
Henri Laoust, 34
Henry Corbin, 238
Hidayatu'l-Qira, 172
Hidya, 9, 212, 214, 251
Hidyatu'llah Husaini, Shah, 141
Hidyatu'l-Mukhlisin, 141
Hifzu'l-Ahd, 141
Hijab, 141
Hikmah al-hikmah, 141
Himmah, 141
Hindawi, 63, 141-2, 367, 377, 382
Hindi compositions, of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, 360
Hindu and Muslim musicians, 90
Hindu devotees, of Shah Mina, 351
Hindu Kayastha, converts to Islam, 361
Hindu *sannyasis*, 100
Hindu *yogis*, 6, 10
Hindu-Buddhist environment, 4
Hindus, 88
Hirapura, 81
Hir-Ranjha, 199
Hisar Shadman, 16, 42
Hisar, 353, 365
Hizb al-Bahr, 222
Holi, 199, 351
Hosh dar dam, 142
Hujjat Allah al-baliga, 356
Hujjatu'l-Haqqi 'Ala'l-Khalq, 142
Hukm-i Kabir, 3
hulul, 142, 249
Humayun, 351, 419
Humhama, Srinagar, 134
Husain Ahmad Chisti, Shaikh, 142
Husain Baiyu, 142
Husain Lahori, Shaikh, 142-3
Husain Shah *alias* Kudu, 143
Husaini Sadat Amir, 48
Husamu'd-Din Ahmad, Khwaja, 143
Husamu'd-Din Fatehpuri, Shaikh, 143
Husamu'd-Din Muttaqi Multani, Shaikh, 143
Hyderabad, Sindh, 24
Hyderabad, 247

ibad al-Rahman, 13
ibada, 13
Ibadatu'l-Khawass, 144
Ibaha, 144
Ibn al-Arabi, 6, 21, 27
Ibn Battuta, 101, 144, 390-1
Ibn Khaldun, 2
Ibn Taimiya, 34
Ibrahim al-Kurani, 29
Ibrahim al-Kurdi (al-Kurani), Shaikh, 144
Ibrahim Iraji, Mir Saiyid, 144
Ibrahim Lodi, 31
Ibrahim Qari Shattari, Shaikh, 144
Ibrahim Shaikh, 145
Id al-Ahda, 145
Idgah, 61, 74, 358
Ihsan, 145
Ihyau'l-'Ulum, 365
Ijazas, 145
Ikhlas, 145
Ikhtiyaru'd-Din Marwani, Shaikh, 145
Ilahdad Majzub, Mir Saiyid, 145
Ilahdad Shahrukh, Maulana, 145
Ilah-Din Majzub, 146
Ilm al-Yaqin, 209
Ilm-i fara'iz, 262
Iltutmish, 91
Imadu'd-Din Firdawsi, 145
Imadu'd-Din Isma'il Multani, Shaikh, 145
Imadu'd-Din Rafiqi, Shaikh, 145
Imam Abu Hanifa, 385
Imam Ja'far Sadiq, 200
Imam, 146
Imamu'd-Din Abdal, Shaikh, 146
iman, 146
Inayat Shah, 146
India, 368
Indo-Muslim composite culture, 5
Indonesia, influence of Shattariyya on, 23
Influence of the Qadiriyya order, 108
interpretation of dreams, 99
Intibah-i fi Zikr-i Auliya-Allah, 145
Intikhab-i Ganj-Sharif, 146-7
Intikhab-i Manaqib-i Sulaimaniyya, 147
Inzi'aj, 147
Iqtibasu'l-anwar, see Sawatiu'l-anwar
Ira Lapidus, 5, 6
Iradah, 147
Iran, 392

Iraq, 22, 328
Iraqi-Hatta, 332
Irijpur, 388
Irshad-nama, 146
Irshadu'l-Mukhlisin, 378
Isbat al-Nubuwwa, 147
Ishaq Baig, 146
Ishaq Khan, Mohammad, 226; visits the shrine of Shah Jalal in Sylhet, 391; visits Kichaucha Sharif, 236
Ishaq, Shaikh, 147
Ishbari, Srinagar, 409
‘Ishq Nama, 146, *see* Gisu Daraz, Saiyid Muhammad
Ishq, 147
Ishqiyya, *silsilah*, 22
Ishraqiyya, 23
Ishtiyaq Husain Qureshi, 10
Islam Shah Sur, 16, 351
Islam, as a religion of love, 11
Islamabad (Anantnag), 67, 277
Isma‘il Ba'i, 146
Isma‘il Gilani, Saiyid, 147
Isma‘il Hazara, 146
Isma‘il Qadiri bin Hasan, 147
Isma‘il Shahid, Muhammad, 147
Ism-i Jalali, 147
Ism-i Jamali, 147
Ism-i Sifah, 147
Ism-i Zat, 25, 148
Istanbul, 355
Istighfar, 148
Istihlak, 148
Istilahat al-Sufiyya, 146, 148, 364
Istilam, 148
istiqamah, 148
Ithaf al-sadat al-Muttaqin, 148
Itihad, 148, 249
Itihafu'l-Taqi fi Fazl Shaikh ‘Ali Muttaqi, 146
izn, 148

Ja‘far Saqqaf, Saiyid, 149
Ja‘far-i Makki Husaini, 93
Ja‘ma mosque, Srinagar, 337
Jabarut, 6, 149
Jabbar, 149
Jahanara Begum, 40, 149
Jahangir, Emperor, 10, 23, 180, 244, 249
Jaisalmer, 24
Jakarta, 434
Jalal, Thaneswari, 152-3
Jalal, 150, 241-2
Jalali, 150
Jalaliyya branch, 11
Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari, Saiyid, 150
Jalalu'd-Din Qureshi, Saiyid, 151
Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi, Shaikh, 151-2
Jalandhar, 91
Jalau'd-Din Kasi, Shaikh, 151
Jama‘ mosque, Srinagar, 367
Jama'al-Barakat, 153
Jama'at-khana, 50
Jama'al-Jawami, 3
Jamal al-din Muhaddis, Saiyid, 153
Jamal Multani Badau'ni, Qazi, 153
Jamal Shah Reshdaraz, 153
Jamal Shah Sag Nawaz, 153
Jamal, 241-2
Jamalata, 84, 375
Jamali, *see* Hamid bin Fazlu'llah
Jamalu'd-Din ‘Abbasi Qadiri, 31
Jamalu'd-Din Maghribi, 154
Jam-i Jahan-numa, 153
Jammu, 39
Jan Muhammad Muharrami, 153
Janbaz, 153
Jannah, 153
Janu'llah, 153
Jats, 14
Jaunpur, 14, 31, 201, 292, 349, 350, 372, 378, 380, 392, 411, 414, 450
Jawaharu'l-Nukat, 57
Jawahir-i Faridi, 154
Jawahir-i Khamsa, 154, 339, 388
Jawahiru'l-Quran, 306
Jawamiu'l-Kilam, 154
Jazb al-qulub ila diyar al-mahbub, 154
jazba, 17, 154
Jerusalem, 90
Jhanjhana, 27, 90, 381, 398
jihad, 154
Jihad-i Akbar, 390
jikris, 90
Jildsaz mohalla, 333
Jiwa ‘Abdu'l-Ha'i, Shaikh, 154
Jogi Rishi, 154
jogis, 24
Junaid Baghdadi, Mulla Shah on, 40
Junaid Rishi, 154

Kaamar, Kashmir, 407
Kabir, 8
Kabiru'd-Din Hasan, Saiyid, 155
Kabiru'd-Din Isma‘il, Shaikh, 155
Kabul, 24, 119
Kadara, 109
kafir, 12, 155
Kaimuh, Kashmir, 155, 417, 425
Kairana, 274
Kaithal, 394
Kale Sahib, 155
kalima, 155
Kalimat-i Chand, 21, 155
Kalimat-i Taiyibat, 155
Kalimatu'l-Haqa'iq, 157
Kalimatu'l-Ma'arif, 29
Kalimatu'sh-Shu'ara, 155
Kalimatu's-Sadiqin, 155
Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi, Shah, 155-6
Kalimu'llah, Maulavi, 155
Kaliyar Sharif, 371
Kaliyuga, 156
Kalpi, 246, 292, 327, 330, 350, 358, 372, 392, 394, 395, 428
Kamal Muhammad ‘Abbasi, Shaikh, 156
Kamal, Shaikh, 156
Kamalu'd-Din Biabani, 157
Kamalu'd-Din Sulaimani, Qureshi Shattari, 156
Kamalu'd-Din Zahid, Maulana, 156-7
Kamalu'd-Din, Saiyid, 157
Kamil, 157

Kanastur, 424
Kanauj, 422
Kandahama, Kashmir, 341
Kandal Rishi, 157
Kandhom, Kashmir, 317, 330
Kangan, Kashmir, 361, 374
Kangroo, 78
Kanihama, 367
Kanikadal, 328
Kanz al-‘Ummal, 45
Kanzu’d-Daqa’iq, 157, 235
Kanzu’l-Fawa’id, 157-8
Kanzu’l-Ummal, 158
Kanzu’r-Rumuz, 158
Kanzu’s-Saadat, 158, 175
Kapurthala, 242
Kara, 394
Karam Shah Lari, 158
Karam Shah Shahabadi, 158
karamat, 158; distinction between *karamat* and *mu-‘ijizzat*, 351
Karamatu’l-Auliya, 87, 158
Karim Khan, 158
Karim Muhammad, 158
Karim, 18
Karimu’d-Din, Shaikh, 158
Karnal, 29
Kashf al-Mahjub, 106
Kashf, 158
Kashifat, 158-9
Kashkul-i Kalimi, 159
Kashmir, 11, 130, 219, 244, 370
Kashmiri Muslims, 4
Kathail 323
Katju, 83, 130
Kattana, 346, 449
Kaulab, 254
Kauls, 58
Kawdaura, Srinagar, 232, 318
Kazirun, 14
Khairabad, 246
Khairu’l-Hasanat, 262
Khalasman Rishi, 159
Khalid Kurdi, Maulana, 159
Khalid-i Makhazin, 159
Khalifa Abu’l-Qasim, 159
khalifa, 159
Khalnarawav, 65, 85
khalq, 159
Khan Razzaqi, Muhammad, 159
Khan Shah, 159
Khandesh, 198, 336, 370
Khanqah of Shaikh Isma‘il Kubrawi, 198
khanqah, 159
Khanqah-i Mu‘alla, 323, 345, 374
Khanqah-i Pandit, Bijbehara, 379
Khanyar, 224, 237, 324, 335, 351, 352
Khatam-i Mahbubiyya, 57
Khat-i Irshad, 159-60, 331
Khatir, 160
Khattu, 30
Khattu, Nagaur, 366
Khazinah-i Jalali, 160
Khazinat al-Fawa’id al Jalalaiyya, 160
Khazinau’l-Asfiya, 160
khilwah, 160
khilwat dar anjuman, 160
khirqa, 4, 160
khirqa-i iradat, 161
Khizr Afghan, Hajji, 161
Khizr Baba-i Qari, 161
Khizr Siwistani, Shaikh, 161
Khokar, 164
Khoram Pandit, 161
Khuda Bakhsh Multani, 161
Khudanuma, Shah Miranji, 161
Khulasat al-mafakir, 161
Khulasatu’l-Alfaz Jami‘ul-‘Ulum, 161
Khulasatu’l-Ma‘arif, 29, 162
Khulasatu’l-Manaqib, 161
Khunamoh, Kashmir, 46, 371
Khur, Kashmir, 340
Khurasan, 328, 368
Khurram Hafiz, 162
Khush Dahan, Shaikh Mahmud, 162
Khushal Shah Sopuri, 162
Khushal Shah, 162
Khuyahom, 27, 73, 77, 80, 230, 238, 310, 320, 380, 405, 424
Khwaj Husamu’d-Din, 17
Khwaj Kaji Dar, 173
Khwaj Kalan, 246
Khwaj Khanu, 174
Khwaja ‘Abdu’l-Baqi, 162
Khwaja ‘Abdu’l-Hakim, 162
Khwaja ‘Abdu’l-Karim, 162
Khwaja ‘Abdu’l-Khaliq Ghujduwani, 89
Khwaja ‘Abdu’llah Bandey, 162
Khwaja ‘Abdu’llah Kubrawi, 162
Khwaja ‘Abdu’llah Mattoo, 162-3
Khwaja ‘Abdu’llah Qadiri, 163
Khwaja ‘Abdu’l-Shahid Naqshbandi, 39
Khwaja ‘Abdu’n-Nabi, 164
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Banday, 163
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Gaani, 163
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Maantju, 26-7, 163
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Shahgulu, 164
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Shaikh Kaman, 20
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahim, 163
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Sarangpuri, 164
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Rashid, 164
Khwaja ‘Abdu’r-Razzaq, 164
Khwaja ‘Abdu’sh-Shahid, 164
Khwaja ‘Abu’s-Sabur, 164
Khwaja ‘Ala’u’d-Din Naqshband, 165
Khwaja ‘Ala’u’d-Din, 165
Khwaja ‘Ali Almas, 165-6
Khwaja ‘Ali Bantji, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Kawasu, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Masihi, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Nanat, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Punu, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Shah bin Shaikh Mahmud Jandar, 166
Khwaja ‘Ali Sud, 166
Khwaja ‘Attar, 166
Khwaja ‘Attau’llah Qanungo, 166-7
Khwaja ‘Azizu’d-Din bin Khwaja Abu Bakr, 167
Khwaja ‘Ubaidu’llah Balkhi, 185
Khwaja ‘Ubaidu’llah Bukhari, 185
Khwaja ‘Ubaidu’llah, 246

Khwaja 'Usman Kaul, 185
Khwaja A'zam Diddamari, 167
Khwaja Abu Bakr Mandawi, 164
Khwaja Abu Bakr Musalehbardar, 164
Khwaja Abu'l-Fath, 164
Khwaja Abu'l-Haqq Samarqandi, 164
Khwaja Ahmad Kakru, 164-5
Khwaja Ahmad Muttaqi, 165
Khwaja Ahmad Shunthu, 165
Khwaja Ahmad Topigaru, 164
Khwaja Ahmad Yassawi, 165
Khwaja Ahmad, 164
Khwaja Ahsanu'llah, 165
Khwaja Allahdad Kasab, 166
Khwaja Amiru'd-Din Pakhliwal, 166
Khwaja Arzan, 166
Khwaja Ashraf Kaul, 166
Khwaja Baba Lari, 167
Khwaja Baba, 167
Khwaja Badru'd-Din, 167
Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Muhammad, 167-8
Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband, 42
Khwaja Bahadur, 168
Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, 16, 17, 214
Khwaja Bast, 168
Khwaja Bayazid, 168
Khwaja Dahbedi, 20
Khwaja Dawud Balkhi, 168
Khwaja Dawud Gana'i, 168
Khwaja Dawud Majzub, 168
Khwaja Dawud Tusi, 169
Khwaja Dawud, 168
Khwaja Fakhru'd-Din, 169
Khwaja Farid Naushahri, 169
Khwaja Firuz, 169
Khwaja Gharib Shahamu, 169
Khwaja Ghulam, 169
Khwaja Habib, 169
Khwaja Habibu'llah Gaani *alias* 'Attar, 169
Khwaja Habibu'llah Latoo, 169
Khwaja Habibu'llah Naushahri, 28, 38, 169
Khwaja Haidar Mantu *alias* Charkhi, 170
Khwaja Hakim Kawlu, 170
Khwaja Hasan Buchh, 40, 170
Khwaja Hasan Qari, 170-1
Khwaja Hasan Tamal, 171
Khwaja Hasan, 170
Khwaja Hashim Pulloo, 171
Khwaja Hashim, 171
Khwaja Hayat, 172
Khwaja Husain Khatlani, 172
Khwaja Husain Nagauri, 35, 172
Khwaja Husain, 172
Khwaja Ibrahim 172
Khwaja Ibrahim Kaul Malarati, 172
Khwaja Ibrahim Lahut, 172
Khwaja Idris Samani, 172
Khwaja Ikhtiyaru'd-Din 'Umar, 172
Khwaja Ishaq Dandar, 58, 172
Khwaja Ishaq Kashmiri, 172
Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani, 88
Khwaja Ishaq Nawchu, 172
Khwaja Ishaq Qari, 103, 173
Khwaja Ishaq, of Dehbed, 174
Khwaja Isma'il Nadihali, 173
Khwaja Isma'il Kanju, 173
Khwaja Kalan, 173
Khwaja Kamal, 173
Khwaja Kamalu'd-Din Naqshbandi, 173
Khwaja Kamgar Khan, 36
Khwaja Karak, 173-4
Khwaja Karimu'd-Din Samarqandi, 174
Khwaja Khalil Tranboo, 174
Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi, 174-5
Khwaja Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din Khwaja Mahmud Naqshbandi, 175
Khwaja Khwurd, 24, 32, 176
Khwaja Mahdi Pal, 176
Khwaja Mahmud Naqshabandi 'Alwi Husaini, 42
Khwaja Mahmud Naqshbandi, 176
Khwaja Makhdum Nura, 176
Khwaja Mas'ud Pampuri, 34, 176, 355
Khwaja Mas'ud, 176
Khwaja Mir 'Ali Islamabadi, 176-7
Khwaja Miram Bazaz, 177
Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chisti, 18, 178-80
Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Khwurd, 180
Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Naqshbandi, 158
Khwaja Muhammad 'Attar Gana'i, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah, 374
Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Chisti, 124
Khwaja Muhammad Fazil Topigaru, 39
Khwaja Muhammad Hashim Topigaru, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Husain, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Kakru, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Muhsin, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Muqim, 177
Khwaja Muhammad Parsa, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id Naqshbandi, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Badakshi, 198
Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq Matoo, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Salih *alias* 'Asha'i, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Salih *alias* Shala Kak, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Shafi Kuku Suhrawardi, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Shah, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa, 204
Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf Maantji, 178
Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf Maantju Sani, 178
Khwaja Muhammad, 177, 178
Khwaja Mumin Chahail, 180-1
Khwaja Mumin Islamabadi, 181
Khwaja Munawwar Hatabi, 166
Khwaja Musa Maantju, 181
Khwaja Musa, 181
Khwaja Muyidu'd-Din Ansari, 181
Khwaja Muyidu'd-Din Kuz'ini, 181
Khwaja Najibu'd-Din Firdawsi, 181
Khwaja Nauroz, 181
Khwaja Nur Muhammad, 181
Khwaja Nuru'd-Din 'Asha'i, 181
Khwaja Nuru'd-Din Muhammad Aftab Naqshbandi, 181
Khwaja Qaim Patloo, 181-2
Khwaja Qasim Tashwani, 182
Khwaja Qasim Tirmizi, 182
Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, 182-3
Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Sirhindi, 183
Khwaja Rafiq 'Asha'i, 183

Khwaja Rafiu'd-Din Harun, 183
Khwaja Rajjab, 183
Khwaja Rishi Baba, 183
Khwaja Sa'du'd-Din Naqshbandi, 183
Khwaja Sadiq Maantju, 183
Khwaja Sadru'd-Din Khurasani, 184
Khwaja Salar, 184
Khwaja Shah Niyaz Naqshbandi, 184
Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad Taqi, 57
Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din Dihlawi, 184
Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din, 184
Khwaja Sharif Gana'i, 184
Khwaja Sharif Shihabu'd-Din, 184
Khwaja Tahir Buchh, 184
Khwaja Tahir Rafiq 'Asha'i, 184
Khwaja Taju'd-Din Dawari, 184
Khwaja Taqiu'd-Din, 185
Khwaja Wahid, 185-6
Khwaja Ya'qub Dhar, 186
Khwaja Ya'qub Majzub, 186
Khwaja Ya'qub Mattu, 186
Khwaja Ya'qub Pakhli, 186
Khwaja Yusuf Dar, 186
Khwaja Yusuf Zargar, 186
Khwaja Yusuf, 186
Khwaja Zahid Lari, 186
Khwaja Zain 'Ali Dhar, 186
Khwaja Zainu'd-Din *alias* Zaina Wali, 186
Khwaja Zainu'd-Din, 186
Khwaja Zaman Dar, 186
Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din Amjad, 187
Khwaja Zia'u'd-Din, 187
Khwaja Ziya' Nakshabi, 187
Khwaja, 162
Khwarazm, 42, 336
Khweshgi Afghans, 375
Khweshgi Qasuri, Saiyid 'Abdu'llah, 187
Khwujund, 355
Khyar al-Majalis, 135, 188
Kichaucha Sharif, 191, 235, 236
Kifayat al-Muhtajin, 28
Kifayat-i Musallin, 187
Kirman, 353
Kiru, 381
Kishtwar, 320
Kitab 'Aynu'l-'ilm, 44
Kitab al-Irshad, 51
Kitab al-makatib wa'r-rasa'il, 188
Kitab Khulasatu'l-Ma'rif fi Asraru'l-'Aqa'id, 188
Kitab-i Dahan, 393
Kitab-i Tanvir-i Sharh-i Sirajiyya, 311
Kitabu'l-mubin, 188
Koh-i Sulaiman, 429
Kohi-Maran, 434
Kolab, 15
Konkan Coast, 158, 424
Kralayar, Srinagar, 319, 336
Kreiri, 228, 229, 230, 231, 319, 326, 328, 337
Kruhin, 69, 133, 316
kufr, Ja'far-i Makki Husaini on, 188
Kuhistan, 127
Kukm-i Kabir, 45
Kulgam, 318, 322
Kulliyat-i Baqi Bi'llah, 188
Kulliyat-i Bullhe Shah, 188
Kulliyyat-wa Juziyyat, 187
Kuneel, 46
Kurnool, 18, 372
Kutahar, Kashmir, 84, 407
Kutartang, 333

L'al, 194
la makan, 189
La'l Shah, 189
Laasipura, 195
Lacchmi Kul, 196
Lachham Nanat, 189
Lachham Rishi, 189
Ladakh, 171, 228, 338
Ladi Katur, 189
Lahore, 16, 18, 30, 31, 99, 111, 131, 132, 133, 163, 210, 240, 244, 245, 309, 342, 349, 377, 427
lahut, 6, 189, 250
Lal Ded, 8, 189-90
Lal Shah mosque, in Srinagar, 28
Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Shaikh, 191
Lal, Kashmir, 286
Lala Baiyu Hamadani, 190
Lala Maantju, 190
Lala Rishi *alias* Thag, 190-1
Lala Rishi, 191
Lama'at al-tanqih, 191
Lama'at, 191, 275
Langarhatta, Srinagar, 284
Lar, Kashmir, 65, 109, 153, 324, 352, 369, 373, 374, 383
la-ta 'yyun, 249
Lata'if-i Ashrafi, 191
Lata'if-i Ghaibiyya, main teachings and practices of the Shattariyya order in, 191
Latifah, 191
Lauhi Mahfuz, 191
Lawa'ih, 46, 136
Legacy of Sufism in Kashmir, 368
Leh, 228
Letapura, Kashmir, 252
Lisanu'llah, 39
lobh, 191
Lolab, 22
Loli Baiyu, 192
Lolipura, 92
Lucknow, 21, 22, 111, 293, 346, 351, 376, 378, 393, 394, 398, 424
Luda Rishi, 192
Ludarman Rishi, 192
Ludi Rishi, 192
Lulipora, 68
Lutfu'llah, Shah, 192

Ma sabata Bi's-Sunna, 206
Ma'arif-i Laduniyya, 206
Ma'ariju'l-Wilayat, 198
Ma'asiru'l-Kiram Tarikh-i Bilgaram, 193
Ma'danu'l-Ma'ani, 193
Ma'mulat-i Mazharyya, 204
Ma'rifah, 206, 209
Ma'rifaht-i- Nafs, 14, 206
Ma'rifahtu'l-Haqqani, 206, 353
Ma'rifahtu'l-Suluk, 206

Ma'ruf Jaunpuri, 206
Ma'ruf, 206
Ma'sum, Shaikh Muhammad, 210
ma'u'l-quds, 210
Mabda'-o Ma'ad, 198
Mabna Tasawwuf, 198
Macassar, 281, 434
Machhipur, Kashmir, 131, 246, 383, 385, 419
Madar, Kashmir, 380
Madariju'n-Nubuwwa, 198
Madayniyya, 17
Madho, Shaikh, 198-9
Madhu-malati, 199
Madin Sahib, Srinagar, 333
madrasa, 9, 389; at Sialkot, 17
Madyaniyya, 44
maet, 199
Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar, 378
maghfirat, 199
Maghribiyya, 32, 197, 320
Mahan, 353
Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 178
Mahbubiyya, 199
Mahda Nawab, 193
Mahda Shah Jam, 193
Mahdawi movement, 376
Mahdi 'Ali Kubrawi, 28
Mahdi Baba, 193
Mahdi Rishi Kakapuri, 193
Mahmud Bahri, 199
Mahmud Baiyu, 193
Mahmud bin Amir Wali, 92
Mahmud Muyina-Dudz, Khwaja, 199
Mahuba, 246
Maigam, 194
Maisuma, 326
Majalisu'l-'ushshaq, 199
majazi, 137
Majdu'd-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi, 14
Majmau'l-Akhbar, 200
Majmau'l-Auliya, 87
Majmau'l-Suluk, 200, 306
Majmau'l-Auliya, 200
Majmau'l-Bahar, 245
Majnun Qadiri Majzub, 200
majzub, 15, 200, 213; advises Kalimu'llah to proceed for Medina, 156; serves as guide, 173; defined as diamond, 232
Makatib-i Shaikh Mubibbu'llah, 201, 257
Makdum Khairu'd-Din Ansari, 201
Makdum Shaikh Khasa, 201
Makhazinu'l-Qadiriyya, 201
Makhdum 'Abdu'r-Rashid, 193
Makhdum 'Abdu's-Samad, 194
Makhdum Baha'u'd-Din Safapuri, 194
Makhdum Hajji Musa, 194
Makhdum Hamza, 194
Makhdum Husain, 194
Makhdum Jeev Qadiri, 194
Makhdum Khwajagi, 201
Makhdum Muhammad Fasih, 194
Makhdum Muhammad Hamid, 194
Makhdum Muhammad Latif, 194
Makhdum Muhammad Sa'id, 194
Makhdum Muhammad Salih, 194
Makhdum Nuh Sindhi, 195
Makhdum Qazi Isha, 201
Makhdum Sadha, 201, 372
Makhdum Shaikh 'Abbas, 195
Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, 195
Makhdum Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahid, 195
Makhdum Shaikh Bheek, 201
Makhdum Shaikh Hamid, 195
Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, 195
Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad Sharif, 195
Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad, 195
Makhdum Siraj, 201
Makhdum Zaman Lanwari Naqshbandi, 26
Makhdum-i Jahaniyan converts Lal Ded, 150
Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, 366
makhfi chahar zarb, 201
Makhzan-i Ahmadi, 201
Makhzan-i Da'wat, 201
Makhzanu'l-Amin 201-2
Makhzanu'l-Salasiu'l-Hasaniya, 32, 202
Maktubat, of Sirhindi, 10, 202
Maktubat-i Adam Banuri, 202
Maktubat-i Ashrafi, 202
Maktubat-i Ghausiyya, 202
Maktubat-i Gisu Daraz, 202
Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i Sani, 202
Maktubat-i Kalimi, 202
Maktubat-i Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, 202
Maktubat-i Khwaja Khwurud, 202
Maktubat-i Ma'sumiyya, 202
Maktubat-i Quddusiyya, 203
Maktubat-i Sa'idiyya, 203
Maktubat-i Saifiyya, 203
Maktubat-i Bistu-u Hasht, 410
Mala Baba, 195
Mala'i, Kashmir, 365
Malabar, 21
Malachhmar, Srinagar, 164
malakut, 6, 203
Malamatiyya, 37, 173, 130, 191, 203, 352
Malang, 203, 236
Malarata, Srinagar, 218, 231, 267, 329, 362
Malaya, influence of Shattariyya on, 23
Malch, 203
Malfuz literature, 7
Malfuzat, 203
Malfuzat-i Ashrafi, 203
Malfuzat-i Khwaja Baqi Bill'ah, 203
Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abu'l-'Aziz, 203
Malfuzat-i Shah Mina, 204
Malfuzat-i Shah Sibghatu'llah, 204
Malfuzat-i Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi, 204, 367
Malfuz-i Maulana Saiyid Sikandar 'Ali, 203
Malfuz-i Razzaqi, 203
Malfuz-i Safar, 203
Malik 'Usman Raina, 198
Malik Aalpal, 195
Malik Ahmad Yatu, 195
Malik Argosh, 195
Malik Buland, 196
Malik Chand, 204
Malik Dawaru'l-Mulk, 196
Malik Gadda, 196
Malik Hasan, 196

Malik Isma'il, 196
Malik Jahangir, 196
Malik Jalal Thakur, 196
Malik Jogi Raina, 76, 196
Malik Ludi Magray, 197
Malik Mas'ud Thakur, 197
Malik Muhammad Piyaro, 197
Malik Muhammad, 197
Malik Nasir, 197
Malik Panji Mir, 197
Malik Regi Dar, 197
Malik Shah Kori, 19
Malik Sher Khalwai, 197
Malik Yar Parran, 198
Malik Yusuf, 198
Malik Zainu'd-Din, 198
Malikpura, Kashmir, 339
Malkha, 77, 131, 170, 210, 219, 247, 277, 347, 349, 327, 340, 376, 389
Malla Bagh, 295
Malwa, 17, 205, 321, 351, 353, 372, 390, 395
Man Lagan, 205
Man Singh, 223
Manajat-i Salah, 341
Manaqib al-Razzaqiyya, 204, 205
Manaqib-i Fakhriyya, 204
Manaqib-i Hafiziya, 204
Manaqib-i Hazrat Shah Ni'matu'llah Wali, 204
Manaqib-i Sharif, 204
Manaqib-i Sulaimani, 204
Manaqibu'l-'Arifin, 204
Manaqibu'l-Mahbuhain, 271
Manaqibu'l-Siddiqin., 204
Manasbal, Kashmir, 194, 195
Manazir-i Akhassu'l-Khawass, 204
Manba'al-Khairat, 205
Manba'al- 'ilm fi Sharh Sahih Muslim, 205
Manchahom, 82, 320
Mandha, Kashmir, 83, 234
Mandsur, 409
Mandu, 17, 23, 201, 246, 279, 310, 351, 362, 375, 376, 377, 380, 395, 396, 398, 427, 430; the sultan of, 172
Mangalkot, 337, 341, 381
Manhama, 409
Manigam, 446
Manikpur, 130, 206, 296, 350, 355, 384, 386, 394
Manjhan Shattari, Shah, 205
Mankay Rishi, 205
manqabat 205
Manqibu'l- Hazarat, 205
Mansab-i Imamat, 205
Mansur Hallaj, 34, 40, 242, 250-1
Mansur, 6
Manwa Majzub, 205
Maqama-i mazhari, 206
Maqamat, 205
Maqamat-i 'Ashra, 309
Maqamat-i Hariri, 205-6
Maqamat-i Khwaja Naqshband, 206
Maqamat-i Murshid, 170
Maqsudu'l-Murad, 206
Marathas, 14
Maratib-i wujud, 206
Marj al-Bahrain fi'l-jama' bain al-Tariqain, 206
Markazu'l-Abrar, 57
Martand, Kashmir, 81, 138
Martazan goshgir wa wasilan faqir, 206
Mas 'ud Ghazi, Sipah Salar, 207-8
Mas 'ud-i Bak, 208-9
Mas'ud Nakhasi, 210
Mashariq-i Hadis, 207
Mashariqu'l-Anwar, 9, 207, 312, 415
maslaha, 356
Masnavi Tuhfa-i Muhammadi, 166, 207
Mathura, 132
Matlubu't-Tabin, 210
Maulana Sulaiman Kurd, 205
Maulana 'Abdu'l-Jalil Jaunpuri, 210
Maulana 'Abu'r-Rahman, 210
Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din Nili, 211
Maulana 'Ala'u'd-Din, 211
Maulana 'Ali Bihari, 211
Maulana 'Ilmu'd-Din Sharafjahan, 215
Maulana 'Imadu'd-Din Ghori Makhdum, 215
Maulana Aamu'llah, 211
Maulana Abu'l-Fath *alias* Pandit, 210
Maulana Abu'l-Fath Gaani, 210
Maulana Abu'l-Khayr, 37
Maulana Ahmad Katib, 211
Maulana Ahmad Thaneswari, 211
Maulana Ahmad, 211
Maulana Amanu'llah, *alias* Kanu, 211
Maulana Bada'uni, 211
Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq, 211-12
Maulana Bahasi, 212
Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Sawi, 212
Maulana Burhau'd-Din Gharib, 212
Maulana Daniyal 'Ud, 212
Maulana Dawud Palahi, 212
Maulana Dawud, 103, 212
Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, 9, 212-13
Maulana Fouq, 213
Maulana Ghulamu'd-Din, 213
Maulana Hafiz Basir *alias* Mal Baba, 213
Maulana Hamidu'd-Din, 213
Maulana Hasan Afaqi, 213
Maulana Hasan Kashmiri, 214
Maulana Hasan Lankar, 214
Maulana Husamu'd-Din Sabz, 214
Maulana Husamu'd-Din Surkh, 214
Maulana Husamu'd-Din, 214
Maulana Ilahdad, 214
Maulana Ilhadad Multani, 215
Maulana Isma'il Sindhi, 215
Maulana Isma'il, 215
Maulana Ja'far, 215
Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Awadhi, 215
Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Manikpuri, 215
Maulana Jamal, 215
Maulana Jamalu'd-Din Awadhi, 215
Maulana Kasa Girani, 215
Maulana Khaki, 215
Maulana Khird Diwana, 215
Maulana Khistawari, 216
Maulana Khwaja, 216
Maulana Khwajgi Ahmad, Makhdum, 216
Maulana Khwajgi, 216
Maulana Lutfu'llah Rumi, 23

Maulana Lutfu'llah, 216
Maulana Mahjub *alias* Shukr Khan, 216
Maulana Mahmud Balkhi, 216
Maulana Mahmud, 216
Maulana Majdu'd-Din Hajji, 216
Maulana Manak Rishi, 216-17
Maulana Minhaj, 217
Maulana Mir Mufti, 216
Maulana Mir Muhammad Afzal, 217
Maulana Mu'inu'd-Din, Imrani, 217
Maulana Mubarak Danishmand, of Gwalior, 24
Maulana Mughisu'd-Din Dihlawi, 217
Maulana Muhammad Amin Gaani Baldimari, 217
Maulana Muhammad Amin, 217
Maulana Muhammad Aslam Topigaru, 217
Maulana Muhammad Kamaraji, 217
Maulana Muhammad Majd, 216
Maulana Muhammad Multani, 217
Maulana Multani, 217
Maulana Nuni Gana'i *alias* Mulla Malihi, 217-18
Maulana Nuru'd-Din Ja'far, 218
Maulana Pa'inda Qalbi, 218
Maulana Qazi Shah Lahori, 218
Maulana Qazi Shapa'ili, 218
Maulana Qwamu'd-Din Yakdana, 218
Maulana Rum, 24
Maulana Sa'id Kanu, 218
Maulana Sa'id, 218
Maulana Shah Daulat, 218
Maulana Shah Gada, 218
Maulana Shaikh Ya'qub, 218
Maulana Shaikhan, 218-19
Maulana Shamsu'd-Din bin Yahya, 219
Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Gana'i, 219
Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Multani Sultanpuri, 219
Maulana Shamsu'd-Din, 9
Maulana Sharif Khadim, 219
Maulana Shu'aib, 219
Maulana Siraju'd-Dn Hafiz Bada'uni, 219
Maulana Sufi 'Ali, 219
Maulana Taqi'ud-Din 219
Maulana Wajihu'd-Din Yusuf, 219
Maulana Wali Miyan Kalpi, 220
Maulana Ya'qub Nath, 220
Maulana Yusuf Bada'uni, 220
Maulana Yusuf Turki, 220
Maulana Zain 'Ali, 220
Maulana Zainu'd-Din Pal, 26
Maulana Zainu'd-Din, 220
Maulana Zia'u'd-Din, 220
Maulavi 'Abdu'l-Gani, 220
Maulavi Firuz Sani, 220
Maulavi Ghulamu'd-Din Jam'i, 220
Maulavi Hajji Muhammad 'Asha'i, 220
Maulavi Ja'far, 220
Maulavi Mahmud Misri, 221
Maulavi Muhammad Ishaq Dihlawi, 234
Maulavi Namak, 221
Maulavi Nasiru'd-Din, 221
Maulavi Nizamu'd-Din Muhammad, 221
Maulavi Shaikh Daulat, 221
Maulavi Yusuf, 221
Maulavi, 220
Maulid, 221
Mawahib Laduniya, 45, 221
Max Weber, 6
Mazar-i Baqi', 268
Mazar-i Kalan, of Ganj Baksh, 88, 310, 324
Mazar-i Salatin, 229, 261,322, 323, 324, 335, 353, 391
Mazhab, 221
Mazhar, Mirza Jan-i Janan, 221-2
Mecca, 3, 17, 258, 339, 350, 356, 373, 385, 397, 411
Medina, 3, 172, 258, 339, 421; influence of Shattariyya on, 23
Meerut, 371
Mehrauli, 275
Mi'ar-i salikan-i tariqat, 246
Mi'raj, 13, 225-6
Mi'raju's-Salikin, 309
Miftahu'l-'Ashiqin, 222
Miftahu'l-Asrar, 222
Miftahu'l-Faiz, 222
Minhaj al-Din, 106
Mihr wa Mah, 223
Mim, 223
Minhaju'l-'Arifin, 312
Minhaju'r-Rishiyya, 223
Minjaju'd-Din 'Usman bin Siraju'd-Din Muhammad Juzani, 223
Mir 'Abdu'l-Gani, 223
Mir 'Abdu'llah Mantaqi, 224-5
Mir 'Abdu'l-Mumin, 224
Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, 224
Mir 'Abdu'l-Wahid Bilgarami, 137
Mir 'Abdu'r-Rashid Baihaqi, 224
Mir 'Abdu'sh-Shahid, 224
Mir 'Adil, 224
Mir 'Ali Qadiri, 223
Mir 'Ali Sani, 224
Mir 'Atau'llah, 224
Mir 'Azizu'llah, 224
Mir Abu'l Qasim, 225
Mir Abu'l-'Ala Akbarabadi, 223
Mir Abu'l-Fath Qadiri, 37, 225
Mir Abu'l-Fath, 225
Mir Ahmad Andrabi, 225
Mir Ahmad Qadiri, 225
Mir Ahsanu'llah, 225
Mir Asadu'llah Mantaqi, 226
Mir Ayub Bukhari, 227
Mir Baba Haidar, 227
Mir Baha'u'd-Din Mantaqi, 227
Mir Baha'u'd-Din Qadiri, 227
Mir Baha'u'd-Din, 227
Mir Baqir Naqshbandi, 228
Mir Baqir, 228
Mir Buzurg Zainakadli, 228
Mir Dard, 228-9
Mir Dawud 'Allama Dawarki, 229
Mir Fazil Majzub, 229
Mir Fazil, 229
Mir Habibu'llah, 229
Mir Hamza Kreiri, 229
Mir Hasan Qadiri, 229
Mir Hashim Munawwarabadi, 229
Mir Husain Qadiri, 229-30
Mir Ibrahim Rishi, 230
Mir Isma'il, 230
Mir Kamal al-din Andrabi, 230
Mir Karamu'llah, 230

Mir Khudadad, 230
Mir Lutfu'llah Dawarki, 230
Mir Mahmud Pampuri, 230
Mir Maqsud Kreiri, 230
Mir Mubarak Baihaqi, 230-1
Mir Muhammad 'Alam Qadiri, 231
Mir Muhammad Afzal Andrabi, 231
Mir Muhammad Baqir, 231
Mir Muhammad Hanif, 231
Mir Muhammad Jan, 203
Mir Muhammad Khalifa, 231
Mir Muhammad Khushal, 232
Mir Muhammad Ma'ruf, 232
Mir Muhammad Mantaqi Sani, 232
Mir Muhammad Qaim Qadiri, 232
Mir Muhammad Sadiq, 232
Mir Muhammad Sultan Qazi 'Idgahi, 232
Mir Muhammad Yusuf Kanth, 232
Mir Muhammad Yusuf Qadiri, 232
Mir Muhammad Yusuf, 232
Mir Muhiu'd-Din Qadiri, 233
Mir Najmu'd-Din Mantaqi, 233
Mir Nazuk Qadiri, 233
Mir Nizamu'd-Din Baihaqi, 233
Mir Nizamu'd-Din Munawwarabadi, 233
Mir Nizamu'd-Din Qadiri, 233-4
Mir Qasim Ahmadakadli, 234
Mir Sa'du'llah Shahabadi, 234
Mir Sa'id Andrabi, 234
Mir Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Awwal, 206
Mir Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Kanasturi, 234
Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, 4, 11-12, 202, 311-15
Mir Saiyid 'Ali Khan, 234
Mir Saiyid Amir Mah Bahraichi, 37, 234
Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, 11, 23, 96, 191, 201, 207, 210, 234-6, 323, 350
Mir Saiyid Ibrahim, 236
Mir Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din, 236
Mir Saiyid Khwurd, Shaikh, 236
Mir Saiyid Mirak Andrabi, 236
Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, 330-1, 417
Mir Saiyid Muhammad, 236
Mir Saiyid Muhaqqiq, 236
Mir Saiyid Musafir, 236
Mir Saiyid Nuru'd-Din, 236
Mir Saiyid Qutb Majzub, 237
Mir Sanau'llah, 237
Mir Shah Baba, 237
Mir Shamsu'd-Din 'Iraqi, 198
Mir Shamsu'd-Din Andrabi, 237
Mir Shamsu'd-Din, 237
Mir Sharafu'd-Din Qadiri, 237
Mir Shihabu'd-Din Nizam, 204
Mir Ya'qub, 237
Mir Yasin Shah Qadiri, 237
Mir Zia'u'd-Din Na'im, 237
Mir Zia'u'd-Din Qadiri, 237
Mir, 223
Mir'at'l-'Alam, 93
Mir'at-i Jahan-Numa, 93
Mir'at-i Madari, 25
Mir'at-i Mas'udi, 25, 226
Mir'at-i Taiyiba, 226-7
Mir'atu'l-'Arifin, 227
Mir'atu'l-Asrar, 25, 227
Mir'atu'l-Khayal, 227
Mir'atu'l-Makhluqat, 25, 227
Mir'atu'l-Tai'bin, 237, 312
Mir'atu'l-Ghuyub, 170
Mira Bibi, 238
Miracles, 238-9
Miran Rishi, 7, 239
Miranji Shamsu'd-Din 'Ushshaq, 226
Mirat-i Taibiya, 175
Miratu'l-Haqai'q, 235
Miri Rishi Baba Shamsu'd-Din, 239
Mirjanpura, Srinagar, 362
Mirsadu'l-'Ibad min'al-mubda'ilal-Ma'ad, 239
Mirsadu'l-'ibah, 227
Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, 15
Mirza 'Aziz Koka, 17
Mirza Akmalu'd-Din Badakshi *alias* Mirza Kamil, 93, 239
Mirza Beg Mansabdar, 239
Mirza Farhad Beg, 239
Mirza Ghulam Baig, 240
Mirza Hayat Baig, 240
Mirza Jani Janan ke Khutut, 240
Mirza Mughal Beg, 24
Mirza Mumin Khan, 240
Mirza Shah Naqshbandi, 240
Mirza Zahid Harawi, 240
Misaq, 240
Mishakat al-Masabih, 53, 240-1
Miskin Mughal, Mulla, 40
Miskin Shah Sahib, 241
Mithal, 241
Miyan 'Abdu'l-Ma'ali, 241-2
Miyan 'Abdu'l-Majid, 241
Miyan 'Abdu'n-Nabi Churasi, 227, 242
Miyan 'Ali, 242
Miyan Aayatu'llah, 241
Miyan Anwar, 242
Miyan Gharib, 242
Miyan Ghiyas, 242
Miyan Gul Muhammad Kangal, 242
Miyan Hajji Muhammad Banyani, 242
Miyan Hamid Rajput, 242
Miyan Hazuru'llah, 243
Miyan Jamuji, 243
Miyan Khaksar, 243
Miyan Ma'ruf, 243
Miyan Manak Shah, 243
Miyan Mir, 17
Miyan Miyanji bin Dawud, 243
Miyan Mongir, 244
Miyan Muhammad Hashim Chisti, 244
Miyan Muhammad Husain Chisti, 244
Miyan Muhammad Murad, 244-5
Miyan Muhammad Rafiq, 245
Miyan Muhammad Tahir, 245
Miyan Muhammad Yusuf, 245
Miyan Najmu'd-Din Mandawi, 245
Miyan Ni'amatu'llah, 245
Miyan Qazi Khan Zafarabadi, 14, 245
Miyan Qutbu'd-Din, 246
Miyan Shah 'Abu'l-Sattar, 246
Miyan Shahi, 246
Miyan Shaikh Muhammad, 246

Miyan Shaikh Muhammad, of Amethi, 18
Miyan Wafaqi Shah, 246
Miyan Yahya Chisti, 246
Miyan Yusuf, 246
Miyanjiw Chisti, 246
Miyan-Mir, 16, 243-4
Miyan-Nattha, 245
mohalla Bagh-i Yusuf Shah, 401
mohalla of Khandani, 437
mohalla of Rahbaba Saheb, 85
Mohammad Habib, 5
Mohammad Iqbal, 'Allama, 226
Mohan, Lucknow, 393
Molla Sadra Shirazi, 17
Monasticism, 246
Morocco, 21
mu'amalat, 269
Mu'ayyid Kara'i, Khwaja, 269
Mubarak Khan Harawi, 246
Mubarak Rishi, 246
Mublighu'r-rijal, 246
Muddar, Kashmir, 408
Mugal Masjid, 73, 420, 435
Mughalat al-'Amma, 246
Muhammad 'Abdu'r-Rashid, 246
Muhammad 'Ali Khairabadi, Hafiz Saiyid, 246
Muhammad 'Aqil, Qazi, 247
Muhammad 'Arif, Shaikh-i Lashkar, 247
Muhammad 'Ashiq, Shaikh, 248
Muhammad 'Isa, Shaikh, 251
Muhammad 'Ubaidu'llah, Shaikh, 256
Muhammad Afzal, 246
Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, Shaikh, 251
Muhammad al-Murtaza ibn Muhammad Zabidi, 252
Muhammad Amin Kashmiri, Mulla, 247
Muhammad Amin Kaul, 247
Muhammad Amin Sufi, 247
Muhammad Arshad, Shaikh, 248
Muhammad Ashraf Shattari, Shaikh, 248
Muhammad Ashraf, Khwaja, 248
Muhammad Baqir, 248
Muhammad Beg al-Uzbeki, 248
Muhammad bin 'Abdu'l- Wahhab, of Arabia, 10
Muhammad bin 'Abdu'r-Rasul al-Barzanji, 29
Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah, Shaikh, 249-50
Muhammad bin Kabir bin Shaikh Isma'il, 33
Muhammad bin Raj-i Kamman Kolawi, 53
Muhammad bin Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Malik Qari Khalidi, 250
Muhammad bin Tughluq, 412
Muhammad bin Yar, 53
Muhammad Chisti, Shaikh, 248-9
Muhammad Gaus Peshawari, Saiyid, 250
Muhammad Habib Tranboo, 250
Muhammad Hasan Arab, 250
Muhammad Husaini bin Ja'far al-Makki, Saiyid, 250-1
Muhammad Ibrahim, Shaikh, 251
Muhammad Ishaq, Maulana, 251-2
Muhammad Isma'il Bukhari, 251
Muhammad Ja'far, 252
Muhammad Jamal Multani, Hafiz, 252
Muhammad Ji Barhana, Shaikh, 252
Muhammad Kazim, Saiyid, 252
Muhammad Khan Razzaqi,
Muhammad *Majzub*, Saiyid, 252
Muhammad Muhsin Gana'i, 253
Muhammad Muhsin Qadiri, 253
Muhammad Muhsin, 252
Muhammad Murad Posha Tangu, 24, 253
Muhammad Murad Tang, 125, 352, 411
Muhammad Na'imu'llah Bahraichi Hanafi Naqshbandi, 204
Muhammad Naishapuri, 253
Muhammad Naqshband, Hujjatu'llah, 253
Muhammad Nasir, Khwaja, 253
Muhammad Ni'matullah, 96
Muhammad Qasim Majnun, 253
Muhammad Sa'id, 253
Muhammad Sa'id, Saiyid, 253
Muhammad Sadiq, 253
Muhammad Sadiq, Khwaja, 254
Muhammad Sadiq, Shaikh, 254-5
Muhammad Salih, 254
Muhammad Salih, Maulana, 254
Muhammad Shah Ghuri, 254
Muhammad Shah Khandabawani, 27, 254
Muhammad Shah Qadimi, 254
Muhammad Shah, 254
Muhammad Sibghatu'llah, 254
Muhammad Sibghatu'llah, Shaikh, 254
Muhammad Sihlawi, Mulla Nizamu'd-Din, 255
Muhammad Sufi, Shaikh, 255
Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa, Khwaja, 255-6
Muhammad Turk, Shaikh, 255
Muhammad Waris, 256
Muhammad Zubair, Shaikh, 256-7
Muhammad, the Prophet, spiritual meeting with him, 32
Muhammadabad (Kalpi), 42
Muhi'u'd-Din Abu Yusuf Yahya Chisti, Shaikh, 258
Muhibu'llah Mubariz, Shaikh, 257
Muhibu'llah, Saiyid, 258
Muhiu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-Qadir al'Aidarus, 21
Mujaddid, 258
Mujahada, 17
Mukashifat-i 'Ayiniyya-i Mujaddidiyya, 258
Mukhbiru'l-Asrar, 239
Mukhkh al-Ma'ani, 47, 258
Mukhlisu'd-Din Karki Badauni, Maulana, 258
Mukhtapakhri, 126
mulhaq, 258
Mulhimat, 393
Mulla Abdu's-Salam Vakil Badshah, 260
Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Dadru Qadiri, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'l-Gani Sulaimani, 27
Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, 260
Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Mattu, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Siyalkoti, 31, 244
Mulla 'Abdu'llah, 27
Mulla 'Abdu'l-Mumin, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rahim Fafu, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Bainwa, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'r-Rashid Zargar, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, 259
Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur Patloo, 260
Mulla 'Abdu'sh-Shakur, 260
Mulla 'Abid Kawusa, 260
Mulla 'Ali Almas, 261
Mulla 'Ali Qari, 261
Mulla 'Inayatu'llah Shawl, 263
Mulla 'Isa Siyalkoti, 263

Mulla Abdu’n-Nabi Diwani Baldimari, 259
Mulla Abu Bakr, 260
Mulla Abu’l-Faiz, 260
Mulla Abu’l-Fath Kulu, 260-1
Mulla Abu’l-Makarim, 261
Mulla Afzal, 261
Mulla Ahmad ‘Allama, 261
Mulla Akbar Khan, 261
Mulla Amiru’d-Din Mufti, 261
Mulla Dawud, 103
Mulla Dost Muhammad Suhhaf, 261
Mulla Firuz Mufti, 261-2
Mulla Haidar Bulaqi *alias* Pishlu, 262
Mulla Haidar Pishlu, 262
Mulla Hajji Gana’i *alias* Rizvi, 262
Mulla Hajji Tusi, 262
Mulla Hamid Gujar, 262
Mulla Hamid Namdasaz, 262
Mulla Hasan, 262
Mulla Hidayatu’llah Gaani, 262
Mulla Husain Ghaznavi, 262
Mulla Husain Hajji Gana’i, 262
Mulla Husain Khabbaz, 263
Mulla Ibrahim Ruhi, 263
Mulla Ja‘far, 53
Mulla Jamalu’d-Din Pishlu, 263
Mulla Jauhar Gana’i, 263
Mulla Jawahar Nanat, 264
Mulla Kamal, 17
Mulla Kazim Chuhu, 264
Mulla Kazim, 264
Mulla Khwaja Bihari, 264
Mulla Khwaja Kalan, 264
Mulla Maqsud Mattu, 264
Mulla Mashrabi, 264
Mulla Muhammad ‘Aasim, 265
Mulla Muhammad ‘Abid Topigaru, 265
Mulla Muhammad ‘Aini, 265
Mulla Muhammad ‘Arif, 265
Mulla Muhammad Amin Gaani ‘Ala’u’d-Dinpuri, 265
Mulla Muhammad Ba’i, 265
Mulla Muhammad Fazil Kawausa, 265
Mulla Muhammad Kawausa, 265-6
Mulla Muhammad Kazim Mattu, 266
Mulla Muhammad Muhsin, 266
Mulla Muhammad Muqim Topigaru, 23
Mulla Muhammad Murad, 266
Mulla Muhammad Sa‘id Gandsu *alias* Bukhari, 266
Mulla Muhammad Sharif, 266
Mulla Muhammad Wali *alias* Kun, 266
Mulla Muhammad, 265
Mulla Muhsin Fani, 266
Mulla Muhsin Khushoo, 267
Mulla Nizamu’d-Din of Farangi Mahall, 204
Mulla Nuru’d-Din Naushahri, 267
Mulla Nuru’d-Din Qari Khanyari, 267
Mulla Nuru’l-Haqq, 267
Mulla Nuru’l-Huda, 267
Mulla Nuru’llah Patwani, 267
Mulla Qawamu’d-Din, 267
Mulla Rahmatu’llah Pishlu, 267
Mulla Sanau’llah Pishlu, 268
Mulla Sangin, 268
Mulla Shah Masjid, 237
Mulla Shamsu’d-Din Pal, 268
Mulla Sultan Maantji, 268
Mulla Taiyib Badakshani, 408
Mulla Taiyib, 125
Mulla Yusuf Chachak, 268
Mulla Yusuf, *alias* Almas, 268
Mulla Zahiru’d-Din Pishlu, 268
Mulla Zainu’d-Din Pal, 268
Multan, 15, 20, 90, 135, 170, 252, 372, 374, 384, 385, 413, 424
Muma Butt, 268
mumkinu’l-wujud, 269
munajat, 269
Munawwarabad, 229, 321
Munisu’l-Arwah, 269
Murad Shah, 268
Muradu’d-Din Khan, 269
muraqaba, 269
Muraqqa’-i Dihli, 269
Musa Qadiri, Shah, 269
Musa Suhag, 269
Musa, Shaikh, 270
mushahada, 270
Mushtaqi, Shaikh Rizqu’llah, 270
Music, 170
Muslim Abu’l-Husain Muslim, 270
Muslim Rishis of Kashmir, 206
Mustafa Qadiri, 19
Mustafa Qadiri, Shah, 270
Mustafa, 270
Mutakhabu’t-Tawarikh, 269
Mutawakkil, Shaikh Ahmad, 270
Mutawalli, 270
Muwahhid, 33, 270, 385
Muwatta, 270
Muzammil, Saiyid, 270

n‘at, 271
Na‘im Shah, 271
Na‘imu’llah Bahra’ichi, Maulavi, 271
Na‘imu’llah, Shah, 271
Na’idkhai, Srinagar, 326
Nabi, 271
Nafa’isu’l-Ma‘asir, 271
Nafahatu’l-uns min Hazaratu’l-Quds, 271
Nafi’us-Salikin, 271
Nafi-o isbat, 25
nafs-i lawwama, 271
Nafl, 271
nafs, 271
nafs-i ammara, 271
nafs-i mutma’inna, 271
nafs-i-kafir, 12
Nagam, 64, 82, 328, 337, 337
Naganaran, 65, 80, 138, 272
Nagaur, 30, 172, 373, 382, 393
Naharwala, 19, 445
Naharwali, Allahabad, 390
Nahi-munkar, 271
Nahtau’l-‘Urfan, 309
Naji Ba’i, 271
Naji Baba Rishi, 362
Najib, 52
Najmu’d-Din Nagauri, Hajji, 271
Najmu’d-Din Sughra, 48

Najmu'd-Din Yusuf, 199
Nakhshab, 187
Nala-i 'Andalib, 271
Nalla Mar, 279
namaz, the Reality of, 17
Namd, 272
Nanda Baiyu, 272
Nandi Rishi, 272
Nandpura Mir Bahri, Srinagar, 339, 391, 412
Nangi Majzub, Shah, 272
Naqib, 52
Naqiu'd-Din Awadhi, Maulana, 272
Naqshbandiyya, 58, 89
Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidyya, 11
Narbada, 284
Narkoti, 11
Narnaul, 351, 382
Narparistan, Srinagar, 253, 332, 355
Naru, Kashmir, 379
Narwara, Srinagar, 71, 335
Nasamatu'l-Quds min hada'iqu'l-uns, 139
Nasimu'l-Ahrar, 57
Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, Shaikh, 273
Nasiru'd-Din Manikpuri, Shaikh, 273
Nasiru'd-Din, Khwaja, 273
Nasiru'd-Din, Saiyid, 199
Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh, 273
Nasmatu'l-Quds min hada'iqu'l-uns, 273
nasut, 6, 273
Nata'iju'l-Haramain, 273
Nath Yogi, 63
Natha Paracha, 273
Natijat al-'ulum wa nasihat ulama' al-rusum, 273
Nauhatta, Srinagar, 83, 88, 332
Naupura, Srinagar, 328, 334
Nauroz Magray, 273
Nauroz Rishi, 273
Naushah Ganj Baksh, 273-4
Naushahi, Shaikh, 274
Naushahr, 126, 168, 214, 230, 320, 329, 337
Nawakadal, 310, 333
Nawakhali, 351
Nazar Muhammad Qadiri Kairanawi, 274
nazrana, 274
nazr-u niyaz, 274
Neem Langoti, 274
Newa, Kashmir, 229
Ni'matu'llah Qadiri, Shah, 274
Nikatu'l-Asrar, 29, 274
Nirguna, 274-5
Nisabu'l-Ihtisab, 275
Nishapur, 22
Nishat Bagh, 65
niyaz-i rasul, 275
Nizam Hajji, 203
Nizam Narnuli, Shaikh, 275
Nizami, K.A., 5, 6, 223
Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari, Shaikh, 275
Nizamu'd-Din Shahid, Khwaja, 275
Nizamu'd-Din Shirazi, Shaikh, 275, 277
Nizamu'd-Din Thaneswari, Shaikh, 275-6
Nizamu'd-Din Zaidpuri, Mir Saiyid, 277
Nizamu'd-Din, Mulla Muhammad, 276
Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh, 276
Nu'man, Mir Muhammad, 277
Nuna Rishi, 277
Nuni Rishi, 277
Nur Baba, 277
Nur Jahan, 118
Nur Muhammad Gani, 277
Nur Muhammad Muharwi, Khwaja, 277-8
Nur Muhammad Naruwala, Maulana, 279
Nur Muhammad Parwana, 278
Nur Muhammad Rafiq, 278
Nur Muhammad Shattari, Shaikh, 279
Nur Muhammad, Shaikh, 279
Nur Turk, Maulana, 279
Nur, of Allah defined, 385
Nura Baba-i Makhdumi, 278
Nura Baba-i Pakhli, 278-9
Nurbakshiyya, 71
Nur-i Muhammadi, 279
Nuru'd-Din 'Ali Raniri, Shaikh, 281
Nuru'd-Din Ahmadabadi, Maulana, 279
Nuru'd-Din Ahmad Mandawi, 279
Nuru'd-Din Badakshi, 11
Nuru'd-Din Ishaq Qadiri, 279
Nuru'd-Din Mubarak Ghaznawi, Shaikh, 281
Nuru'd-Din Safawi, Shah, 280
Nuru'l-Haqq, 280
Nuru'l-Haqq, Shaikh, 280
Nuru'llah, Shaikh, 280-1
Nuru'l-Yaqin, 281
Nuru's-Samad, Shaikh, 281
Nuru's-Siraj, 262
Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, 281
Nuzhatu'l-Arwah, 21, 49

Orthodox Islam, 5, 10
Owngam, 363

Pa'il, 394
Pakhli, 231, 242, 429
Pakistan, 6, 203, 393
Palachhan, in Kashmir, 405
Pampur, 83, 176, 407
Pandachhouk, 446
Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, 368
Pandua, 392, 430
Panipat, 29, 99, 392, 395, 397
Panja Rishi, 282
Panjab, 91, 163, 164, 353, 437
Panjabi folktales and Sufism, 24
Parama Siva, 33
Pariaw-i 'ishq, 282
Pas-i-anfas, 6, 282
Pathri, Ahmadnagar, 392
Pati Rishi, 282
Patiwan, 88
Patna, 16
Pattan, Kashmir, 129
Patwal Masjid, Srinagar, 27, 71
Paul Jackson, 293
Pazipura, 79
Peshawar, 39, 126, 133, 317, 375
Phag, 81 213, 324
Phugi Afghan 'Aziz Za'i, Shaikh, 282
Phulat, 380

Pilas Rishi, 7, 282
Pir Baba Yusuf, 283
Pir Badr-i ‘Alam, 283
Pir Bajar Manduwali, 282
Pir Buddhan, Shaikh, 283-4
Pir Hajji Muhammad Qari, 284
Pir Jumna, 282
Pir Ma‘bari Khandayat, 284
Pir Muhammad, Shaikh, 284
Pir-i Kibar, 36
Piyara Chisti, Shaikh, 284
Popular Kashmiri religious culture, 7
Pranayama, 6
Pranbhavan, 446
Predestination, 284
Prophet Muhammad, described as first Rishi, 7
Prophet’s advice in a vision, 226
Pul-i Sirat, 284
Purniya, 341, 385
Pushkar, Kashmir, 70, 128

Qa’id’u’l-A‘ma, 309
Qa’im Kanth, 287
Qa’im Shah, 287
Qabaqausain, 286
Qabz wa Bast, 286
Qada Shah, 286
qadar, 286
Qadh al-zand wa-Qadah al-rand fi radd jahalat ahl al-Sirhind, 29
Qadir Linga, 286
Qadir Shah Kamaraji, 286
Qadir Shah Sani, 285
Qadiriyya order, 286-7
Qaiyum, 286; of the Path, 221
qalam, 287
Qalandariyya traditions, 287-8
Qalandars, 128, 130, 139, 150, 352, 353
Qalashpura, Srinagar, 230, 363
Qana‘at, 288
Qanauj, 384
Qanzu’l-Awrad, 124
Qasida-i Burda, 288
Qasida-i Gusul-i Yusuf Shahi, 62
Qasida-i Istaghfar, 309
Qasida-i Lamiyya, 61
Qasim Kak, 288
Qasim Nanautawi, Maulana Muhammad, 287-8
Qasim Qadiri, Shah, 289
Qasr-i ‘Arifan, 289
Qasr-i ‘Arifin, 289
Qasr-i Hinduwan, 89
Qasur, 36, 100, 133, 296, 375
Qatrat, 289
Qawai’du’l-Masha’ikh, 167
qawal, 50, 213, 383
qawwali, 14, 15, 223, 289, 389
Qazan (‘Ala, Shaikh Muhammad), 41
Qazi ‘Abdu’l-Gani, 289
Qazi ‘Abdu’llah Sindhi, 44
Qazi ‘Abdu’l-Muqtadir, 31, 289-90
Qazi ‘Abdu’l-Qadir bin ‘Ali, 290
Qazi ‘Abdu’l-Qadir, 290
Qazi ‘Isa, 291
Qazi Badi‘ud-Din, 290
Qazi Baksh, Shaikh, 290
Qazi Bashiru’d-Din, 203
Qazi Daulat Shah Bukhari, 39, 290
Qazi Fakhru’d-Din bin Ruknu’d-Din, 290
Qazi Ghulamu’d-Din, 290
Qazi Habibu’llah, 290
Qazi Hamidu’d-Din Nagauri, 36
Qazi Ibrahim bin Qazi Muhammad, 291
Qazi Ibrahim, 290
Qazi Jalalu’d-Din Multani, 291
Qazi Jamalu’d-Din Khushnavis, 291
Qazi Jamalu’d-Din, 291
Qazi Mahmud Murbi, 291
Qazi Mubarak, 291
Qazi Muhammad Sawi, 291
Qazi Muhi’u’d-Din Kashani, 291
Qazi Mulla Husain, 292
Qazi Musa Nawachu, 292
Qazi Najmu’d-Din, 292
Qazi Nasiru’d-Din Gunbadi; 292
Qazi Nuru’d-Din Qari, 292
Qazi Qazan Sindhi, 292
Qazi Qutb Majzub, 292
Qazi Qutb, 292
Qazi Sadru’d-Din Lahori, 292
Qazi Samau’d-Din, 292
Qazi Shamsu’d-Din, 292
Qazi Shihabu’d-Din Daulatabadi, 293
Qazi Shihabu’d-Din, 293
Qazikadal, 229, 232, 233, 379
Qiran, 293
Qissa-i Sohni Mahwal, 199, 293
Qur’an, Sufi interpretation, 129
Qurratu’l-‘Ain, 360
Qutb al-Aqtab, 293
Qutb, 293
Qutb-i ‘Alam, 293
Qutb-i ‘Alam, Shaikh, 293
Qutb-i Zaman, 386
Qutbu’d-Din, Makhdum Shaikh, 294
Qutbu’d-Dinpura, 194, 195, 169, 245, 326, 410

Rachan Shah, 109
Radhakrishnan, S., 7
Rad-i Rawafiz, 295
Rae-Bareli, 429
Raf ‘iu’d-Din Safavi, Saiyid, 295
Rafi‘u’d-Din, Shah, 295
Rafiq Mazar, Srinagar, 406
Rafiqi, A.Q., 7
Rafiqu’l-‘Arifin, 295, 386
Rahatu’l-Qulub, 169, 295
Rahatu’l-Talibin, 295
Rahbaba *mohalla*, Srinagar, 163
Rahbaniyah, 246
Rahma Shah, 295
Rahman Sufi, 295
Rahmat Shuryani Chisti, Shaikh, 295-6
Rahpura, 442
Rai Sunath Singh Baidar, 11
Rainawari, 166, 181, 220, 243, 365, 466
Raja Man Singh, his veneration for a Sufi, 395
Rajasthan, 16, 132, 382

Raji Hamid Shah, 296
Raji Muhammad ‘Aini, 296
Raji Saiyid Muhammad, 296
Raji Saiyid Mustafa, 296
Raji Saiyid Nur, 296
Rajouri Kadal, 321, 386
Raju Qattal, Saiyid, 296
Rampur, 30
Ramuzu't-Talibin, 220
Rang Bala'ul, Shaikh, 296
Rang Masjid, Srinagar, 236, 321, 336
Rang mohalla, Srinagar, 337
Rang Tang, Srinagar, 376
Ranal, 60
Rapur, 72
Rashahat-i ‘Ainu'l-Hayat, 296
Rashid ‘Usman Jaunpuri, Shaikh Muhammad, 296-7
Rasulabad, 385
Rasulpura, Lahore, 325
Ratan Rishi, 297
Rauzat al-Nawazir, 87, 297
Rauzatu'l-Auliya, 297
Rauzatu'l-Husna, 388
Rauzatu'l-Qaiyumiyya, 297
Rauzatu'r-Riyazat, 297
Rauzatu'sh-Sharb, 297-8
Rauzatu's-Salam, 298
Rauzatu's-Salikin, 297
Rauzbal, Srinagar, 335
Rawa'ih, 87, 298
Rawalpura, Srinagar, 324
Raziu'd-Din Mansur, Maulana, 298
Regi Rishi, 298
Rehi Checha Bab, 298
Relic of the Prophet, 172
Relic worship, 298
Relic, shoe of the Mujjadid as, 381
Relics of the Prophet in Soura, Srinagar, 323
Repentance, 298-9
Rifa‘iyyas, of Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, 128
Rinchana, first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, 338
Risala-i ‘Ajeeb Manzar, 27
Risala-i Agahi-nama, 299
Risala-i Asrar-i Wahdat, 299
Risala-i Azkar-i Khanwadah-i Chistiyya, 299
Risala-i Balkhiyya, 275
Risala-i Dah Qa‘ida, 312
Risala-i Fawa'ih, 299
Risala-i Firaq-nama, 299
Risala-i Futuwwa, 299, 312
Risala-i Haqiqat, 275
Risala-i Hidayatu'l-a‘ma, 263
Risala-i Kanzu'l-asrar, 23, 299
Risala-i Khawatirya, 312
Risala-i Lahmiyya, 299-300
Risala-i Majmu‘a-Shaiva, 27
Risala-i Qudsiyya, 360
Risala-i Rataniyya, 80
Risala-i Saiyid, 300
Risala-i Sama‘,300
Risala-i Shattariyya, 89, 300
Risala-i Sufiyya, 23
Risala-i Sultania, 300, 366
Risala-i Tahlilyya, 300
Risala-i Tarb‘a, 166, 300
Risala-i Tarfa Qaza wa Qadr, 27
Risala-i Tawhid, 45
Risala-i Tufatu'l-ikhwan fi manaqibu'l-Ni‘man, 300
Risala-i Zaruriyyah, 61, 300
Risala-i Zikriyya, 300, 433
Risalatu'l-Insaf, 170
Risalatu'l-Suluk, 169
Risalatu'l-Tasawwuf, 170
Risal-i Ashjar-i Khuld, 299
Risal-i Hal Khanwadah-i Chist, 299
Risal-i Zikriya, 312
Risalos, 24
Risha Ba'i, 300
Rishi Baba, 300
rishi jama, 300
Rishi Pir, 301
Rishipura, 81, 302
Rishis, 26, 33
Rishiyya, 57
Rivan, Kashmir, 185
Riyazu'l-Auliya, 301
Riyazu'sh-Shu‘ara, 301
riza, 301
Rizvi, S.A.A., 6, 179
Rohtak, 388
ru'ya, 304
Ruba‘iyat-i Khwaja Baqi Billah, 301-2
Rubi Rishi, 302
Rudauli, 34, 42, 237, 307, 376, 377, 381, 389, 397
Rudvani, 432
Ruh, 209
Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l-Fath, Saiyid, 302
Ruknu'd-Din Abu'l-Fath, Shaikh, 302
Ruknu'd-Din Firdausi, Shaikh, 303
Ruknu'd-Din Naushahi, Qazi, 303
Ruknu'd-Din Shattari, Shaikh, 303
Rum Rishi, 7, 303
Rumi Rishi Bab, 303
Rupa Rishi, 303
Rupavan, 216
Rupi Rishi, 303
Rushd-Nama, 304, 360

S‘adu'llah Khan, Wazir, 411
Sa‘du'llah, Shaikh, 306
Sa‘du'd-Din Khairabadi, 306
Sa‘du'llah Bani Isra'il, shaikh, 306
Sa‘id Sarmad, Muhammad, 307-8
Saabi, 109, 81
Saadat-i Andrabia, 172, 247
Saadat-i Parsiya, 58, 230, 370
Saba‘-i Sanabil, 21, 305
Sabr Qutb, 28
Sabr, 305
Sachal Sarmast, ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab, 305
Sadha Rishi, 305
Sadhur, 201
Sadiq Hamadani, 305
Sadrabal, Srinagar, 332
Sadrah, 422
Sadru'd-Din Hakim, Shaikh, 305-6
Safa al-Sa‘ada (al-Sirat al-Mustaqim), 14
Safakadal, 339

Safapur, Kashmir, 195
Safar Nama-i Makhdum Jahaniyan, 306
Safaru'd-Din, 306
Safi Rishi, 306
Safinatu'l-'Arifin, 306
Safinatu'l-Auliya, 306
Safiu'd-Din Hanafi, Makhdum, 306-7
Safiu'd-Din Ibrahim Pur 'Abdu'llah Razi, Shaikh, 308
Safiu'd-Din Shaikh, 308
Sagam, Kashmir, 28
Sagar, 447
Sah Niyaz Ahmad, 353
Saharanpur, 35, 354
Sahha Rishi, 307
Sahi Bukhari, 4, 14, 17
Sahi Muslim, 4, 17, 307
Sahibiyya, 307
Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda, 307
Sahih, 307
Sahihu'l-Bukhari, 307
Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, 127-8
Saibug, Kashmir, 44
Saifu'llah, Shaikh, 308
Saipur, in Qanauj, 384
Sairu'l-Mawazi, 396
Sairu'l-Talibin, 312
Saivite philosophy, 417
Saiyaru'l-Aqtab, 308
Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Karim (Shah Karim), 24
Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Anandi Multani, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'llah Baihaqi, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'llah, 308, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Mir, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Wahid, 308
Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rahim, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Rasul, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Abu Baqr, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Chiragh Lahori, 309
Saiyid 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, Hajji Mir, 309
Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din Sani Majzub, 311
Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din, 311
Saiyid 'Ala'u'd-Din, Shaikh, 311
Saiyid 'Ali Akbar Sani, 311
Saiyid 'Ali Akbar, 311
Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, 311-15
Saiyid 'Ali, 311
Saiyid 'Alimu'llah, 46
Saiyid 'Atta Muhammad *alias* 'Ala'u'd-Din, 316
Saiyid 'Azmat 'Ali Siddiqi, 203
Saiyid 'Azmatu'llah Akbarabadi, 24
Saiyid 'Ilmu'd-Din, Mir, 323
Saiyid 'Inayat 'Ali, 323
Saiyid 'Umar Hisari, 340
Saiyid Abu Sa'id bin Saiyid Raju, 310
Saiyid Ahmad Afghan, 310
Saiyid Ahmad Kirmani, 310
Saiyid Ahmad Qasim, 310
Saiyid Ahmad Qureshi, 310
Saiyid Ahmad Samani, 310-11
Saiyid Ahmad Shahid, 311
Saiyid Ahmad Shahid, of Rae-Bareli, 16
Saiyid Ahmad, 310
Saiyid Akbar Shah, 311
Saiyid Arab Shah Bukhari, 197
Saiyid Ashraf, 312
Saiyid Badru'd-Din Sani, 316
Saiyid Badru'd-Din, 316
Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din Sani, 316
Saiyid Baha'u'd-Din, 316
Saiyid Baqir, 316
Saiyid Barkhurdar, 316
Saiyid Burhan, 316
Saiyid Burhanu'd-Din, 316
Saiyid Buzurg Shah Qadiri, 316-17
Saiyid Chanda Husaini, 317
Saiyid Dawud, 317
Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din, 317
Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din, Shaikh *alias* Saiyid Meeth, 317
Saiyid Farid, 317
Saiyid Fazlu'llah, 317
Saiyid Firuz, 317
Saiyid Ghaus Qadiri, 317
Saiyid Ghulam Shah Azad, 317-18
Saiyid Habib Kashani, 318
Saiyid Habib Sarkhabi, 318
Saiyid Habibu'llah Kasani, 318
Saiyid Habibu'llah, 318
Saiyid Haibatu'llah, 318
Saiyid Haidar, 318
Saiyid Hajji Muhammad, 319
Saiyid Hajji Murad, 319
Saiyid Hamid, 319
Saiyid Hasan Bahadur, 320
Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi, 320
Saiyid Hasan Chisti Mandawi, 318
Saiyid Hasan Khan Ju, 320
Saiyid Hasan Mantaqi, 320
Saiyid Hasan Qadiri, 320
Saiyid Hasan Qumi, 320
Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa, 319
Saiyid Hasan Sani, 320
Saiyid Hasan, 320
Saiyid Hashim, 320
Saiyid Hazuru'llah, 320
Saiyid Hibatu'llah, 320
Saiyid Hilal Naqshbandi, 320-1
Saiyid Husain Biladuri or Bilad Rumi, 186, 321
Saiyid Husain Khwarazmi, 321
Saiyid Husain Mantaqi, 322
Saiyid Husain Paiminari, 322
Saiyid Husain Pakhli, 322
Saiyid Husain Simnani, 322
Saiyid Husain Zindaposh, 323
Saiyid Husain, 321
Saiyid Ibrahim Bhakkari, 323
Saiyid Ibrahim Iraji, 14, 144
Saiyid Ibrahim Khan Baihaqi, 323
Saiyid Ibrahim Nuri, 323
Saiyid Isma'il Shami, 323-4
Saiyid Isma'il, 323
Saiyid Ja'far Awwal, 324
Saiyid Ja'far, 324
Saiyid Jalal, Mir, 324
Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din, 324
Saiyid Jalau'd-Din Bukhari, 324
Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din 'Ata'i, 324
Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Bukhari, 324-5
Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Hafiz, 325

Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din Muhaddis, 325
Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din, 324
Saiyid Janbaz Wali, 325
Saiyid Jeo, Shaikh, 325
Saiyid Jiwan, 325
Saiyid Kabir, 325
Saiyid Kala Shattari, 325
Saiyid Kalu, 325-6
Saiyid Kamal, 326
Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Hafiz, 326
Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din Sani, 326
Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din, 326
Saiyid Khalil, 326
Saiyid Khudadad, 326
Saiyid Khwaja Khamosh, 326
Saiyid Mah Roshan, 165, 326
Saiyid Mansur, 326
Saiyid Mansur, *madrasa* of, 347
Saiyid Maqbul Shah, 326
Saiyid Mas‘ud, 327
Saiyid Mir Khan, 327
Saiyid Mir Muhammad Hashim, 327
Saiyid Mu‘azzam, 327
Saiyid Mubarak Haqqani, 327
Saiyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi, 327
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Aali, 328
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Abid, 328
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Ainposh, 328
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Ali, 328
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Andrabi, 329
Saiyid Muhammad ‘Iraqi, 332
Saiyid Muhammad Afzal, 328-9
Saiyid Muhammad Amin, 329
Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, 11, 96, 207,191, 234-6, 350
Saiyid Muhammad Baghdadi, 329
Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi Sani, 329
Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi, 330
Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Mahmud Kirmani (Amir Khwurd), 330
Saiyid Muhammad bin Saiyid Mu‘azzam, 330
Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari, 330
Saiyid Muhammad Firuz, 330
Saiyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, 9, 14
Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, 330-1
Saiyid Muhammad Hisari, 332
Saiyid Muhammad Husain Qazi Shirazi, 332
Saiyid Muhammad Ikhtaj, 332
Saiyid Muhammad Khalil, 332
Saiyid Muhammad Khawari, 332-3
Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani, 333
Saiyid Muhammad Loristani, 333
Saiyid Muhammad Madani, 88, 333
Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi Sani, 333
Saiyid Muhammad Mantaqi, 334
Saiyid Muhammad Mudarris, 25, 334
Saiyid Muhammad Nabi, 334
Saiyid Muhammad Nuri, 334
Saiyid Muhammad Qureshi, 334
Saiyid Muhammad Rifa‘i, *see* Saiyid Janbaz Wali
Saiyid Muhammad Sabir, 335
Saiyid Muhammad Wali, 335
Saiyid Muhammad Zindaposh, 335
Saiyid Muhammad, 327-8
Saiyid Multani, 335
Saiyid Murtaza, 335
Saiyid Musa Baghdadi, 335
Saiyid Musa, 335
Saiyid Musafir, 335
Saiyid Mustafa Mehbubu'llah, 335
Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din Baihaqi, 335
Saiyid Nasiru'd-Din Khanyari, 335
Saiyid Ni‘matu'llah Baihaqi, 336
Saiyid Ni‘matu'llah Hamadani, 336
Saiyid Ni‘matu'llah, 335-6
Saiyid Nur Muhammad Kirmani, 336
Saiyid Nur Muhammad, 336
Saiyid Nur Shah Baghdadi, 336
Saiyid Nuru'd-Din Husaini Fakhri, 203
Saiyid Nuru'd-Din, 336
Saiyid Pir Saiyidi, 336
Saiyid Qamru'd-Din, 336
Saiyid Qasim, 336, 420
Saiyid Qazi Habibu'llah Khwarazmi, 336
Saiyid Rasul Shah, 336-7
Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din Baghdadi, 337
Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din, 337
Saiyid Sa‘id *alias* "Shah Khwaja", 337
Saiyid Sa‘id, 337
Saiyid Sakhi, 337
Saiyid Shah Mir, 337
Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi, 31, 337
Saiyid Shah Tufail ‘Ali Qadiri, 337
Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Naushahri, 337
Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din, 337
Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Mashhadi, 337
Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din Suhrawardi, 337-9
Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din, of Kashmir, 11
Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din Sindhi, 339
Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din, 339
Saiyid Sibghatu'llah bin Ruhu'llah, Mir, 339
Saiyid Siraju'd-Din, 339
Saiyid Sulaiman, 339
Saiyid Sultan Bahraichi, 339-40
Saiyid Sultan, 339
Saiyid Taj Mah, 340
Saiyid Taju'd-Din, 340
Saiyid Ya‘qub, 340
Saiyid Yadu'llah, 340
Saiyid Yatimu'llah, 340-1
Saiyid Zahuru'llah, 341
Saiyid Zakir ‘Ali, 341
Saiyid Zia'u'd-Din, 341
Saiyid Zirak, *see* Zia‘u'd-Din
Saiyid Zuhaid Shah Budh, 341
Saiyidpura, Srinagar, 196, 133, 307
sakinah, 341
Sakinatu'l-Auliyah, 341
Sala Bibi II, 341
Sala Bibi, 341
Salah bin Mubarak al-Bukhari, 206
Salahu'd-Din Dervish, Shaikh, 341
Salar, 362
Salih Khan, 341-2
salik, 341
Salim Chisti Sabiri, Shaikh Muhammad, 342
Salim Chisti, Shaikh, 342
Salim Shah, 342-3

Saluku'l-Maraqabat, 343
Salura, Bengal, 354
Sama', after *tahajjud* prayers, 255
Samad Ju Khuiami, 343
Samaratu'l-Ashjar, 167, 343
Samaratu'l-Hayat, 101, 343
Samarqand, 57, 167
Sambhal, 343
Sana Rishi, 343
Sana'u'llah Panipati, Qazi, 343
Sana'u'llah Sambhali, Maulavi, 343
sanad, 3
Sanat Rishi, 343
Sanau'llah Qalandar, 343
Sandila, 23, 347, 372
Sanga Bibi, 343-4
Sangram Dar, 344
Sani Farid-o Salis Farid, 387
Sanwat-i Atiqiya, 87, 344
Saraf Kadal, 131
Saran, 341
Sarangpur, 205, 290, 321, 394
Sarashahr, 79
Saraswati, 20
Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan, 20
Sarfaraz Shah, 41, 344
Sarhama, Kashmir, 34
Sarmast, Abu'l-Fath Hidayatu'llah, 344
Satrikh, U.P., 409
Sawa, 127
Sawanih, 275
Sawatiu'l-Anwar, 344
Sayahat-Nama, 170
Sayr ila'-Allah, 384
Sazgari mohalla, Srinagar, 186, 336
Sazgarpora, 72
Schimmel, 222
Secular ideology, 7
Seeran, Kashmir, 196
Seh-Rukni, 257
Sehwan, 203
Sha 'ban Shah, 344
Sha 'irwari, 84, 127, 384
Shah 'Abdu'l-Aziz, 203
Shah 'Abdu'llah Qureshi, 345
Shah 'Abdu'llah Salih, 345
Shah 'Abdu'llah, 344
Shah 'Abdu'llah, of Batala, 206
Shah 'Abdu'l-Latif, 344
Shah 'Abdu'l-Wahid, 345
Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim Shahid, 345
Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahim, 22, 205
Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman Qalandar, 345
Shah 'Abdu'r-Rahman, 345
Shah 'Abdu'r-Rashid, 346
Shah 'Alam, 197, 346
Shah 'Inayatu'llah, 349
Shah 'Umar, 356
Shah Abu'l-Baqa, 346
Shah Abu'l-Fath Gankani *alias*, Kaul, 346
Shah Abu'l-Ghaib Bukhari, 346
Shah Abu'l-Hasan Qadiri, 32, 346
Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali Qadiri, 17
Shah Afzal Chisti, 346
Shah Ahmad Shar'i, 346
Shah Allah Baksh, 346
Shah Amanatu'llah *alias* Miyan Sahib, 346
Shah Amanu'llah, 346
Shah Anwar, 346
Shah Arzani, 347
Shah Asadu'llah, 347
Shah Bad'iu'd-Din *alias* Badi Shah, 347
Shah Baqar, 199, 347
Shah Bolaqi, 347
Shah Budh, 347
Shah Daulat Maneri, 347
Shah Dawud, 347
Shah Faqiru'llah 'Alwi Naqshbandi Shikarpuri, 202
Shah Farahu'd-Din *alias* Muhammad Farooq Mattu, 347
Shah Fath, 347
Shah Fazlu'llah, 347-8
Shah Gada (Abu Turab, Saiyid), 31
Shah Gadda, 40
Shah Gardiz, 348
Shah Ghulam 'Ali, 31, 348
Shah Gulshan, 348
Shah Habibu'llah, 348
Shah Hafizu'llah, 348
Shah Hamidu'llah, 348
Shah Husain Khuda-Numa, 349
Shah Husain Pakhli, 15
Shah Husain, 28
Shah Husamu'd-Din, 22
Shah Isma'il Qadiri , 349
Shah Jahan, 17, 180, 244
Shah Jalal Gujarati, 349
Shah Jalal Shirazi, 349
Shah Jamalu'd-Din Qalandar, 349
Shah Jamalu'llah, 349
Shah Kaku, 349
Shah Kaloo, 326
Shah Kamal, 349
Shah Kamalu'd-Din Haqqani, 349
Shah Kamalu'd-Din, 349
Shah Karim, 349
Shah Khaki, 349
Shah Khizr Rumi, 349
Shah Madar, 235, 350
Shah Makhdumi, 350
Shah Mansur, 350
Shah Mina, 350-1
Shah Miranji, 47
Shah Miyanji, 351
Shah Muhammad 'Arif, 351
Shah Muhammad 'Ashiq Phulti, 351
Shah Muhammad *alias* Shahi Baiyu, 351
Shah Muhammad Amin, 14
Shah Muhammad Da'im, 351
Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri, 351-2
Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi, 351
Shah Muhammad Munawwar Haqqani, 352
Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar, 352
Shah Muhammad Tanboli, 353
Shah Muhammad Ya'qub Haqqani, 353
Shah Muhammad Yusuf, 353
Shah Muhibu'llah, 351
Shah Muraad bin Saiyid Jalal, 206
Shah Muzaffaru'd-Din, 353

Shah Najmu'd-Din Mandawi, 353
Shah Ni‘matu'llah Shah, Saiyid of Kirman, 353
Shah Ni‘matu'llah Chisti, 353
Shah Ni‘matu'llah Qadiri Hisari, 353; sojourns at
    Chattabal, 353
Shah Ni‘matu'llah Qadiri, of Rajmahal, 130
Shah Nizamu'd-Din, 354
Shah Nur, 354
Shah Pir, 354
Shah Pirak, 354
Shah Qamees, 354
Shah Qasim Haqqani, 186, 354-5
Shah Qasim Qadiri, 19
Shah Qutbu'd-Din, 355
Shah Ra‘uf Ahmad, 355
Shah Raf‘iu'd-Din, 19
Shah Rahmatu'llah, 355
Shah Raju, 355
Shah Saidu, 355
Shah Sanau'llah Qalandar, 38
Shah Shafi, 355
Shah Sulaiman, 355
Shah Tahir, 355
Shah Taufiq Khwunjundi, 355-6
Shah Turkman Sahib, 356
Shah Wali'ullah, 5, 19, 30, 51, 205, 356-7
Shah Ya‘qub Haqqani, 206
Shah Yusuf Multani, *see* Shah Gardiz
Shah Zainu'd-Din Ganj Nishin, 357
Shahabad, Kashmir, 28, 217, 73, 83, 347, 266
Shahabadi, 46
Shahbaz-i Sufaid, 30
Shahjahanabad, 165, 232, 260, 363
Shahjahanpur, 247
Shahpur Hillock, 349, 357
Shaikh ‘Aal'u'd-Din ‘Isa Dihlawi, 370
Shaikh ‘Abd, 357
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-‘Aziz, 15, 357
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ahad Sirhindi, correspondence between Abu'r-Riza
    and, 33
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Gani Lankar, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Gani Nawhatta, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ghafur A‘zampuri, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ghafur bin Dawud bin Khan Qadiri, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ghafur Ghazi, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ghafur Manu, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Ha'i, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Hakim, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, 3, 9, 17-18
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, 368
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Haqq, of Rudauli, 25
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Hasan Bakri, 44
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Jalil Nagauri, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Karim al-Jilli, 21
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Karim Chisti, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Karim, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah *alias* Aba Baiyu, 361
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah *alias* Abli Baiyu, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Bayabani, 361-2
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Chak, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Majzub Qadiri Baghdadi, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Makhdumi, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Qadimi, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah Salari *alias* Dawud Ba‘i, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'llah, 19, 361
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Latif Bak, 358
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Latif bin Shaikh Nur Muhammad Ahmedabadi, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Latif Kaul, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Latif Qadiri, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Latif Tambaku Farosh, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Malik ‘Abbasi, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Malik Qadiri, 125
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Malik, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Mumin, 359
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, 15, 31, 51, 359-60; his letter to
    Babur, 360
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Shukur, 360
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab Afghan, 360
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi al-Qadiri al-Shazili
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, 360-1
Shaikh ‘Abdu'l-Wahid, 361
Shaikh ‘Abdu'n-Nabi Mirjanpuri, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'n-Nabi, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rahim Daribali, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rahim Gujarati, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rahim Qadiri, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rahim, 362
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rahman Owngami, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rashid Chikni, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rashid, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rashid, Diwan, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Rasul *alias* Lasa Baiyu, 363
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Razzaq Kamalu'd-Din Kashani, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu'r-Razzaq Naqshbandi, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu'sh-Shukur, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Sabur *alias* Bastal, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Sabur Zargar, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Salam Paran, 42
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Salam, 364
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Samad bin Afzal Muhammad bin Yusuf Ansari, 38
Shaikh ‘Abdu's-Sattar, 364
Shaikh ‘Abid, 362
Shaikh ‘Abu'l-Wahhab Nuri, 37
Shaikh ‘Abu's-Sabur Qadiri, 28
Shaikh ‘Ainu'd-Din Mubin, 369
Shaikh ‘Ainu'd-Din, 369
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din ‘Ali bin Ahmad Sabir, 371
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din Arzani, 370
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din ibn Anbaroh, 370
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din Majzub, 370-1
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad Chisti Barnawi, 90
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din Muhammad Chisti, *see* Chistiyya-i Bahishtiyya;
    also called Firdausiyya-i Qudsiya
Shaikh ‘Ala'u'd-Din, 370
Shaikh ‘Alamu'llah Muhaddis, 370
Shaikh ‘Alamu'llah, 32
Shaikh ‘Ali Afghan, 371
Shaikh ‘Ali Baraudah, 371
Shaikh ‘Ali Bengali, 372
Shaikh ‘Ali bin Khairu'd-Din, 371-2
Shaikh ‘Ali Kard, 371
Shaikh ‘Ali Lahiqq, 372
Shaikh ‘Ali Muhammad Chisti, 372
Shaikh ‘Ali Muttaqi, 21, 158
Shaikh ‘Ali Pahlavan, 372
Shaikh ‘Ali, 371
Shaikh ‘Arif, 372-3
Shaikh ‘Ata'u'llah Sani, 373

Shaikh ‘Atta’u’llah Drabagami, 373
Shaikh ‘Atta’u’llah, 373
Shaikh ‘Attan, 373
Shaikh ‘Ibadu’llah, 386
Shaikh ‘Ilmu’l-Huda, 388
Shaikh ‘Imadu’d-Din Dihlawi, 388
Shaikh ‘Inayatu’llah Qadiri, 388
Shaikh ‘Isa bin Qasim bin Yusuf bin Ruknu’d-din, 54
Shaikh ‘Isa, 388
Shaikh ‘Izz Kaku’i, 390
Shaikh ‘Umar As‘ad Lohari, 430
Shaikh ‘Umar Deeni, 430
Shaikh ‘Umar, 430
Shaikh ‘Usman bin Ladin Qureshi, 430
Shaikh ‘Usman Radhu, 430
Shaikh ‘Usman, 430
Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, 198
Shaikh Abu Jeev, 364
Shaikh Abu Muhammad, 364
Shaikh Abu Yazid, 364
Shaikh Abu’l-‘Abbas Ahmad al-Marusi, 21
Shaikh Abu’l-Fath Dihlawi, 365
Shaikh Abu’l-Fath, 364
Shaikh Abu’l-Fazl, 365
Shaikh Abu’l-Hasan al-Bakri, 3
Shaikh Abu’l-Ma‘ali, 365
Shaikh Abu’l-Malik Qari Ghausi, 365
Shaikh Abu’l-Qasim Suhrawardi, 365
Shaikh Adam Banuri, 22
Shaikh Adam Sufi, 365
Shaikh Adhan Dihlawi, 365
Shaikh Adhu Hisari, 365
Shaikh Aftab, 365
Shaikh Ahamd Wa‘iz, 369
Shaikh Ahmad Bihari, 365
Shaikh Ahmad bin ‘Ali al-Rifa‘i, 128
Shaikh Ahmad bin Shaikh Jalal Champaneri, 365
Shaikh Ahmad Chagli, 365-6
Shaikh Ahmad Chisti, 366
Shaikh Ahmad Dihlawi, 366
Shaikh Ahmad Farid, 366
Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, 320, 366-6
Shaikh Ahmad Khwushkhwan, 367
Shaikh Ahmad Langar Darya, 367
Shaikh Ahmad Pishlu, 367
Shaikh Ahmad Qushashi, 28 138
Shaikh Ahmad Sardabi, 368
Shaikh Ahmad Shuryani, Maulana, 368
Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, 5, 10, 16, 17, 19, 368, 381
Shaikh Ahmad Sunnami, 368
Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali, 368-9
Shaikh Ahmad Trali, 369
Shaikh Ahmad Yassawi, 369
Shaikh Ahmad Zahid *alias* Kaul, 369
Shaikh Ahmad, 365
Shaikh Ahmad, of Damascus, 11
Shaikh Ahsan *alias* Nuna Haka Baba, 369
Shaikh Akbar Hadi, 20, 27, 369-70
Shaikh Akhdar Rishi, 370
Shaikh Amanu’llah Siddiqui, 372
Shaikh Amanu’llah, 372
Shaikh Amin bin Ahmad Naharwala, 372
Shaikh Amjad Dihlawi, 372
Shaikh Anwar, 372
Shaikh Anzanu, 372
Shaikh Asadu’llah Rafiqi, 373
Shaikh Auliya, 373
Shaikh Baba ‘Abdu’llah, 373
Shaikh Baba ‘Usman, 374; Shaikh Ya‘qub Sarfi visits his cave, 374
Shaikh Baba Hajji, 373-4
Shaikh Baba Wali, 374
Shaikh Babu Chisti, 374
Shaikh Babu Jeev, 374
Shaikh Babu Shersawar, 374
Shaikh Babu Sindhi, 374
Shaikh Babu, 374
Shaikh Badhan Maneri, 374
Shaikh Badiu’d-Din Saharanpuri, 10
Shaikh Badru’d-Din ‘Abdu’l-Haqq, 374
Shaikh Badru’d-Din Burhanpuri, 17
Shaikh Badru’d-Din Sirhindi, 200
Shaikh Badru’d-Din, 52, 374
Shaikh Baha’u’d-Din Ganj-i Rawan, 374
Shaikh Baha’u’d-Din Mufti, 374
Shaikh Baha’u’d-Din Zakariyya, 36, 393
Shaikh Bahau’d-Din, 91
Shaikh Bahlul, 374
Shaikh Bahmaru Multani, 375
Shaikh Bahram Gourtangi, 375
Shaikh Bahram Qadiri, 25, 375
Shaikh Bahram, 375
Shaikh Bakhshu, 375
Shaikh Bakhtiyar, 34, 375
Shaikh Barkhurdar, 375
Shaikh Batak, 375
Shaikh Bayazid *alias* Allahgou, 376
Shaikh Bayazid Sarwani, 375
Shaikh Bayazid Shamnagi, 375-6
Shaikh Bayazid, 375
Shaikh Bayrang, 376
Shaikh Bhuru, 376
Shaikh Buddhi, 376
Shaikh Budh, 376
Shaikh Burhan Kalpi, 376
Shaikh Burhanu’d-Din, 19
Shaikh Chaand, 376
Shaikh Chandan Dasuri, 376
Shaikh Chandan Qureshi, 376
Shaikh Chandan, 376
Shaikh Chawan bin ‘Umar Chisti, 376
Shaikh Danishmand, 376
Shaikh Daniyal Khizri, 376
Shaikh Daulat Ba’i, 376
Shaikh Daulat Gujarati, 376
Shaikh Daulat, 376, 377
Shaikh Dawud *alias* Batmaloo, 53, 377-8, 451
Shaikh Dawud Asawali, 377
Shaikh Dawud Chisti, 377
Shaikh Dawud Guhani, 377
Shaikh Dawud Hallaj, 377
Shaikh Dawud Islamabadi, 377
Shaikh Dawud Shattari, 377
Shaikh Dawud, 30, 32, 377
Shaikh Dervish, 378
Shaikh Dihyan Sindhi, 378
Shaikh Faizu’llah Narnuli, 378
Shaikh Faizu’llah Zargar, 378
Shaikh Fakhru’d-Din Ganj-i Asrar Jaunpuri, 378

Shaikh Fakhru'd-Din, 378
Shaikh Farid, 378
Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Mahmud, 378
Shaikh Farooq Naru, 378-9
Shaikh Farooq, 378
Shaikh Fathu'llah Khwushkhwan, 379
Shaikh Fathu'llah Rajiri, 379
Shaikh Fathu'llah Sani, 379
Shaikh Fathu'llah, 379
Shaikh Fazlu'llah Gujarati, 380
Shaikh Fazlu'llah, 380
Shaikh Gada'i Panipati, 380
Shaikh Gada'i, 380
Shaikh Gawhar, 380
Shaikh Ghausi Shattari, 17
Shaikh Ghaziu'd-Din, 380
Shaikh Ghulam Muhiu'd-Din, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, 41, 368
Shaikh Habibu'llah Ansari, 380
Shaikh Habibu'llah Kanri, 380
Shaikh Habibu'llah, 380
Shaikh Hafiz Salih, 380
Shaikh Haidar Lari, *see* Mir Baba Haidar
Shaikh Haidar, 380, 381
Shaikh Hajji Hamid, 319
Shaikh Hajji Hasan, 381
Shaikh Hajji, 381
Shaikh Hamid bin Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din, 25
Shaikh Hamid Qadiri, 20
Shaikh Hamid, 381
Shaikh Hamid, Makhdum, 381
Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, 141
Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din Sufi Nagauri, 381-2
Shaikh Hamza Dharsuri, 382
Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri, 16, 61, 136-7, 376, 390
Shaikh Hamza Rafiqi, 383
Shaikh Hamza, 18, 382
Shaikh Hansa Bukhari, 383
Shaikh Hasamu'd-Din Sufi, 383
Shaikh Hasan Bodla, 383
Shaikh Hasan Chisti, 383
Shaikh Hasan Kamraji, 383
Shaikh Hasan Kulu, 383
Shaikh Hasan Laloo, 383
Shaikh Hasan Majzub, 383, 384
Shaikh Hasan Muhammad, 384
Shaikh Hasan Mutawwali, 384
Shaikh Hasan Tahir, 384
Shaikh Hasan Tamal, 384
Shaikh Hasan, 383
Shaikh Hayat, 384
Shaikh Hud, 384
Shaikh Humayun Majzub Bihari, 384
Shaikh Husain Baghdadi, 385
Shaikh Husain Dhukarposh, 385
Shaikh Husain Kahbur, 385
Shaikh Husain Kamraji, 385-6
Shaikh Husain Khuyahomi, 386
Shaikh Husain, 384, 385
Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri, 23, 386
Shaikh Ibrahim (al-Kurani) al-Kurdi, 28
Shaikh Ibrahim (Qutb-i-Zaman), 20
Shaikh Ibrahim *alias* Thag Baba, 386-7
Shaikh Ibrahim al-Kurdi, 31
Shaikh Ibrahim bin 'Umar Sindhi, 387
Shaikh Ibrahim Kak *alias* Aba Kak, 387
Shaikh Ibrahim Kubrawiyya, 387
Shaikh Ibrahim Muradabadi, 387
Shaikh Ibrahim Sindhi, 387
Shaikh Ibrahim, 386
Shaikh Ibrahim, Diwan, 387
Shaikh Idris Samani, 22
Shaikh Ilabaksh Chisti, 387
Shaikh Ilahbaksh, 387
Shaikh Ilahdad Marhara, 387
Shaikh Ilahdad Salih, 387
Shaikh Ilahdad, 387
Shaikh Ilham Lari, 387-8
Shaikh Ilmu'd-Din Majzub, 388
Shaikh Ishaq bin Shaikh Kaku Chisti, 389
Shaikh Ishaq Qalandar Sindhi, 389
Shaikh Ishaq Shattari, 84
Shaikh Ishaq, 389
Shaikh Islam Gotapuri, 389
Shaikh Isma'il Chisti, 389
Shaikh Isma'il Kubrawi, 389-90
Shaikh Isma'il Qadiri, 390
Shaikh Isma'il Qureshi Suhrawardi, 390
Shaikh Isma'il, 389
Shaikh Jalal Bukhari, 391
Shaikh Jalal Chisti, 391
Shaikh Jalal Kandakari, 391
Shaikh Jalal Mattu, 391
Shaikh Jalal Muhammad, 391-2
Shaikh Jalal Panipati, 34
Shaikh Jalal Qanuji Qursehi, 392
Shaikh Jalal Wasil, 392
Shaikh Jalal, 30, 390
Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Mujjadid Turkistani, 392
Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Panipati, 392
Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Suyuti, 130
Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi, 11, 44, 48
Shaikh Jamal Bayabani, 392
Shaikh Jamal bin Shaikhu'l-Islam, 392
Shaikh Jamal Pathri, 392
Shaikh Jamal, 392
Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Hansavi, 393
Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din, 392
Shaikh Janu'llah, 18
Shaikh Jeev, 393
Shaikh Ju'i Bari, 393
Shaikh Junaid Mufti, 393
Shaikh Junaid, 393
Shaikh Kabir 'Abbasi, 394
Shaikh Kabir Barhana Balwi Dipalpuri, 394
Shaikh Kabir Malamati, 394
Shaikh Kabir, 393, 394
Shaikh Kadan Danishmand Khairabadi, 394
Shaikh Kahandoti, 394
Shaikh Kaja, 394
Shaikh Kalimu'd-Din Musa Gujarati, 394
Shaikh Kalu, 394
Shaikh Kamal *alias* Shaikh Kalu, 394
Shaikh Kamal, 394
Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din Qureshi, 395
Shaikh Kamalu'd-Din, 394-5
Shaikh Karamu'llah Multani, 395
Shaikh Karamu'llah, 395
Shaikh Katin Laka Shaikh, 395

Shaikh Khanu Gwaliori, 395
Shaikh Khizr, 395
Shaikh Khuda Baksh Mandawi, 395
Shaikh Khudawardi Wilayati, 395
Shaikh Khwaja ‘Alam, 395
Shaikh Khwaja, 395
Shaikh L‘al Shah, 396
Shaikh Lad Jeev Sindhi, 395
Shaikh Lal, 395-6
Shaikh Luhra, 396
Shaikh Ma‘ruf bin Qazi Sa‘du'llah, 397
Shaikh Ma‘ruf, 397
Shaikh Mahdi ‘Ali Sopuri, 396
Shaikh Mahdi, 396
Shaikh Mahmud bin ‘Abdu'llah Gujarati, 396
Shaikh Mahmud bin Jalal, 52, 396
Shaikh Mahmud bin Muhammad, 396
Shaikh Mahmud bin Saiyid Malik, 396
Shaikh Mahmud Chisti Ranthambori, 396
Shaikh Mahmud Chisti, 396
Shaikh Mahmud Gana'i, 396
Shaikh Mahmud Maudud Lari, 396
Shaikh Mahmud, 396
Shaikh Makhdum Sulaiman Rudauli, 397
Shaikh Makhu, 397
Shaikh Mandu, 293
Shaikh Manjhan, 397
Shaikh Mansur, 397
Shaikh Mir Ju Nawchu, 397
Shaikh Miranji, 397
Shaikh Miyan Aaba, 397
Shaikh Mu‘amar, 397
Shaikh Mu‘azzam Gopamu'i, 398
Shaikh Mu‘inu'd-Din Rafiqi, 408
Shaikh Mu‘izz, 408
Shaikh Mubarak Gopamu'i, 398
Shaikh Mubarak Majzub, 398
Shaikh Mubarak Siddiqui, 398
Shaikh Mubarak Sindhi, 398
Shaikh Mubarak, 398
Shaikh Mubibbu'llah, 204-5
Shaikh Muhabbat, 398
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Abdu'llah, 78
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Abid, 399
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Aini, 399
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Ala, 23
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Aqil, 399
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Arif, 22, 399
Shaikh Muhammad ‘Ashi, 14
Shaikh Muhammad Abkash, 399
Shaikh Muhammad Afzal, 399
Shaikh Muhammad al-Husaini al-Jilani, 19
Shaikh Muhammad Amin Dhar, 399
Shaikh Muhammad Asawali, 399
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Fatehkadli, 400
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 15
Shaikh Muhammad Aslam, 400
Shaikh Muhammad Bakri Shafi‘i, 130
Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah Burhanpuri, 28
Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlu'llah, 15
Shaikh Muhammad bin Khwaja Taju'd-Din Muhammad, 400
Shaikh Muhammad bin Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Amethi, 25
Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari ibn Hajji ‘Abdu'l-Wahhab Bukhari, 14
Shaikh Muhammad Chisti *alias* Radhu, 400
Shaikh Muhammad Chotimu'lla, 401
Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Zunimari, 401
Shaikh Muhammad Fazil, 401
Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari, 19, 51, 401
Shaikh Muhammad Hai Barhanasar, 402
Shaikh Muhammad Hasan, 27, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Husaini Jilani Uchi, Makhdum, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Kuku, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Labib, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Lahori, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Lari, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Ma‘ruf, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Ma‘sud, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Mulawah, 403
Shaikh Muhammad Multani, 404
Shaikh Muhammad Mumin, 404
Shaikh Muhammad Muqim, 404
Shaikh Muhammad Murad Mattu, 404
Shaikh Muhammad Murad Naqshbandi *alias* Tang, 404
Shaikh Muhammad Murad Rafiqi, 405
Shaikh Muhammad Murad Tang, 167
Shaikh Muhammad Na‘im, 405
Shaikh Muhammad Pakhi, 405
Shaikh Muhammad Phulti, 16
Shaikh Muhammad Qa‘im *alias* Potru, 405
Shaikh Muhammad Qa‘im Yassawi, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Qa‘im, 23
Shaikh Muhammad Qari, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Raza, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Roshan, 130
Shaikh Muhammad Sa‘id, 14, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq Maantju, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, 32, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Sadru'd-Din Zakir, 406
Shaikh Muhammad Sakhi, 406-7
Shaikh Muhammad Shaafi, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Shaf ‘i *alias* Tila'i, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Sharif *alias* Shoga Baba, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Sharif, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Tahir, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Talib, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Tarabali, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Rafiqi, 407-8
Shaikh Muhammad Yahya Shupiani, 408
Shaikh Muhammad Yahya, 407
Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Kant, 408
Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Zunimari, 408
Shaikh Muhammad Zubair Sirhindi, 11
Shaikh Muhammad, 398
Shaikh Muhibu'llah, 25, 37, 144
Shaikh Muhiu'd-Din, 408
Shaikh Muhsin *alias* Haka Baba, 408
Shaikh Muhsin Kahana, 408
Shaikh Mumin Barthani, 408
Shaikh Mumin Suhrawardi, 408
Shaikh Munawwar Khatbi, 409
Shaikh Munawwar, 409
Shaikh Muntajabu'd-Din, 409
Shaikh Murtaza, 409
Shaikh Musa Kubrawi, 409-10
Shaikh Musa Naqshbandi, 410
Shaikh Musa Zahgir, 410
Shaikh Musa, 17, 20, 409
Shaikh Mustafa Rafiqi, 410

Shaikh Mustafa, 410
Shaikh Muy-tab, 410
Shaikh Muzaffar Rohataki, 411
Shaikh Muzaffar, 410-11
Shaikh Naghau, 411
Shaikh Nahir Bayabani, 411
Shaikh Najamu’d-Din Qalandar, 411
Shaikh Najamu’d-Din Rishi *alias* Naji Rishi, 411
Shaikh Najamu’d-Din, 411
Shaikh Najibu’d-Din Mutwakkil, 411-12
Shaikh Najmu’d-Din Kubra, 311
Shaikh Najmu’l-Haqq, 412
Shaikh Nasir Bengali, 412
Shaikh Nasir Hajjam, 412
Shaikh Nasir Jamal, 412
Shaikh Nasir Khan, 412
Shaikh Nasir, 412
Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din Chiragh, 200
Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din Mahmud, 412-3
Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din Tamimi Ansari, 413
Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din, 412
Shaikh Nasiru’d-Din, his popularity among the Rajput cultivators of Barnawa, 43
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah *alias* Shaikhi, 414
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah Ashrafi, 27
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah Kalu, 414
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah Mattu, 414
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah Shaikhpuri, 414
Shaikh Ni‘matu’llah, 413-14
Shaikh Nizam Majzub, 414
Shaikh Nizam, 414
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din, 18
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Abu’l-Mu’yid, 414
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Amethi, 414-15
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Auliya, 9, 206, 415-17
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din Chisti, 25
Shaikh Nizamu’d-Din, 414
Shaikh Nur Muhammad, 417,
Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Hansvi, 417
Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi, 7, 13, 59, 88, 331, 417-18
Shaikh Nuru’d-Din, 417
Shaikh Nuru’l-Haqq, 9
Shaikh Nuru’llah Duloo, 419
Shaikh Nuru’llah Maantji, 419
Shaikh Phul Majzub, 419
Shaikh Phul, 419
Shaikh Pir Muhammad ibn ‘Abdu’l-Halim ibn Shaikh Jalal Qadiri Burhanpuri, 419
Shaikh Pir Muhammad, 22, 419
Shaikh Pir, 419
Shaikh Pirbaz, 419-20
Shaikh Piyara, 420
Shaikh Qai’m Yasawwi *alias* Shabbedar, 420
Shaikh Qasim Awadhi, 420
Shaikh Qasim, 42
Shaikh Qiwamu’d-Din, 420
Shaikh Qudwatu’d-Din, 420
Shaikh Qutbu’d-Din Jahan Zakir Naharwala, 420
Shaikh Qutbu’d-Din Munawwar, 421
Shaikh Raf‘iu’d-Din, 421
Shaikh Rafiu’d-Din Dihlawi, 421
Shaikh Rafqatu’d-Din, 421
Shaikh Rahmatu’llah Sani, 422
Shaikh Rahmatu’llah, 421
Shaikh Rajab, 422
Shaikh Rajgiri, 422
Shaikh Raji Muhammad, 422
Shaikh Rang Balau’l, of Lahore, 18
Shaikh Rattan Kashmiri, 422
Shaikh Rizqu’llah, 422
Shaikh Ruknu’d-Din Abu’l Fath, 200
Shaikh Ruknu’d-Din Mahmud, 423
Shaikh Ruknu’d-Din, 422, 423
Shaikh Rupi Rishi Kochamuli, 423
Shaikh Sa‘du’d-Din, 424
Shaikh Sa‘du’llah Chisti Dihlawi, 424
Shaikh Sa‘du’llah Gulshan Dihlawi, 424
Shaikh Sa‘du’llah Kesadar, 37, 424
Shaikh Sadha Jaunpuri, 424
Shaikh Sadiq, 423
Shaikh Sadru’d-Din ‘Arif, 423
Shaikh Sadru’d-Din 36
Shaikh Sadru’d-Din Zakir, 19
Shaikh Safi, 424
Shaikh Saifu’d-Din Bakharzi, 87, 117, 167
Shaikh Saifu’d-Din, 17
Shaikh Saifu’llah, 424
Shaikh Saiyid Hamid Lucknowi, 424
Shaikh Sakha’i, 424
Shaikh Salah Dervish, 425
Shaikh Salah Sufi, 425
Shaikh Salaru’d-Din, 425
Shaikh Salih Hafiz, 425
Shaikh Salih, 425
Shaikh Samau’d-Din, 222, 425
Shaikh Sanau’llah Zunimari, 27, 426
Shaikh Sarang, 383, 426
Shaikh Saundha of Safidun (in Jind), 41
Shaikh Shah ‘Ali Ahmedabadi, 426
Shaikh Shah Muhammad, 426
Shaikh Shahi Rasan-Tab, 426
Shaikh Shahid, 426
Shaikh Shakar, 426
Shaikh Shams, 426
Shaikh Shamsu’d-Din Baghdadi, 427
Shaikh Shamsu’d-Din Balkhi, 427
Shaikh Shamsu’d-Din Turk Panipati, 427
Shaikh Shamsu’d-Din Zinda Dil, 427
Shaikh Shamsu’d-Din, 16, 426, 427
Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din Abu Tawwama, 11
Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din Mahmud Nizamu’d-Din Muzdaqani, 311
Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din Zahgir, 427
Shaikh Sharafu’d-Din, 203
Shaikh Sharif Ashwar, 427
Shaikh Sharif Muhammad, 428
Shaikh Sharif, 427
Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Sinnadi, 428
Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Suhrawardi, 11, 22, 57, 93
Shaikh Shihabu’d-Din Wasil, 428
Shaikh Shihibud’d-Din, 54, 90
Shaikh Siddiq Shattari, 428
Shaikh Siddiq, 428
Shaikh Siraj Muhammad Banyani, 428
Shaikh Siraj Sokhta, 428
Shaikh Siraj, 428
Shaikh Siraju’d-Din Junaidi, 428
Shaikh Sufi Badhni, 429
Shaikh Sufi, 428

Shaikh Sulaiman, 429
Shaikh Sultan Kashmiri, 88
Shaikh Sultan, 429
Shaikh Sundha, 429
Shaikh Taha, 429
Shaikh Tahir, 429, 430
Shaikh Taiyib Rafiqi, 430
Shaikh Taj, 430
Shaikh Taju'd-Din Makki, 131
Shaikh Taqi bin Shaikh Ramazan Hayak Suhrawardi, 430
Shaikh Taqi, 430
Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din Muhammad, 430
Shaikh Uttara 'Imadi, 430
Shaikh Uwais, 431
Shaikh Wahid, 431
Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, 137
Shaikh Wali Muhammad, 431
Shaikh Wali, 431
Shaikh Wantapuri, 431
Shaikh Wutu, 36
Shaikh Ya'qub Chhatabali, 431
Shaikh Ya'qub Saadi, 432
Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi, 432
Shaikh Ya'qub, 431
Shaikh Yunus al-Qushashashi, 36
Shaikh Yusuf Bengali, 434
Shaikh Yusuf bin 'Abdu'llah Tamimi Ansari, 434
Shaikh Yusuf Kumu *alias* Gana'i, 434
Shaikh Yusuf Ling, 434
Shaikh Yusuf Qadiri, 434
Shaikh Yusuf Qattal, 434
Shaikh Yusuf Sani, 434
Shaikh Yusuf, 433, 434
Shaikh Za'iru'llah bin Shaikh 'Umar Mandawi, 435
Shaikh Zahid, 434
Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Khwafi, 19
Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, 434
Shaikh Zakariyya, 435
Shaikh Zakir, 435
Shaikh Zia'u'd-Din Chisti, 435
Shaikh Zia'u'llah, 19, 435
Shaikh, social dimension of the conversion to Islam in Kashmir, 357
Shaikh, Wajihu'd-Din 431
Shaikha Baba, 435
Shaikh-as-Suhba, 145
Shaikh-at-Tarbiya, 145
Shaikh-i Umam, 432
Shaikhpura, Kashmir, 125
Shaikhu'l-'Alam, 435
Shaikhupura, 93
Shaiva, Kashmir, 171, 173
Shajaratu'l-Atqiya, 435
Shakah Marg, Kashmir, 335
Sham Ded, 435
Shamnag, Kashmir, 375
Shams Dedi, 436
Shamsi Kak Suhrawardi, 436
Shamsu'd-Din Dhari, Shaikh, 436
Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, Saiyid, 436
Shamsu'd-Din Qadiri, Shah, 436
Shamsu'd-Din Siddiq, Shaikh *alias* Faryadras, 436
Shamsu'd-Din Siyalwi, Khwaja, 437
Shamsu'd-Din Zahir, Saiyid, 437
Shamsu'd-Din, 71
Shamsu'l-Mulk, Khwaja, 437
Shanga Bibi *alias* Yawan Maech, 437
Shanga Rishi, 437
Shangas, 287
Shangpal, 83
Shangraf Gana'i, 437
Shankar Rishi, 437
Shankaracharya hill, 429
Sharaf Shah Sag Nawaz, 438
Sharafu'd-Din Abu Tawwama, Shaikh, 438
Sharafu'd-Din Kirmani, Shaikh, 438
Sharafu'd-Din Manyari, Shaikh, 438-40
Sharh-i Asma'i-Husna, 312
Sharh-i Chihil wa char Hadis, 262
Sharh-i Kibrat-i Ahmar, 167
Sharh-i Mawaqif, 440
Sharh-i Nuzhatu'l-Arwah, 440
Sharh-i Risla-i Ghausiyya, 23, 440
Sharh-i Tamhidat-i Ainu'l-Quzat, 440
Shari'ah, 2, 12, 25, 176, 188; as a moral force, 200; 204, 209, 244, 352, 384, 440
Sharif Majzub, 440
shattar, swift paced, 23
Shattariyya *Silsilah*, 441
Shaukat Mir, 441
Shawara, Kashmir, 195, 197, 380
Shawariqu'l-Ma'rifah, 51
Shazilliyya, 17, 21, 44
Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, on Muharram, 206
Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, 202
Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus, 203
Shaikh 'Ali bin Husamu'd-Din bin 'Abdu'l-Malik bin Qazi Muttaqi, 202
Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, 214
Shaikh Akbar Tarabali, 210
Shaikh Hasan Tahir, 222
Shaikh Mahmud Khush Dahan, 206
Shaikh Wajiu'd-Din Gujarati, 203
Sher Shah Suri, 16
Shergah, 32
Shergarhi, Srinagar, 336
Sherkoot, Kashmir, 60, 83, 298
She-Rukni, 344
Shihab Shah Qalandar, 441
Shihabu'd-Din 'Ashiq, Shaikh, 441
Shihabu'd-Din Hansvi, 441
Shihabu'd-Din Haqqgo, Shaikh, 442
Shihabu'd-Din-Pura, Malkha, 326, 336, 346,351
Shihampur, Srinagar, 346, 377
Shinu, Kashmir, 383, 385
Shiraz, 31, 215
Shoga Baba, 355
Shoga Rishi, 442
Shoragari mohalla, 190
Shukru'd-Din, 60
Shupian, 267, 316, 408
Sialkot, 131, 362, 379
Siayid 'Abdu'l-Latif, 309
Siddiq Baiyu, 442
Siddiq Chisti Sabiri, Shaikh, 442
Siddiq Khan, 442
Siddiq Kishmi, Muhammad, 442
Siddiq Shah, 442
Siddiqui, I.H, 179, 208, 371, 393
Sidi Maula, 442

Sijda-i bandage, 47
Sijda-i ta‘zim, 47
Sikandapura, 78
Sikandar ‘Ali, Saiyid, 443
Sikandar Lodhi, 383
Sikandar, Shaikh, 443
Sikandarpura, 316, 328, 340, 443
Sikhs, 14
Silku’s-Suluk, 187
Silsilah-i Khwajgan, 443-4
Silsilahnama, 443
Silsilah-nama-i-Khwajagan-i-Naqshband, 444
Silsilaht al-wis‘al, 444
Silsilahtu’l-‘Arifin wa Tazkiratu’s-Siddiqin, 444
Silsilahtu’l-Auliya, 444
Silsilahtu’s-Sadiqin, 444
Simpur, Kashmir, 317, 330
Sindh, 11, 302, 392, 90
Sindhi folktales and Sufism, 24
Sindhi Sufi poetry, 18
Singhpura, 78
Singkel, a village in Sumatara, 28
Siraju’d-Din Junaidi III, 445
Siraju’d-Din Multani, Shaikh, 445
Siraju’d-Din, Shaikh, 445
Siraju’l-Hidaya, 445
Siraju’s-Salikin wa-Lata’ifu’l-‘Arifin, 445
Siraju’s-Salikin, 23, 445
Sirat al-Mustaqim, 445
Sirharpur, 354
Sirhind, 16, 251, 256, 353, 394, 445
Sisilah-i Khwajgan, 89
Sitapur, 430
Siwistan (Sehwan), 372, 395
Siyar-i Ahmadi, 87, 446
Siyar-i Muhammadi, 446
Siyaru’l-‘Arifin, 135, 446
Siyaru’l-Aqtab, 446
Siyaru’l-Auliya, 63, 446
Sultan Shamsu’d-Din Iltutmish, 223
Sobhan Majzub, 446
Sokalipura, 396
Sonepat, 205
Sonti Rishi, 446
Sopur, 81, 265, 333, 364
Soura, Srinagar, 197, 362
Sozan Rishi, 446
Spiritual legacy of Fakhru’d-Din, 111
Srinagar, 28, 373
Sukh Anjan, 31
Sufi ‘Abdu’r-Razzaq Buchh, 447
Sufi Allahdad, 447
Sufi Mahmud Naqshbandi, 447
Sufi poetry, 101
Sufi Sarmast, 447
Sufiana Kalam, 372, 431
Sufic commentary on the Qur’an by Najm Daya, 91
Sufism in South Asia, 433
Suhaila, 447
Sukalipura, 72
Sukh Anjan, 447
Sulaiman bin ‘Iffan Mandawi Dihlawi, 447
Sulaiman Kurd, Maulana, 447
Sultan ‘Ala’u’d-Din, 447
Sultan ‘Ali Shah, 59
Sultan Bahadur, Gujarat, 44
Sultan Bahu, 29, 447-48
Sultan Hamid Tapa, 448
Sultan Husain Bayqari, 199
Sultan Ibrahim I, 18
Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, 351, 359
Sultan Mahmud Shah Khalji, 23
Sultan Mir Jeev, 448
Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, 4, 180, 219, 382
Sultan Muhammad, 18, 19
Sultan Qadir Shah, 350
Sultan Qutbu’d-Din, 11
Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, 31, 87, 359, 361
Sultan Zainu’l-‘Abidin, 88
Sultanpur, 372
suluk, 448
Suluku’l-Muluk, 158
Sumatara, 28
Sunanu’n-Nasai, 52
Sunargaon, 372, 438
Sunnah, 3, 9
Suran Rishi, 448
Sururu’s-Sudur, 448
Sylhet, 390, 391
Syncretism, 5, 8, 9
Syria, 13, 21, 57, 130, 370

ta‘ayyun, 249
ta‘wiz, 204, 453
Ta’zim Turk, Saiyid Muhammad, 453
Tabaqat-i Shahjahani, 449
tabarruk, 449
taddabur, 6
tafakkur, 6, 449
Tafsir Baizawai, 44
tafsir, 449
Tafsir-i Muhammadi, 449
Taha Chisti, Shaikh, 449
Taha, Qutbu’d-Din Qadiri, 449
Tahajjud prayers, offered in a Kubrawiyya *khanqah*, 409-10
Tahir Badakshi, Shaikh Muhammad, 449
Tahir Lahori, Shaikh Muhammad, 450
Tahir Mahmud, 208
Tahjawara, 68
Tahqiqat-i Amiri, 166
Tailun, 73
tair, 450
Taiyib, Shaikh, 450
Tajalliyat al-Fusus, 450
Tajalliyat-i Rahmani, 450
Tajdid-i Baiy‘a, 450
Tajikistan, 16
Tajjali-i rukh, 450
Tajrabatu’l-Talibin, 167
Taju’d-Din Shersawar, Saiyid, 451
Taju’d-Din Zakariyya Ajodhani, Shaikh, 451
Taju’d-Din, Shaikh, 450
Taju’l-‘Ashiqin, 451
takkyah, 451
Takmilu’l-iman, 451
Talib Dervish, 451
talwin, 451
Tambidat, 208-9, 452

Tanbih al-'Arif, 452
Tanbihu'l-Ikhwan, 235
Tanbihu'l-Qulub, 169
Taqi Auhadi, 52
Taqi Qadiri, Shaikh Muhammad, 452
Taqiu'd-Din Muhammad, Shaikh, 452
Taqiu'd-Din Nuh, Khwaja, 452
Taqwiyat'ul-Iman, 452
Tara Chand, 5
Tarabal, 369
Tarigam, 82, 239
Tarikh-i A'zami, 167
Tarikh-i Qadiriyya, 452
Tarin Sambhali, Shaikh Fathu'llah, 452
tariqa, 209, 384
Tariqa-i Muhammadiyya, 272, 452
Tarjamat al-Kitab, 452
Tarjuma-i Fakhru'l-Hasan, 452
Tasawwur-i Shaikh, 453
Tashwan, Srinagar, 39, 84, 182, 232, 410
taswiyya, 257, 453
tauba, 453
tawajjuh, 453
tawakkul, 453
Tawakkul-Beg, 453
tawhid, 453
tawhid-i af'al, 248
tawhid-i sifati, 248
tawhid-i Zat, 248
Tazkira literature, 7
Tazkira-i Auliya-i Deccan, 453
Tazkira-i Saiyid Hasan Rasul Numa, 453
Tazkiratu'l-'Arifin, 57
Tazkiratu'l-Murshidin, 177, 453
Teachings of Khwaja Mu 'inu'd-Din Chisti, 179-80
Teluni, 84
Temple of Pravarasen, 197
Thajurah, Kashmir, 127
Thakurs, 121
Thana, 377
Thaneswar, 216, 375
The Prophet's advice in a vision, 169
Thed, Srinagar, 436
Thomas Dahnhardt, 11
Tibet, 72
Tilwanpura, 383
Tinu, Kashmir, 324
Tipu Auliya, 453
Tragpura, 79
Trahgam, Kashmir, 78, 250, 362
Tral, 120, 369
Tubat-i Haidari, 127
Tuhfa-i Ahmadi, 166
Tuhfa-i Rashidiyya, 453
Tuhfat al-Fuqara, 453
Tuhfatu'l-Kiram, 454
Tuhfatu'l-Majalis, 367, 454
Tuhfatu'l-Qadiriyya, 454
Tuhfatu'l-Qira, 172
Tuhfatu'n-Nasha'ih, 187
Tujjar, Kashmir, 198
Tulmula, Kashmir, 20, 71, 141, 409
Tuman Shah, 454
Turan, 336
Turk Bayabani, Shaikh, 454
Turkistan, 178, 368
Tuti Nama, 187

Ubaid Kabuli, Khwaja, 455
Ubaid-u'llah Sindhi, 51
Ubaidullah Ahrar, Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din, 455
ubud, 455
ubudiyya, 43, 455
Uch, 20, 150, 151, 251, 296, 316, 327, 372 391
Ujjain, 17, 217, 270, 290, 357, 358, 371, 372, 409
Ulama, as 'robbers of faith', 251
ulama-i zahiri, 2, 325, 455
Ular, 74, 381
Umadatu'l-Maqamat, 455
Unity in diversity, Baba Nasib on, 40
Unnao, U.P. , 151, 393
urs, 456
Urwatu'l-Wusqa, 325
Usman Majzub, 456
Usman Sayyah cf Sunnahm, Shaikh, 456
Usman Zinda Pir, Shaikh, 456
Usmani, 38
Usul al-Bazdawi, 9, 251, 456
Usulu'l-Tariqat, 456
Uttar, 70, 103, 131, 375, 420
Uttarakhun, 60
Uwaisi Rishi, 78
Uwaisi Sufi, 394
Uwaisi, 18, 73
uzlat, 456

Vihi, Kashmir, 185, 317, 330
Viri Saran, Kashmir, 316
vopalhak, 81
Vular, 317, 337, 408

Wahda, 249
Wahdat al-Shuhud, 8, 9, 14, 43, 159, 222, 356, 429, 457
Wahdat al-Wujud, 33, 51, 159, 8-9, 14, 28, 204, 222, 235, 248,
  255, 257, 275, 329, 352, 356, 381, 428
Wahhabis, 369
Wahiduddin, Professor of Philosophy, 417
wajd 1
Wajibu'l-Wujud, 457
Wajid, 457
Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad, Shaikh, 457
Wajihu'd-Din Pa'ili, Maulana, 458
Wali Muhammad, Shaikh, 458
Wali Shah, 458
Wali Shattari, Shaikh, 458
Walter Lawrence, 85
Wandhama, Kashmir, 167
Wanganpura, Srinagar, 28
Wantpora, Srinagar, 364
Waqi'at-i Kashmir, 167
Waqi'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijapur, 458
waqt, 458
Waris Shah, 458
Wasan, Kashmir, 383
wasl, 458
Watanpur, 431
Watur Thakur, 458
wazifa, 459

Wazir Shah, 458
Waziru'd-Din, 459
wilayat, 459; spiritual territory, 393
Wirdu'l-Muridin, 61, 459
Witar, 116
Witargang, Kashmir, 194
Women Sufis of Kashmir, 459
Wudu'du'llah Shattari, Shaikh, 459
Wuhpura, Kashmir, 131
Wujud al-Mutlaq, 257
wujud, 1, 388
Wujudiyya, 459
Wujudu'l-'Ashiqin, 459
Wusan, Kashmir, 369
Wusi Sahib, 329, 459
Wutu, Shaikh, 459

Ya Hu, 461
Ya Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Shaiann-Allah, 229
Yahya Dihlawi, Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, 461
Yahya Madani, Shaikh, 461
Yangarwari, 446
Yaqub Khwaja, 461
Yar Muhammad bin Taj Muhammad, 204
Yar Muhammad, Shaikh, 461
Yar, 65
Yarigam, Kashmir, 224
Yarqand, 178,
Yasin, Shaikh, 462
Yasman Rishi, 462
Yassawiyya order, 58, 361
Yawan Shaikh, 462
Yech, 333, 336, 379, 56, 65
Yemen, 57
yoga, 80
yogis, 31, 63, 131, 150
Yusuf Barki, Shaikh, 462
Yusuf Budh, Shaikh, 462
Yusuf Chisti, Shaikh, 462
Yusuf Husaini, Saiyid, 462
Yusuf Kashmiri, Hajji, 462
Yusuf Rishi, 462
Yusuf Samarqandi, Maulana, 463
Yusuf Shah, 463

Z.A. Bhutto, 5
Zada Sulaiman Sa'du'-Din, Mustaqim, 464
Zadu'l-Musafirin, 464
Zadu'l-Muttaqin fi suluk tariqu'l-yaqin, 464
Zafar Baba Hamadani, 464
Zafarabad, 436
Zahid Harawi, 24
Zaidpur, 14
Zain Badr 'Arabi, Shaikh, 464
Zain Muqbil, Saiyid, 464
Zaina Baba Siyahposh, 465
Zaina Kadal, 169, 236, 316, 321, 336, 339, 341, 361, 363, 398
Zainabad, 397
Zaindar mohalla, 186, 423
Zaindarhar (Harandar), at Naupura in Srinagar, 335
Zaingir, 68, 83, 171, 173
Zaini Rishi, 465
Zainpur, 427
Zainpur, Kashmir, 81, 215
Zainu'l-'Abidin, Saiyid, 464
Zakhiratu'l-Khawanin, 464
Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, 158, 312
Zaldagar, 319, 326
Zalsu, 97
zambil, 465
Zandupal, 70
Zanigam, 323
Zeti Rishi, 465
Zeti Shah Majzub, 375, 465
Zevan, Kashmir, 272
Ziarat-i Ishan-Saheb, 433
Ziau'd-Din Barani, 302
Zia-ul-Haque, 5
zikr and *fikr*; Kalimu'llah Jahanabadi on, 156
zikr, kinds of 18, 53, 465
zikr-i chahar zarb, 171, 466
Zikr-i Jamil'-i Auliya'-i Dihili, 466
zikr-i khafi, 6, 40, 466
zikr-i-jali, 6
Zikru'l-Asfiya fi Takmilat Siyaru'l-Auliya' dar Manqabat-i Shamsu'l-Huda, 466
Zinda Hajji, 466
Zinda Shah, 466
Zinjani, Shaikh Husain, 466
Ziya'u'd Rumi, Shaikh, 468
Ziya'u'd-Din Zahgir, 468
Ziya'ullah, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, 468
ziyarat, 466
Ziyarat-i Qabur, 466-8
Ziyau'd-Din Sunami, Khwaja, 468
Ziyau'd-Din, 50
Zubairi, Qazi Ibrahim, 468
Zubdatu'l-Maqamat, 139, 468
zuhd, 468
Zuhur, Baba Hajji Hamid, 469
Zulka Rishi, 7, 469
Zuna Rishi, 469
Zuni Shah, 469
Zunimar, 168, 408, 409, 401, 426, 431
zunnar, 469

Mohammad Ishaq Khan is former Professor of History and Shaikhu'l-'Alam Chair at Kashmir University. His publications include *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis* (3rd edn. 2003) and *Experiencing Islam* (1997).

Jacket design: MAX

ISBN 81-7304-681-6

RELATED MANOHAR TITLES

M. Ishaq Khan
Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis
(Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

Neeru Misra
Sufis and Sufism: Some Reflections

Neeru Misra (ed.)
Splendours of Rajasthani Paintings:
Gulistan of Alwar School

Mansura Haidar
Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders

Desiderio Pinto
Piri-Muridi Relationship: A Study of the Nizamuddin Dargah

Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui
Authority and Kingship under the Sultans of Delhi
(Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries)

Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui (ed.)
Medieval India: Essays in Intellectual Thought and Culture,
Volume 1

Shahabuddin Iraqi
Bhakti Movement in Medieval India:
Social and Political Perspectives

David N. Lorenzen (ed.)
Bhakti Religion in North India:
Community, Identity and Political Action

Naseem A. Hines
Maulana Daud's *Candayan*

www.manoharbooks.com
ISBN 81-7304-681-6
9 788173 046810